The First Part
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION.
Whitehall, May 23, 1679.

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

JO. COOKE.

IN TWO PARTS.

The First Part.

OF THE Progress made in it during the Reign of K. Henry the VIII.


By GILBERT BURNET, D.D.

LONDON,
Printed by T. H. for Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard, MDC LXXXI.
TO THE
KING.

SIR,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

_May it please Your Sacred Majesty,_

Your Majesties most Loyal,

most Faithful, and most
devoted Subject and Servant,

_G. BURNET._
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THE

PREFACE.

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

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

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

They were soon after much provoked by Sanders's History, which he published to the World in Latin: yet either defying a Writer, who did so impudently deliver filthabouts, that from his own Book many of them may be dis proved, or expelling a Command from Authority, they did not then set about it. The best account I can give of their silence is, that most of Sanders's Calumnies being levelled at Queen Elizabeth, whose birth and parent be designed chiefly to disgrace, it was thought too tender a Point by her wise Counsellors to be much enquired into: it gave too great credit to his Lies, to answer them; an Answer would draw forth a Reply, by which those Calumnies would still be kept alive, and therefore it was not without good reason thought better
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Later to let them be unmanipulated and despised. From whence it is come that
in this Age that Author is in so bad Credit, that now he is quoted with much af-
farance: most of all the Writers in the Church of Rome rely on his Testimo-
nies for a good Authority. The Collectors of the General History of that Age,
follow his thread closely, some of them transcribe his very words. One Pollini-
a Dominian, published an History of the Changes that were made in England,
in Italian, at Rome, Anno 1594, which he found more ingenuously have cal-
called a Translation, or Paraphrase of Sanders's History: and of late more con-
duly, but more traditiously, one of the best Poets of France has been employ-
ed to translate him into their Language, which has created such prejudices in
the minds of many there, that our Reformation, which generally was more
modestly spoken of, even by those who wrote against it, is now looked on by such
as read Sanders, and believe him, as one of the foulest things that ever was.

Fox, for all his Voluminous Work, had but few things in his Eye when he
made his Collection, and designed only to discover the Corruptions and Cru-
elies of the Roman Clergy, and the Sufferings and Constancy of the Refor-
mers. But his Work was written in haste, and there are so many defects in it,
that it can by no means be called a Compleat History of those times; though I
must add, that having compared his Acts and Monuments with the Records,
I have never been able to discover any errors or prevarications in them, but
the utmost fidelity and exactness. Parker Arch-bishop of Canterbury, de-
signed only in his account of the British Antiquities, to do justice and honour
to his See, and so gives us barely the Life of Cranmer, with some few and
general hints of what he did. Hall was but a superficial Writer, and was
more careful to get full Informations of the Clothes that were worn at the
Interviews of Princes, jousts, tournaments, and great solemnities, than a-
bout the Counsel, or secret Transactions of the time he lived in. Holing-
shed, Speed, and Stow, gave bare Relations of things that were Pub-
lick, and commit many faults. Upon their scant most of our later Writers
have gone, and have only collected and repeated what they wrote.

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

Since he wrote, two have undertaken the Ecclesiastical History, Fuller
and Heylin. The former got into his hands some few Papers, that were not
seen before he published them; but being a man of fancy, and affecting an
odd way of writing, his work gives no great Satisfaction. But Doctor Hey-
lin wrote smoothly and handsomely, his Method and Stile are good, and his
Work was generally more read than any thing that had appeared before him; but
either he was very ill informed, or very much led by his Passions; and be
being wrought on by most violent prejudices against some that were con-
cerned in that time, delivers many things in such a manner and so strange-
ly, that one would think he had been secretly set on to it by those of the
Church of Rome, though I doubt not he was a sincere Protestant; but vio-
lently carried away by some particular conceits. In one thing he is not to be
excused, That he never touched any Authority for what he wrote, which is
not
not to be forgiven any who write of Translations beyond their own time, and deliver new things not known before. So that upon what grounds he wrote a great deal of his Book, we can only conjecture, and many in their guesses are not apt to be very favourable to him.

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

I had two Objections to it, besides the knowledge of my own unfitness for such a Work. One was my Unacquaintedness with the Laws and Customs of this Nation, not being born in it; the other was the Expense, that such a Search as was necessary, required, which was not possible for me to bear. My acquaintance with the most ingenuous Master William Petty, Councillor of the Inner-Temple cleared one difficulty, be offering me his assistance and direction, without which I must have committed great faults. But I must acknowledge my self highly obliged by the favour and bounty of the Honourable Master of the Rolls, Sir Harcibottle Grimstone, of whose Worth and Goodness to me I must make a large digression, if I would undertake to say all that the Subject will bear: The whole Nation expressed their value of him, upon the most Signal Occasion, when they made him their Mouth and Speaker in that Blessec Assembly which called home their King, after which real evidence all little Condemnations may be well forborn. The Obligations he has laid on me are such, that as the Gratitude and Service of my whole life, is the only equal return I can make for them; so as a small tribute I judge my self obliged to make my acknowledgements in this manner, for the leisure I enjoy under his Protection, and the Support I receive from him; and if this work does the World any service, the best part of the Thanks is due to him, that furnished me with particular Opportunities of Carrying it on. Nor must I conceal the Nobleness of that Renowned Promoter of Learning Mr. Boyle, who contributed liberally to the expense this Work put me to.

Upon these encouragements I set about it, and began with the Search of all Publick Records and Offices, the Parliament and Treaty-Rolls, with all the Paten-
Patent-Rolls, and the Registers of the Sees of Canterbury and London, and of the Augmentation-Office. Then I laid out for all the MSS. I could hear of, and found things beyond my expectation in the famous Cotton Library, where there is such a collection of original papers relating to those times, as perhaps the world can show nothing like it. I had also the favour of some MSS. of great value, both from the famous and constantly learned Doctor Stillingslea, who gave me great assistance in this Work, and from Mr. Petty and others. When I had look'd these over, I then used all the endeavours I could, to gather together the books that were printed in those days, from which I not only get considerable hints of matters of fact, but (that which I chiefly looked for) the arguments upon which they managed the controversies then on foot, of which I thought it was the part of an ecclesiastical historian to give an account, as I could recover them, that it may appear upon what motives and grounds they proceeded.

The three chief periods of Henry the Eighth his reign, in which religion is concerned, are, first, From the beginning of his reign till the process of his divorce with Queen Katharine commenced. The second is from that, till his total breaking off from Rome, and setting up his supremacy over all causes and persons. The third is from that, to his death. When I first set about this work, I intended to have carried on the history of the reformation to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in which it was finished and fully settled; but I was forced to change that resolution. The chief reason, among many others, was, that I have not yet been able to discover such full informations of what passed under the succeeding reigns, as were necessary for a history; and though I have search'd the public registers of that time, yet I am still in the dark in many particulars. This made me resolve on publishing this volume first, hoping that those in whose hands any manuscripts or papers of that time lie, will from what is now performed, be encouraged to communicate them: or if any have made a considerable progress in those collections, I shall be far from envying them the honour of such a work, in which it had been inexcusable vanity in me to have meddled, if the desires of others, who have great power over me, had not prevailed with me to set about it. And therefore, though I have made a good advance in the following part of the work, I shall most willingly resign it up to any who will undertake it, and they shall have the free use of all my papers. But if none will set about it, who yet can furnish materials towards it, I hope their zeal for carrying on so desired a work, will engage them to give all the help to it that is in their power.

There is only one passage belonging to the next volume, which I shall take notice of here, since from it I must plead my excuse for several defects, which may seem to be in this work. In the search I made of the rolls and other offices, I found much to mis several commissions, patents, and other writings, which by clear evidence I knew were granted, and yet none of them appeared on record. This I could not impute to any thing but the omission of the clerks, who failed in the enrolling those commissions, though it was not likely that matters of so high concernment should have been neglected, especially in such a critical time, and under so severe a king. But as I continued down my search to the fourth year of Queen Mary, I found in the twelfth roll of that year, a commission, which cleared all my former doubts, and by which I saw what was become of the things I had so anxiously searched after. We have heard of the expurgation of books pratic
fled in the Church of Rome, but it might have been imagined, that publick Registers and Records would have been safe; yet left those should have been afterwards Confessors, it was resolved they should then be Martyrs; for on the 29th of December, in the 4th year of her Reign, a Commission was issued out under the Great Seal to Bonner Bishop of London, and Dean of St. Pauls, and Martine a Doctor of the Civil Law, which is of that importance, that I shall here insert the material words of it: Whereas it is come to our knowledge, that in the time of the late Schisme divers Compts, Books, Scrolls, Instruments, and other Writings were practized, devized, and made, concerning Professions against the Popes Holiness, and the See Apostolick: and also sundry infamous Scrutinies taken in Abbeys and other Religious Houses, tending rather to subvert and overthrow all good Religion and Religious Houses, than for any truth contained therein: Which being in the Custody of divers Registers, and we intending to have those Writings brought to knowledge, whereby they may be considered and ordered according to our Will and Pleasure, therefore those three or any two of them are empowered to cite any persons before them, and examine them upon the Premisses upon Oath, and to bring all such Writings before them, and certify their diligence about it to Cardinal Pool, that further order might be given about them.

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

I know it is needless to make great Pro clamations of my sincerity in this Work. These are of course, and are little considered, but I shall take a more effectual way to be believed, for I shall vouch my Warrants for what I say, and tell where they are to be found. And having copied out of Records and MSS. many Papers of great importance, I shall not only insert the substance of them in the following Work, but at the end of it shall give a Collection of them at their full length, and in the Language in which they were originally written: from which as the Reader will receive full Evidence of the truth of this History, so he will not be ill pleased, to observe the Genius and way of the Great Men in that time, of which he will be better able to judge, by seeing their Letters and other Papers, than by any representation made of them at second hand. They are digested into that order, in which they are referred to in the History.

It will surprise some to see a Book of this Bigness, written of the History of our Reformation, under the Reign of King Henry the Eighth: since the true beginnings of it, are to be reckoned from the Reign of King Edward the 6th. In the articles of our Church, and the Forms of our Worship, were first compiled and set forth by Authority. And indeed in King Henry's time the Reformation was rather conceived than brought forth, and two Parties were in the last 18 years of his Reign struggling in the Womb, having now and then advantages on either side, as the unconstant humour of that King changed, and as his Interests, and often as his Passions swayed him. Cardinal Wolsey had so dissolved his mind into pleasures, and puffed him up with Flattery and servile Compliances, that it was not an easy thing to serve him; for being boisterous and impatient naturally, which was much heightened

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heighened by his most extraordinary vanity, and high conceit of his own Learning and Wisdom, he was one of the most uncommodifiable Persons in the World.

The Book which he wrote, had engaged him deep in these Controversies, and by perpetual slanders, he was brought to fancy it was written with some degree of Inspiration. And Luther in his Answer had treated him so unmercifully, that it was only the exigency of his Affairs, that forced him into any correspondence with that Party in Germany.

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

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

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

This Character befits King Henry better (seeing the Reverence due to his Crown) who as the Position of Reformation, made way for it through a great deal of mine and filth. He abolished the Popes Power, by which not only that Tyranny was destroyed, which had been long an heavy burthen on this oppressed Nation; but all the Opinions, Rites, and Constitutions, for which there was no better Authority than Papal Decrees, were to fall to the ground; The Foundation that supported them being thus sapped. He suppressed all the Monasteries, in which though there were some inexcusable faults committed, yet he wanted not reason to do what he did. For the Foundation of those Holes being laid on the Superstitions Consecit of Redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, by saying Majors for them; they whose Office was, by counterfeiting Relicks, by forging of Miracles, and other like Impostures, drawn together a vast Wealth, to the enriching of their Saints, of whom some perhaps were damned Souls; and others were never in being. These Arts being detected, and withal their great Viciousness in some places, and in all, their great abuse of the Christian Religion, made it seem unfit they should be continued. But it was their dependence on the See of Rome, which, as the State of things then was, made it necessary that they should be suppressed. New Foundations might have been well, and the scannness of those, considering the number and wealth of those which were suppressed, is one of the great blemishes of that Reign. But it was in vain to endeavour to amend the old ones. Their Numbers were so great, their Riches and Interests in the Nation so considerable, that a Prince of Ordinary metal would not have attempted such a design, much less have completed it in Five years time. With these fell the Superstition of Images, Reliques, and the Redemption of Souls out of Purgatory,
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Purgatory. And these Extravagant Addresses to Saints that are in the Roman Offices were thrown out, only an Ora pro nobis was kept up, and even that was left to the liberty of Priests, to leave it out of the Litanies as they pleased. These were great preparations for a Reformation. But it went further; and two things were done, upon which a greater Change was reasonably to be expected. The Scriptures were Translated into the English Tongue, and set up in all Churches, and every one was admitted to read them, and they alone were declared the Rule of Faith. This could not but open the Eyes of the Nation, who finding a profound Silence in these Writings about many things, and a direct opposition to other things that were still retained, must needs conclude, even without deep Speculations or nice Disputing, that many things that were still in the Church had no ground in Scripture, and some of the rest were directly contrary to it. This Cranmer knew well would have such an operation, and therefore made it his chief business to set it forward, which in Conclusion be happily effected.

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

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

There are two Prejudices, which men have generally drunk in against that time. The one is, from the Kings great Excesses, both in his personal Deportment and Government, which made many think, no good could be done by so ill a man, and so cruel a Prince. I am not to defend him, nor to lessen his faults. The vassalage and irregularity of his Expenditure procured many heavy Exactions, and twice extorted a publick Discharge of his debts, embodied the Coin, with other Irregularities. His proud and impatient Spirit occasioned many cruel proceedings. The taking so many lives, only for denying his Supremacy, particularly Father’s and Morce’s, the one being extrem old, and
and the other one of the Glories of his Nation, for Probity and Learning: The taking advantage from some Eruptions in the North, to break the Indemnity he had before proclaimed to those in the Rebellion, even though they could not be proved Guilty of those second disorders: His extreme Severity to all Cardinal Poole’s Family: his cruel using, first Cromwel, and afterwards the Duke of Norfolk and his Son, besides his unexampled Proceedings against some of his Weavers, and that which was worst of all, the laying a Precedent for the subversion of Justice, and oppressing the clearest Innocence, by attainting men without hearing them: These are such remarkable Blemishes, that as no man of ingenuity can go about the whitening them; so the poor Reformers drank so deep of that bitter Cup, that it very ill becomes any of their followers, to endeavour to give fair Colours to those red and bloody Characters, with which so much of his Reign is stained.

Yet after all this sad enumeration, it was no new nor unusual thing in the methods of Gods Providence, to employ Princes who had great mixtures of very gross Faults, to do signal things for his Service. Not to mention David and Solomon, whose sins were explained with a severe Repentance; it was the bloody Cyrus that sent back the Jews to their Land, and gave them leave to re-build their Temple. Constatine the Great is by some of his Enemies charged with many Blemishes both in his Life, and Government. Clovis of France, under whom that Nation received the Christian Faith, was a monster of Cruelty and Perfidiousness, as even Gregory of Tours represents him, who lived near his time, and nevertheless makes a Saint of him. Charles the Great, whom some also make a Saint, both put away his Wife for a very slight cause, and is said to have lived in most unnatural Mists with his own Daughter, Irene, whom the Church of Rome magnifies, as the Restorer of their Religion in the East, did both contrary to the Impressions of Nature, and of her Sex, put out her own Sons Eyes, of which he died soon after, with many other execrable Things. And whatever Reproaches those of the Church of Rome cast on the Reformation, upon the account of this King’s faults, may be easily turned back on their Popes, who have never failed to court and extol Princes that served their ends, how gross and scandalous ever their other faults have been. As Phocas, Brunichild, Irene, Mathilda, Edgar of England, and many more. But our Church is not near so much concerned in the persons of those Princes, under whom the Reformation began, as theirs is in the persons of their Popes, who are believed to have for higher Characters of a Divine Power and Spirit in them, than other Princes pretend to. And yet if the Lives of these Popes, who have made the greatest advances in their Jurisdiction be examined, particularly Gregory the Seventh, and Boniface the Eighth, vices more eminent, than any can be charged on King Henry, will be found in them. And if a lewd and wicked Pope may yet have the Holy Ghost dwelling in him, and directing him infallibly, why may not an ill King do so good a Work as set a Reformation forward? And if it were proper to enter into a dissertation of Four of those Popes, that were at Rome during this Reign, Pope Julius will be found beyond him in a vast Ambition, whose bloody Reign did not only embroil Italy, but a great part of Christendom. Pope Leo the Tenth was as extravagant and prodigal in his expence, which put him on baser Shifts, than ever this King did, to raise Money, not by embasing the Coin, or raising new and heavy Taxes, but by embasing the Christian Religion, and professing the pardon of Sin in that foul trade of Indulgences. Clement the Seventh
Seventh was false to the highest degree; a vice which cannot be charged on this King. And Paul the third was a vile and proud Priest, who not only kept his Whore, but gloried in it, and raised one of his Bastards to an high Dignity, making him Prince of Parma and Piacenza, and himself is said to have lived in Incest with others of them. And except the short Reign of Hadrian the Sixth, there was no Pope at Rome all this while, whose example might make any other Prince blush for his faults; so that Guicciardino, when he calls Pope Clement a good Pope, adds, I mean not Goodness Apothetical, for in those days he was esteemed a good Pope, that did not exceed the wickedness of the worst of Men.

In sum, God’s ways are a great Deep, who has often fenced his Power and Wisdom, in raising up unlikely and unpromising Instruments, to do great services in the World; not always employing the best Men in them, his good Instruments should share too deep in the Praises of that, which is only due to the Supreme Creator and Governor of the World. And therefore he will stain the pride of all Glory, that such as Glory may only Glory in the Lord. Jehu did an acceptable Service to God, in destroying the Idolatry of Baal, though neither the way of doing it be to be imitated, being grossly infirme, nor was the Reformation complex, since the Worshipping the two Calves was still kept up; and it is very like, his chief design in it, was to destroy all the Party that favoured Ahab’s Family; yet the thing was good, and was rewarded by God; So whatever this King’s other faults were, and how defective forever the Change he made was, and upon what ill motives he seem to have proceeded; yet the things themselves being good, we ought not to think the worse of them because of the Instrument, or manner by which they were wrought, but to adore and admire the paths of the Divine Wisdom, that brought about such a Change, in a Church, which being subjected to the See of Rome, had been more than any other part of Europe most tame under its Oppressions, and most deeply drenched in Superstition: And this by the means of a Prince, who was the most devoted to the Interest of Rome of any in Christendom, and seemed to be so upon knowledge, being very learned, and continued to the last much lavished with Superstition, and was the only King in the World whom that See declared, Defender of the Faith. And that this should have been carried on so far, with so little Opposition, some risings though numerous and formidable being scattered and quelled without Blood; and that a mighty Prince, who was Victorious almost in all his undertakings, Charles the 5th, and was both provoked in point of Honour and Interest, yet could never find one spare season to turn his Arms upon England, are great Demonstrations of a particular Influence of Heaven in these Alterations, and of its watchful care of them. But the other prejudice touches the Reformation in a more vital and tender part; and it is, That Cranmer and the other Bishops, who promoted the Reformation in the Succeeding Reign, did in this compass too severely with King Henry’s honors, both in carrying on his frequent Discoveries, and in retaining those Corruptions in the Worship, which by their throwing them off in the beginning of King Edward’s Reign, we may conclude were then condemned by them; so that they seem to have procrastinated against their Consciences in that Compliance.

It were too faint a way of Answering so severe a Charge, to turn it back on the Church of Rome; and to shew the base Compliances of some, even of the best of their Popes, as Gregory the Great, whose Congratulations to the
the Ñürper Phocas, are a strain of the meanest, and uneccentest slattery, that ever was put in writing. And his Compliments to Brunichild, who was one of the greatest Monsters both for Lust and Cruelty that ever her Sex produced, show that there was no person so wicked that he was ashamed to flattery: but the blamishing them will not (I confess) excuse our Reformers, therefore other things are to be considered for their Vindications. They did not at once attain the full knowledge of Divine Truth, so that in some particulars, as in that of the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament, both Cranmer and Ridley were themselves then in the dark. Bertram's Book first convinced Ridley, and he was the chief Instrument in opening Cranmer's eyes; so if themselves were not then enlightened, they could not instruct others. As for other things, such as the giving the Cup to the Laity, the Worshipping God in a known Tongue, and several Reformation about the Mass, though they judged them necessary to be done as soon as was possible, yet they had not so full a persuation of the necessity of these, as to think it a sin not to do them. The Prophets words to Naaman the Syrian, might give them some colour for that mistake, and the practice of the Apostles, who continued not only to worship at the Temple, but to Circumcise and to offer Sacrifices (which must have been done by St. Paul, when he purified himself in the Temple) even after the Law was dead, by the appearing of the Gospel, seemed to excuse their Compliance. They had also observed, that as the Apostles were all things to all men, so that they might gain some, so the Primitive Christians had brought in many rites of Heathens into their Worship: Upon which inducements they were wrought on to comply in some unsafe things, in which if these excuses do not wholly clear them, yet they very much lessen their Guilt.

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

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

THE
Natus 1491
Jun 28
Patris Successit in Regno 1509 Apr 22
Obit 1547
Jan 28
Anno 57
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A Summary View of King Henry the Eighth's Reign, till the Process of his Divorce was begun, in which the State of England, chiefly as it related to Religion, is opened.

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

There was another thing, which made his first coming to the Crown no less acceptable, which was, that the same day that he
Father died, * he ordered Dudley and Emfon to be committed to the
Tower: His Father, whether out of Policy, or Inclination, or both, was
all his life much set on the gathering of Treasure, so that those Minifters
were most acceptable, who could fill his Coffers best: and though this
occasioned some Tumults, and difpofed the People to all those Commom-
tions, which fell out in his Reign; yet he being successful in them all, con-
tinued in his course of heaping up Money.

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

When they had thus fallen, many and great Complaints came in from
all parts againft them: they also apprehending the danger they were like
to be in upon their Masters Death, had been practifing with their Part-
ers to gather about them all the Power they could bring together, wheth-
er to secure themselves from popular Rage, or to make themselves
feem considerable, or formidable to the new King. This and other
Crimes being brought in againft them, they were found guilty of Treaf-
fon in a legal Trial. But the King judged this was neither a sufficient
Reparation to his Opprffed People, nor Satisfaction to Justice: There-
fore he went further, and both ordered Reprefentation to be made by his
Fathers Executors of great Sums of Money, which had been unjuftly ex-
tracted from his Subjects; and in his first Parliament which he Sum-
momed to the Twenty firft of January following, he not only delivered
up Emfon and Dudley with their Complices to the Justice of the Two
Houfc, who attainted them by Act of Parliament, and a little after
gave order for their Execution: but did also give his Royal Attent to those
other Laws by which the Subject was secured from the like Oppreffions
for the future: and that he might not at all be suspected of any fuch In-
cinations as his Father had to amass Treasure, he was the most mag-
nificent in his Expend of any Prince in Chriftendome, and very boun-
tiful to all about him; and as one extreme commonly produces an-
other, fo his Fathers Covetoufnes led him to be Prodigal, and the vaft
Wealth which was left him, being reckoned no lefs than £20,000 l. was
in Three years difipated, as if the Son in his expence had vied Industry
with his Father in all his Thrift.

Thomas Earl of Surrey, (afterwards Duke of Norfolk) to fhew how
compliant he was to the Humors of the Princes whom he served, as
he had been Lord-Treafurer to the Father the laft Seven years of his Life;
fo being continued in the fame Office by this King, did as dextroufly
comply with his Prodigality, as he had done formerly with his Fathers
paringnesf.

But
Book I. of the Church of England.

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

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

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

But now Charles, Arch-Duke of Austria by his Father, and Heir to the Houfe of Burgundy by his Grand-mother, and to the Crown of Spain by his Mother, began to make a great Figure in the World; and his Grand-father Maximilian dying, Francis and He were Corrivals for the Empire; but Charles being preferred in the Competition, there followed, what through personal Animosities, what through reason of State, and a desire of Conquest, lasting Wars between them; which though they were sometimes for a while closed up, yet were never clearly
clearly ended. And these two great Monarchs as they eclipsed most other Princes about them, so they raised this Kings glory higher, both courting him by turns, and that not only by earnest and warm Address, but oft by unusual Submissions; in which they, knowing how great an Ingredient Vanity was in his temper, were never deficient when their Affairs required it. All which tended to make him appear greater in the eyes of his own People. In the Year 1520, there was an Interview agreed on between the French King and Him; but the Emperor, to prevent the effects he feared from it, resolved to out-do the French King in the Complement, and without any Treaty or previous Assurances came to Dover, and solicited the Kings friendship against Francis: and to advance his design gained Cardinal Wolsey, who then Governed all the Kings Counsels, by the promise of making him Pope; in which he judged he might, for a present Advantage, promise a thing that seemed to be at so great a distance, (Pope Leo the Tenth being then but a young Man) and with rich Presents, which he made both to the King, the Cardinal, and all the Court, wrought much on them. But that which prevailed most with the King was, that he saw, though Charles had great Dominions, yet they lay at such a distance, that France alone was sufficient Counterpoise to him; but if Francis could keep Milan, recover Naples, Burgundy, and Navarre, to all which he was then preparing, he would be an unsafe Neighbour to himself; and if he kept the footing he then had in Italy, he would lie so heavy on the Papacy, that the Popes could no longer carry equally in the Affairs of Christendome, upon which much depended, according to the Religion of that time. Therefore he resolved to take part with the Emperor, till at least Francis was driven out of Italy, and reduced to juster terms: so that the following Interview between Francis and him, produced nothing but a vast Expence and high Complements: and from a second Interview between the King and the Emperor, Francis was full of jealousie, in which what followed justified his apprehensions; for the War going on between the Emperor and Francis, the King entered in a League with the former, and made War upon France.

But the Pope dying sooner than it seems the Emperor look'd for, Cardinal Wolsey claimed his promise for the Papacy; but before the Meffenger came to him, Adrian the Emperors Tutor was chosen Pope: yet to feed the Cardinal with fresh hopes, a new promise was made for the next vacancy, and in the mean while he was put in hope of the Arch-Bishoprick of Toledo. But two years after, That Pope dying, the Emperor again broke his word with him; yet though he was thereby totally alienated from him, he concealed his indignation, till the publick Concerns should give him a good opportunity to prosecute it upon a better colour; and by his Letters to Rome, dissembled his refentments so artificially, that in a Congratulation he wrote to Pope Clement, He protested his Election was matter of such joy both to the King and himself, that nothing had ever befalln them which pleased them better, and that he was the very person, whom they had wished to see raised to that Greatnes. But while the War went on, the Emperor did cajole the King with the highest Complements possible, which always wrought much on him; and came in person into England to be installed Knight of the Garter: where a new League was conclu-
Book I. of the Church of England.

ded, by which, besides mutual assistance, a Match was agreed on between the Emperor and the Lady Mary, the Kings only Child by his Queen, of whom he had no hopes of more Issue. This was sworn to on both hands, and the Emperor was obliged, when She was of Age, to marry Her, *Per verba de praefenti*, under pain of Excommunication and the forfeiture of 10000 Pounds.

The War went on with great success on the Emperors part, especially after the Battel of Pavia, in which Francis his Army was totally defeated, and himself taken Prisoner and carried into Spain. After which the Emperor being much offended with the Pope for joyning with Francis, turned his Arms against him, which were so successful, that he besieged and took Rome, and kept the Pope Prisoner Six Months.

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

Then followed the famous Clementine League between the Pope and Francis, the Venetians, the Florentines, and Francis Sforza Duke of Milan, by which the Pope abdolved the French King from the Oath he had sworn at Madrid, and they all united against the Emperor, and declared the King of England Protector of the League. This gave the Emperor great diffidence, who complained of the Pope as an ungrateful and perfidious Person. The first beginning of the storm fell heavy on the Pope; for the French King, who had a great mind to have his Children again into his own hands, that lay Hostages in Spain, went on but slowly in performing his part. And the King of England would not openly break with the Emperor, but seemed to reserve himself to be Arbiter between the Princes. So that the Columnis being of the Imperial Faction, with 3000 Men entered Rome, and sick'd a part of it, forcing the Pope to fly into the Castle of St. Angelo, and

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The Emperor contracted to the Kings Daughter. *Juli 19.*
to make Peace with the Emperor. But as soon as that fear was over, the Pope returning to his old Arts, complained of the Cardinal of Colonna, and resolved to deprive him of that Dignity, and with an Army entered the Kingdom of Naples, taking divers places that belonged to that Family. But the Confederates coming hourly to his Affiance, and he hearing of great Forces that were coming from Spain against him, submitted himself to the Emperor, and made a Cession of Arms; but being again encouraged with some hopes from his Allies, and (by a Creation of 14 Cardinals for Money) having raised 300,000 Ducats, he disowned the Treaty, and gave the Kingdom of Naples to Count Vendemont, whom he sent with Forces to subdue it. But the Duke of Bourbon prevented him, and went to Rome, and giving the Allault, in which himself received his mortal wound, the City was taken by Storm, and plundered for several days, about 5000 being killed. The Pope with 17 Cardinals fled to the Castle St. Angelo, but was forced to render his person, and to pay 400,000 Ducats to the Army.

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

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

Having thus shewed the State of this King's Government as to Foreign Matters, I shall next give an account of the Administration of Affairs at home, both as to Civil and Spiritual Matters. The King upon his first coming to the Crown did choose a wise Council, partly out of those whom his Father had trusted, partly out of those that were recommended to him by his Grand-mother, the Countess of Richmond and Derby, in whom was the Right of the House of Lancaster, though she willingly devolved her pretensions on her Son, claiming nothing to her self, but the Satisfaction of being Mother to a King. She was a Wise and Religious Woman, and died soon after her Grand-son came to the Crown. There was a Faction in the Council between Fox Bishop of Winchester, and the Lord Treasurer, which could never be well made up, though they were oft reconciled: Fox always complaining of the Lord Treasurer, for squandering away so soon that vast Mass of Treasures, left by the Kings Father in which the other justified himself; that what he did, was by the Kings Warrants which he could not disoblige: but Fox objected that he was too easy to answer, if not to procure these Warrants, and that he ought to have given the King better advice. In the Kings first Parliament things went as he desired upon his delivering up Empson and Dudley, in which his preventing the severity of the Houses, and proceeding against them at the Common Law, as it secured his Ministers from an unwelcome President, so the whole honour of it fell on the Kings Justice.

His next Parliament was in the third year of his Reign, and there was considered the Brief from Pope Julius the Second to the King, complaining of the Indignities and Injuries done to the Apostolicke See and the Pope by the French King, and entreatyng the Kings assistance with such cajoling words as are always to be excepted from Popes on the like occasions. It was first read by the Master of the Rolls in the House of Lords, and then the Lord Chancellor (Warham Arch-bishop of Canterbury) and the Lord Treasurer, with other Lords, went down to the House of Commons and read it there. Upon this and other Reasons they gave the King Subsidies towards the War with France. At this time Fox, to strengthen his Party against the Lord Treasurer, finding Thomas Wolsey to be a likely man to get into the Kings favour, used all his endeavours to raise him, who was at that time neither unknown nor incomconsiderable, being Lord Almoner; he was at first made a Privy Counsellor, and frequently admitted to the Kings Presence, and waited on him over to France. The King liked him well, which he so managed, that he quickly engrossed the Kings favour to himself, and for 15 years together was the most absolute Favourite that had ever been seen in England; all Foreign Treaties and Places of Trust at home were at his Ordering; he did what he pleased, and his Ancestor over the King wassuch, that there never appeared any Party against him all this while. The great Artifice by which he intestine himself so much on the King, is set down very plainly by one that knew him well, in
these words. *In him the King conceived such a loving fancy, especially for that he was most earnest and ready to all the Council to advance the Kings only Will and Pleasure, having no respect to the case,* and whereas the Ancient Counsellors would according to the Office of good Counsellors, divers times persuade the King to have some time a recorfe unto the Coun-
cel, there to bear what was done in weighty Matters, the King was nothing at all pleased therewith; but he loved nothing worse than to be constrained to do anything contrary to his pleasure, and that knew the Almoner very well, having secret Informations of the Kings Intentions, and so fast as the oth-
ers Counsell'd the King to leave his pleasures, and to attend his Affairs,
so busily did the Almoner persuade him to the contrary, which delighted him
much, and caused him to have the greater affection and love to the Almoner.
Having got into such Power, he observed the Kings Inclinations ex-
actly, and followed his Interests closely: for though he made other Prin-
ces retain him with great Prefums and Penfions, yet he never engaged
the King into any Alliance, but what was for his Advantage. *For Af-
fairs at home, after he was established in his Greatnes, he affected to
Govern without Parliaments, there being from the Seventh year of his
Reign, after which he got the Great Seal, but one Parliament in the
14th and 15th year, and no more till the One and Twentieth, when
matters were turning about: But he raised great Sums of Money by
Loans and Benevolences. And indeed if we look on him as a Minifter
of State, he was a very extraordinary Person; but as he was a Church-
man, he was the disgrace of his Profession. He not only served the
King in all his secret pleasures, but was lewd and vicious himself; so
that his having the French Pex (which in those days was a matter of
no small infamy) was so publick, that it was brought against him in Par-
liament when he fell in disgrace: he was a man of most extravagant va-
nity, as appears by the great State he lived in; and to feed that, his Am-
bition and Covetousnes were proportionable.

He was first made Bishop of Tourney, when that Town was taken from
the French; then he was made Bishop of *Lincoln,* which was the first
Bishoprick that fell void in this Kingdom; after that, upon Cardinal
Beaumont's death, he parted with *Lincoln* and was made Arch-bishop
of *York,* then *Hadrian,* that was a Cardinal and Bishop of Bath and
Wells, being deprived, that *See was given to him;* then the Abbey of
St. Albans was given to him in *Canterbury;* he next parted with Bath
and Wells, and got the Bishoprick of *Durham,* which he afterwards
exchanged for the Bishoprick of *Winchelsey.* But besides all that he
had in his own hands, the King granted him a full Power of disposing
of all the Ecclesiastical Benefices in England (which brought him in as
much Money as all the Places he held) for having so vast a Power
committed to him both from the King and the Pope as to Church-
preferments, it may be easily gathered what advantages a man of his
temper would draw from it. *Warham* was Lord Chancellor the first
seven years of the Kings Reigne, but retired to give place to this aspi-
ring Favourite, who had a mind to the Great Seal, that there might be
no interfering between the Legantine and Chancery Courts. And per-
haps it wrought somewhat on his vanity, that even after he was Car-
dinal, *Warham* as Lord Chancellor took place of him, as appears from
the Entries made in the Journals of the House of Peers in the Parliament
held.
held the 7th year of the Kings Reign, and afterwards gave him place, as appears on many occasions, particularly, in the Letter written to the Pope 1538, set down by the Lord Herbert, which the Cardinal subscribed before Warham. We have nothing on Record to shew what a Speaker he was, for all the Journals of Parliament from the 7th to the 25th year of this King are lost, but it is like he spoke as his Predecessor in that Office Warham did, whose Speeches as they are entred in the Journals, are Sermons begun with a Text of Scripture; which he expounded and applied to the business they were to go upon, stuffing them with the most fullsome flattery of the King that was possible.

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

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

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

As for his Parliament, he took great care to keep a good understanding
standing with them, and chiefly with the House of Commons, by which means he seldom failed to carry Matters as he pleased among them: only in the Parliament held in the 14th and 15th of his Reign, the Demand of the Subsidy towards the War with France, being so high as 800,000l. the fifth of Mens Goods and Lands to be paid in Four years, and the Cardinal being much hated, there was great Opposition made to it: for which the Cardinal blamed Sir Thomas More much, who was then Speaker of the House of Commons; and finding that which was offered, was not above the half of what was asked, went himself to the House of Commons, and desired to hear the Reasons of those who opposed his Demands, that he might answer them: but he was told the Order of their House was to reason only among themselves, and so went away much dissatisfaction. It was with great difficulty that they obtained a Subsidy of 3 s. in the lb. to be paid in four years. This disappointment it seems did offend the Cardinal, that as no Parliament had been called for Seven years before, so there was none summoned for Seven years after. And thus stood the Civil Government of England in the 19th year of the King's Reign, when the Matter of the Divorce was first moved. But I shall next open the State of Affairs in Reference to Religious and Spiritual Concerns.

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

Being thus inclined to Learning, he was much courted by all hungry Scholars, who generally over Europe dedicated their Books to him, with such flattering Epistles, that it very muchVolumes him, to see how he delighted in such stuff. For if he had not taken pleasure in it, and rewarded them, it is not likely that others should have been every year writing after such ill Copies. Of all things in the World Flattery wrought most on him; and no sort of Flattery pleased him better than to have his great Learning and Wisdom commended. And in this, his Parliament, his Courtiers, his Chaplains, Forreigners and Natives, all seemed to vie who should exceed most, and came to speak to him in a Stile which was scarce fit to be used to any Creature. But he designed to entail these Praises on his Memory, cherishing Church-men more than any King in England had ever done; he also Courted the Pope with a constant submission, and upon all occasions made the Popes Interests his own, and made War and Peace as they directed him. So that had he died any time before the 19th year of his Reign, he could scarce have escaped being Canonized, notwithstanding all his faults; for he abounded in those virtues, which had given Sainthip to Kings for near 1000 years together, and had done more than they all did, by writing a Book for the *Roman Faith*.

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

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

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

King Henry the Seventh in his Fourth Parliament did a little leffen the Priviledges of the Clergy, enacting that Clerks convicted should be burnt in the hand. But this not proving a sufficient restraint, it was Enacted in Parliament in the Fourth year of this King, that all Murderers and Robbers should be denied the benefit of their Clergy. But though this seemed a very Just Law, yet to make it pass through the House of Lords, they added two Provifo's to it, the one for excepting all such as were within the Holy Orders of Bishop, Priest, or Deacon; the other that the Act should only be in force till the next Parliament. With these Provifo's it was unanimously attented to by the Lords on the 26. Jan. 1513; and being agreed to by the Commons, the Royal Assent made it a Law: Pursuant to which many Murderers and Felons were denied their Clergy, and the Law paffed on them to the great Satisfaction of the whole Nation. But this gave great offence to the Clergy, who had no mind to suffer their Immunities to be touched or leffened. And judging that if the Laity made bold with Inferior Orders, they would proceed further even against Sacred Orders; therefore as their Opposition was such that the Act not being continued did determine at the next Parliament (that was in the fifth year.
year of the King,) so they not satisfied with that, resolved to fix a cenfure on that Act as contrary to the Franchises of the Holy Church. And the Abbots of Winchelcomb being more forward than the rest, during the Session of Parliament in the 7th year of this King's Reign, in a Sermon at Pauls Crofs, said openly, That that Act was contrary to the Law of God, and to the Liberties of the Holy Church, and that all who affidavit to it, as well Spiritual as Temporal Person, had by so doing incur'd the Cenfures of the Church. And for Confirmation of his Opinion, he publish'd a Book to prove, that all Clerks, whether of the greater or lower Orders, were Sacred, and exempted from all Temporal Punishments by the Secular Judge, even in Criminal Causes. This made great noise, and all the Temporal Lords, with the concurrence of the House of Commons, desired the King to suppress the growing Infolence of the Clergy: So there was a hearing of the Matter before the King, with all the Judges and the Kings Temporal Council. Doctor Standish Guardian of the Mendicant Friers in London (afterwards Bishop of Saint Asaph) the chief of the Kings Spiritual Council, argued, That by the Law, Clerks had been still convened and judged in the Kings Court for Civil Crimes, and that there was nothing either in the Laws of God, or the Church, inconfident with it; and that the publick good of the Society, which was chiefly driven at by all Laws, and ought to be preferred to all other things, required that Crimes should be punish'd. But the Abbots of Winchelcomb being Counsel for the Clergy, excepted to this and said, There was a Decree made by the Church express to the contrary, to which all ought to pay Obedience under the pain of Mortal Sin; and that therefore the trying of Clerks in the Civil Courts was a Sin in itself. Standish upon this turned to the King and said, God forbid that all the Decrees of the Church should bind. It seems the Bishops think not so, for though there is a Decree that they should reside at their Cathedrals all the Festivals of the year, yet the greater part of them do it not; Adding, That no Decree could have any force in England, till it was received there; and that this Decree was never received in England, but that as well since the making of it, as before, Clerks had been try'd for Crimes in the Civil Courts. To this the Abbots made no answer, but brought a place of Scripture to prove this Exemption to have come from our Saviour's words, NoUite tanguere Christos meos, Touch not mine Anointed; and therefore Princes ordering Clerks to be arrest'd and brought before their Courts, was contrary to Scripture, against which no custom can take place. Standish reply'd, these words were never said by our Saviour, but were put by David in his Psalter 1000 years before Christ; and he said these words had no relation to the Civil Judicatures, but because the greatest part of the World was then wicked, and but a small number believed the Law, they were a Charge to the rest of the World, not to do them harm. But though the Abbots had been very violent, and confident of his being able to confound all that held the contrary opinion, yet he made no answer to this. The Laity that were present being confirmed in their former opinion by hearing the Matter thus argued, moved the Bishops to order the Abbots to renounce his former opinion, and recant his Sermon at Pauls Crofs. But they flatly refused to do it, and said they were bound by the Laws of the Holy Church to maintain the Abbots opinion in every
every point of it. Great heats followed upon this during the sitting of the Parliament, of which there is a very partial Entry made in the Journal of the Lords House; and no wonder, the Clerk of the Parliament Doctor Tylor Doctor of the Canon-Law being at the same time Speaker of the Lower House of Convocation. The Entry is in these words. In this Parliament and Convocation there were most dangerous Contentions between the Clergy and the Secular Power, about the Ecclesiastical Liberties, one Standish a Minor Friar being the Instrument and Promoter of all that mischief. But a passage fell out, that made this matter be more fully prosecuted in the Michaelmas-Term. One Richard Hume a Merchant-Taylor in London, was questioned by a Clerk in Middlesex for a Mortuary, pretended to be due for a Child of his that died five weeks old. The Clerk claiming the heiring sheet, and Hume refusing to give it; upon that he was fined, but his Counsel advised him to sue the Clerk in a Præmuirière, for bringing the Kings Subjects before a Forreign Court; the Spiritual Court sitting by Authority from the Legate. This touched the Clergy so in the quick, that they used all the Arts they could to feten Herefie on him; and understanding that he had Wickhills Bible, upon that he was attached of Herefie, and put in the Lollards Tower at Pauls, and examined upon some Articles objected to him by Fitz-James then Bishop of London. He denied them as they were charged against him, but acknowledged he had faid some words sounding that way, for which he was forry, and asked Gods mercy, and submitted himself to the Bishops Correction; upon which he ought to have been enjoyned Penance and set at Liberty, but he perfiling fell in his Sute in the Kings Courts, they used him most cruely. On the Fourth of December he was found hanged in the Chamber where he was kept * Prisoner. And Doctor Horsey Chancellor to the Bishop of London, with the other Officers who had the Charge of the Prifon, gave it out that he had hang'd himself. But the Coroner of London coming to hold an Inquest on the dead Body, they found him hanging fo loofe, and in a filk Girdle, that they clearly perceived he was killed; they also found his Neck had been broken, as they judged, with an Iron Chain, for the Skin was all fretted and cut; they saw some streams of Blood about his Body, besides several other evidences which made it clear he had not murdered himself; whereupon they did acquit the dead body, and laid the Murder on the Officers that had the charge of that Prifon; and by other proofs they found the Bishops Sumner and the Bell-ringer guilty of it, and by the deposition of the Sumner himfelf it did appear, that the Chancellor and he, and the Bell-ringer did Murder him, and then hang him up.

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

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

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

And his body burned.
and to protect Stanfield from the malice of his Enemies.

This put the King in great perplexity, for he had no mind to lose any part of his Temporal Jurisdiction, and on the other hand was no less apprehensive of the dangerous effects that might follow on a breach with the Clergy. So he called for Doctor Vessey, then Dean of his Chappel, and afterwards Bishop of Exeter, and charged him upon his Allegiance to declare the truth to him in that matter: which after some study he did, and said, upon his Faith, Conscience, and Allegiance, he did think that the convening of Clerks before the Secular Judge, which had been always practised in England, might well consist with the Law of God and the true Liberties of the holy Church. This gave the King great satisfaction, so he commanded all the Judges, and his Council both Spiritual and Temporal, and some of both Houses, to meet at Black-Friers, and to hear the matter argued. The Bill against Doctor Stanfield was read, which consisted of Six Articles that were objected to him. First, That he had said that the lower Orders were not sacred. Secondly, That the Exemption of Clerks was not founded on a Divine Right. Thirdly, That the Laity might coerce Clerks when the Prelates did not their duty. Fourthly, That no positive Ecclesiastical Law binds any but those who receive it. Fifthly, That the Study of the Canon-Law was needless. Sixthly, That of the whole Volume of the Decretum, so much as a man could hold in his fist, and no more, did oblige Christians. To these Doctor Stanfield answered, That for those things expressed in the Third, the Fifth, and the Sixth Articles he had never taught them; as for his afflicting them at any time in discourse, as he did not remember it, so he did not much care, whether he had done it or not. To the first he said, Leffer Orders in one sense are sacred, and in another they are not sacred. For the Second and Fourth, he confessed he had taught them, and was ready to justify them. It was objected by the Clergy, that as by the Law of God, no man could judge his Father, it being contrary to that Commandment, Honour thy Father: So Church-men being Spiritual Fathers, they could not be judged by the Laity who were their Children. To which he answered, That as that only concluded in favour of Priests, those in inferior Orders not being Fathers, so it was a mistake to say a Judge might not sit upon his Natural Father, for the Judge was by another Relation above his Natural Father: and though the Commandment is conceived in general words, yet there are some exceptions to be admitted; as though it be said, Thou shalt not kill, yet in some cases we may lawfully kill, so in the case of Justice a Judge may lawfully sit on his Father.

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

When the Matter was thus argued on both sides, all the Judges
delivered their Opinions, in these words. That all those of the Concve-
cation who did award the Citation against Standifh, were in the eye of a
Premonizione facta; and added somewhat about the Constitution of the
Parliament, which being foreign to my business, and contrary to a re-
ceived opinion, I need not mention, but refer the Reader to Keilmy for
his Information, if he desires to know more of it: and thus the Court
broke up. But soon after, all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, with
many of the Houfe of Commons, and all the Judges and the Kings
Council, were called before the King to Baywards Castle; and in all their
presence the Cardinal kneeled down before the King, and in the Name
of the Clergy said, That none of them intended to do anything that might
derogue from his Prerogative, and least of all himself, who owed his ad-
vancement only to the Kings favour. But this matter of Conveening of
Clerks, did seem to them all to be contrary to the Laws of God, and the Li-
beries of the Church, which they were bound by their Oaths to maintain
according to their Power. Therefore in their Name he humbly begged,
That the King to avoid the Confufions of the Church, would refer the Matter to
the decision of the Pope and his Council, at the Court of Rome. To which
the King anfwered, It seems to us that Doctor Standifh, and others of
our Spiritual Council, have anfwered you fully in all Points. The Bifhop
of Winchester replied, Sir, I warrant you Doctor Standifh will not abide
by his Opinion at his peril. But the Doctor faid, If but should one poor
Frier do alone, againft all the Bifhops and Clergy of England? After a
short fentence the Arch-bifhop of Canterbury faid, That in former times
divers holy Fathers of the Church had opposed the execution of that Law,
and some of them fuffered Martyrdom in the Quarrel. To whom Fines
Lord Chief Justice faid, That many holy Kings had maintained that Law,
and many holy Fathers had given Obedience to it, which it is not to be pre-
sumed they would have done, had they known it to be contrary to the Law of
God: and he defired to know by what Law Bifhops could judge Clerks
for Felony, it being a thing only determined by the Temporal Law; so
that either it was not at all to be tried, or it was only in the Temporal
Court; so that either Clerks must do as they pleafe, or be tried in the
Civil Courts. To this no Anfwer being made, the King faid these
words: By the permission and Ordinance of God we are King of England,
and the Kings of England in times past had never any Superior, but God
only. Therefore know you well that we will maintain the Right of our Crown,
and of our Temporal Jurifdiction as well in this, as in all other Points, in
as ample manner as any of our Progenitors have done before our time. And
as for your Decrees we are well affured that you of the Spirituallty go expressly
against the words of divers of them, as hath been fowned you by some of our
Councils, and you interpret your Decrees at your pleafure, but we will not a-
agree to them more than our Progenitors have done in former times. But
the Arch-Bifhop of Canterbury made most humble Instance, that the
Matter
Matter might be so long disputed, till they could get a Resolution from the Court of Rome, which they should procure at their own Charges; and if it did consist with the Law of God, they should conform themselves to the Law of the Land. To this the King made no answer: but the Warrants being out against Doctor Horsey the Bishop of London's Chancellor, he did abscond in the Arch-bishops House; though it was pretended he was a Prisoner there, till afterwards a temper was found, that Horsey should render himself a Prisoner in the Kings Bench and be tried. But the Bishop of London made earnest Applications to the Cardinal that he would move the King to command the Attorney-General to confefs the Indictment was not true, that it might not be referred to a Jury; since he said the Citizens of London did so favour Herefie, that if he were as Innocent as Abel, they would find any Clerk guilty. The King not willing to irritate the Clergy too much, and judging he had maintained his Prerogative by bringing Horsey to the Bar, ordered the Attorney to do fo. And accordingly when Horsey was brought to the Bar and Endited of Murder, he pleaded Not Guilty; which the Attorney acknowledging, he was dismissed, and went and lived at Exeter, and never again came back to London, either out of fear or shame. And for Doctor Stan- dish, upon the Kings Command, he was also dismissed out of the Court of Convocation.

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

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

This was the only thing in the first 18 years of the Kings Reign that seemed to lessen the Greatness of the Clergy, but in all other matters he was a most faithful Son of the See of Rome. Pope Julius soon after his coming to the Crown, sent him a Golden Rofe with a Letter
Letter to Arch-Bishop Warham to deliver it, and though such Presents might seem fitter for young Children, than for men of discretion; yet the King was much delighted with it: and to shew his Gratitude, there was a Treaty concluded the year following between the King and Ferdinand of Aragon, for the defence of the Papacy against the French King. And when in opposition to the Council, that the French King and some other Princes and Cardinals had called, first to Pisa (which was afterwards translated to Milan, and then to Lyons, that summoned the Pope to appear before them, and suspended his Authority.) Pope Julius called another Council to be held in the Lateran; the King sent the Bishops of Worcester and Rochester, the Prior of St. John's and the Abbot of Winchelcomb to sit in that Council, in which there was such a Representative of the Catholick Church as had been for several of the latter Ages in the Western Church: in which a few Bishops pack out of several Kingdoms, and many Italian Bishops with a vast number of Abbots, Priors, and other Inferior Dignified Clergy-men, were brought to Confirm together whatever the Popes had a mind to Enact; which passing easily among them, was sent over the world with a flam of Sacred Authority, as the Decrees and Decisions of the Holy Universal Church assembled in a General Council.

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

The Cardinal Governing all Temporal Affairs as he did, it is not to be doubted but his Authority was absolute in Ecclesiastical Matters, which seemed naturally to lie within his Province; yet Warham made some opposition to him, and complained to the King of his encroaching too much in his Legantine Courts, upon his Jurisdiction; and the things being clearly made out, the King chid the Cardinal sharply for it, who ever after that hated Warham in his heart, yet he proceeded more warily for the future.

But the Cardinal drew the hatred of the Clergy upon himself, chiefly by a Bull which he obtained from Rome, giving him Authority to visit all Monasteries, and all the Clergy of England, and to dispence with all the Laws of the Church for one whole year after the date of the Bull. The power that was lodged in him by this Bull was not more invidious, than the words in which it was conceived were offensive; for the Preamble of it was full of several Reflections against the Manners and Ignorance of the Clergy, who are said in it to have been delivered over to a Reprobate mind. This as it was a publick Defaming them, so how true forever it might be, all thought it did not become the Cardinal, whose Vices were notorious and scandalous, to tax others whose faults were neither so great, nor so eminent as his were.
He did also affect a Magnificence and Greatness, not only in his Habit (being the first Clergy-man in England that wore Silks) but in his Family, his Train, and other pieces of State equal to that of Kings. And even in performing Divine Offices, and saying Mass, he did it with the same Ceremonies that the Popes use; who judge themselves so nearly related to God, that those humble acts of Adoration, which are Devotions in other persons, would abase them too much. He had not only Bishops and Abbots to serve him, but even Dukes and Earls to give him the Water and the Towel. He had certainly a vast mind; and he for the corruptions of the Clergy gave so great Scandal, and their Ignorance was so profound, that unless some effectual ways were taken for correcting these, they must needs fall into great disesteem with the People: For though he took great liberties himself, and perhaps according to the Maxim of the Canonists, he judged Cardinals as Princes of the Church were not comprehended within ordinary Ecclesiastical Laws; yet he seemed to have designed the Reformation of the Inferiour Clergy by all the means he could think of, except the giving them a good Example: Therefore he intended to visit all the Monasteries of England, that so discovering their corruptions, he might the better justify the design he had to suppress most of them, and convert them into Bishopricks, Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches and Colledges: For which end he procured the Bull from Rome: but he was diverted from making any use of it; by some who advised him rather to suppress Monasteries by the Popes Authority, then proceed in a Method which would raise great hatred against himself, cast foul aspersions on Religious Orders, and give the Enemies of the Church great advantages against it. Yet he had communicated his design to the King; and his Secretary Cromwell understanding it, was thereby instructed how to proceed afterwards when they went about the total suppression of the Monasteries.

The Summoning of Convocations he assumed by vertue of his Legantine Power. Of these there were two sorts, the first was called by the King; for with the Writs for a Parliament there went out always a Summons to the Two Arch-Bishops for calling a Convocation of their Provinces, the Stile of which will be found in the Collection. It differs in nothing from what is now in use, but that the King did not prefix the day: requiring them only to be Summoned to meet with all convenient speed; and the Arch-Bishops, having the King’s pleasure signified to them, did in their Writs prefix the day. Other Convocations were called by the Arch-Bishops in their several Provinces upon great Emergencies to meet and treat of things relating to the Church, and were Provincial Councils. Of this I find but one, and that called by Warham in the first year of this King, for restoring the Ecclesiastical Immunities that had been very much impaired, as will appear by the Writ of Summons. But the Cardinal did now, as Legate, issue out Writs for Convocations. In the year 1522, I find by the Register there was a Writ issued from the King to Warham to call one, who upon that Summoned it to meet at St. Pauls the 20th of April. But the Cardinal prevailed so far with the King, that on the 2d of May after, he by his Legantine Authority dissolved that Convocation; and issued out a Writ to Tonstall Bishop of London to bring the Clergy of Canterbury to St. Peter’s in Westminster, there to meet and reform Abuses in the Church; and con-
consider of other important Matters that should be propos'd to them. What they did towards Reformation, I know not, the Records being lost: But as to the Kings Supply, it was propos'd, That they should give the King the half of the full value of their Livings for one year, to be paid in five years. The Cardinal laid out to them how much the King had merited from the Church, both by suppressing the Schiffs that was like to have been in the Papacy in Pope Julius his time, and by Protecing the See of Rome from the French Tyrannie; but most of all, for that excellent Book written by him in defence of the Faith against the Hereticks: and that therefore, since the French King was making war upon him, and had sent over the Duke of Albany to Scotland to make War allso on that side, it was fit that on so great an occasion, it should appear that his Clergy were sensible of their happiness in having such a King; which they ought to express in granting somewhat, that was as much beyond all former Precedents,as the King had merited more from them than all former Kings had ever done.

But the Bishops of Winchelsea and Rochester opposed this: For they both hated the Cardinal. The one thought him ungrateful to him who had raised him: The other being a man of a strict Life hated him for his Vices. Both these spake against it as an unheard-of Tax, which would oppress the Clergy, that it would not be possible for them to live and pay it; and that this would become a Precedent for after-times, which would make the condition of the Clergy most miserable. But the Cardinal, who intended that the Convocation by a great Subsidy should lead the way to the Parliament, took much pains for carrying it through; and got some to be absent, and others were prevailed on to consent to it: And for the fear of its being made a Precedent, a Clause was put in the Act, That it should be no Precedent for after-times. Others laughed at this, and said, It would be a Precedent for all that, if it once pasado. But in the end it was granted, with a most glorious Preamble; and by it all the Natives of England that had any Ecclesiastical Benefice were to pay the full half of the true value of their Livings in five years; and all Foreigners who were Beneficed in England were to pay a whole years Rent in the same time: out of which number were excepted the Bishop of Worcester and Landsaffe, Polidore Virgil, Peter the Carmelite, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Silvester Durus, and Peter Vannes, who were to pay only as Natives did. This encreased the hatred that the Clergy bore the Cardinal. But he defiend them, and in particular was a great Enemy to the Monks, and looked on them as idle mouths that did neither the Church nor State any Service, but were through their scandalous Lives a reproach to the Church, and a burden to the State. Therefore he resolved to suppress a great number of them, and to change them to another Institution.

From the days of King Edgar the State of Monksry had been still growing in England. For most of the Secular Clergy being then Married, and refusing to put away their Wives, were by Dunstan Arch Bishop of Canterbury, and Ethelwold Bishop of Winchester, and Oswald Bishop of Worcester, who were all Monks, turned out of their Livings. There is in the Rolls an Inspeccimus of King Edgars, Freeing the Priory and Convent of Worcester, which bears date Anno 964. Erected. 8th on St Innocents-day, Signed by the King, the Queen, Two Arch-Bishops, Five Bishops.
Bishops, Six Abbots, (but neither Bishops nor Abbey are named) Six Dukes, and Five Knights, but there is no Seal to it. It bears, that the
King, with the Council and Content of his Princes and Gentry, did
Confirm and Establish that Priory; and that he had Erected 47 Mon-
ateries, which he intended to encroach to 50, the number of Jubilee;
and that the former Incumbents should be for ever excluded from all
pretensions to their Benefices, because they had rather chosen, with the
danger of their Order, and the prejudice of the Ecclesiastical Benefice,
to adhere to their Wives, then to serve God chiefly and Canonically.
The Monks being thus settled in most Cathedrals of England, gave
themselves up to Idleness and Pleasure, which had been long compla-
ined of; but now that Learning began to be restored, they being every-
where possest of the best Church-Benefices were looked upon by
all Learned-men with an evil eye, as having in their hands the chief
encouragements of Learning, and yet doing nothing towards it; they
on the contrary decrying and disparaging it all they could, saying, It
would bring in Heretie, and a great deal of mischief. And the Resto-
ners of Learning, such as Erasmus, Vives, and others, did not spare
them, but did expose their Ignorance and ill Manners to the world.
Now the King naturally loved Learning, and therefore the Cardinal,
either to do a thing which he knew would be acceptable to the King,
or that it was also agreeable to his own Inclinations, resolved to set
up some Colledges, in which there should be both great Encourage-
ments for eminent Scholars to prosecute their Studies, and good
Schools for teaching and training up of Youth. This he knew would
be a great honour to him, to be lookt upon as a Patron of Learning;
and therefore he set his heart much on it, to have Two Colledges (the
one at Oxford, the other at Ipswich, the place of his Birth) well con-
stituted, and nobly Endowed. But towards this, it was neccesary to
suppres some Monasteries, which was thought every-where as justifi-
able and lawful, as it had been many Ages before, to change Secular
Prebends into Canons Regular; the endowed Goods being still applied
to a Religious use. And it was thought hard to say, That if the Pope
had the absolute Power of dispensing the Spiritual Treasure of the
Church, and to translate the Merits of one man, and apply them to
another; that he had not a much more absolute Power over the Tem-
poral Treasure of the Church, to translate Church-Lands from one
use and apply them to another. And indeed the Cardinal was then
so much confidered at Rome, as a Pope of another world; that what-
ever he desired he easily obtained. Therefore on the 3d. of April 1524.
Pope Clement by a Bull gave him Authority to suppres the Monastery
of St. Fridefwide in Oxford, and in the Dioces of Lincoln, and to carry
the Monks elsewhere, with a very full non obstante. To this the King
gave his assent the 19th. of April following. After this there follow-
ed many other Bulls for other Religious Houses and Rectories that were
Impropriated. These Houses being thus suppresed by the Law, they
belonged to the King; who thereupon made them over to the Cardi-
nal by new and special Grants, which are all Enrolled. And fo he
went on with these great Foundations, and brought them to Perfecri-
on: That at Oxford in the 18th. year, and that at Ipswich in the 20th. year
of the Kings Reign, as appears by the Dates of the Kings Patents for
Foundation them.
In the last Place I come to shew the new opinions in Religion, or those that were accounted new then in England; and the State and Progress of them till the 19th year of the Kings Reign.

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

In the Primitive Church, though in their Councils they were not backward to pass Anathematisms on every thing that they judged Heretical; yet all Capital proceedings against Heretics were condemned; and when two Bishops did prosecute Priscillian, and his followers before the Emperor Maximus, upon which they were put to death, they were generally so blamed for it that many refused to hold communion with them. The Roman Emperors made many Laws against Heretics, for the finning and banishing of them, and secludid them from the Privileges of other Subjects; such as making Wills, or receiving Legacies, only the Manichees (who were a strange mixture between Heathenism and Christianitv) were to suffer death for their errors. Yet the Bishops in those day, particularly in Africa, doubted much, whether upon the Infolencies of Heretics, or Schismatists, they might desire the Emperor to execute those Laws for Fining, Banishing, and other restraints. And St. Austin was not easily prevailed on to consent to it. But at length the Donatists, were so intolerable, that after several Consultations about it, they were forced to consent to those inferior penalties, but still condemned the taking away of their lives. And even in the Execution of the Imperial Laws in those inferior punishments, they
they were always interposing, to moderate the severity of the Pre-
sects and Governours. The first Instance of severity on mens bodi-
that was not confinued by the Church, was in the Fifth Century un-
der Justin, the first, who Ordered the tongue of Severus (who had
been Patriarch of Antioch, but did daily Anathematize the Council of
Chalcedon) to be cut out. In the Eighth Century Justinian the 2d.
called Rhinomectus from his cropt nose) burnt all the Manichees in
Armenia: And in the end of the Eleventh Century the Bogomili were
condemned to be burnt by the Patriarch and Council of Constanti-
broke. But in the end of the 12, and in the beginning of the 13th Century,
a Company of Simple and Innocent persons in the Southern parts of
France, being displeased with the Corruptions both of the Popish
Clergy and of the publick Worship, separated from their Assemblies;
and then Dominick and his brethren-Preachers, who came among them
to convince them, finding their Preaching did not prevail, took them-
selves to that way, that was sure to silence them. They persuaded
the Civil Magistrates to burn all such as were judged Obstinate Heretics.

That they might do this by a Law, the Fourth Council of Lateran did
Decree, that all Heretics should be delivered to the Secular Power to
be extirpated; (they thought not fit to speak out, but by the Præ-
fite it was known that Burning was that which they meant;) and if
they did it not, they were to be Excommunicated; and after that, if
they still refused to do their duty, (which was upon the matter to be
the Inquisitors Hangmen) they were to deny it at their utmost Pe-
ris. For not only the Ecclesiastical Cenfures, but Anathema's were
thought too feeble a punishment for this Offension. Therefore a Cen-
Sure was found out, as severe upon the Prince, as Burning was to the
poor Heretic. He was to be deposed by the Pope, his Subjects to be ab-
solved from their Oaths of Allegiance, and his Dominions to be given away
any other faithful Son of the Church, such as pleased the Pope best;
and all this by the Authority of a Synod, that passed for a Holy Ge-
ral Council. This as it was fatal to the Counts of Tholose, who
were great Princes in the South of France, and first fell under the
Cenfures; so it was terrible to all other Princes, who thereupon, to
save themselves delivered up their Subjects to the Mercy of the Eccle-
siastical Courts.

Burning was the death they made choice of, because Witches Wi-
izards, and Sodomites had been so executed. Therefore to make He-
refie appear a terrible thing, this was thought the most proper puni-
ment of it. It had also a resemblance of everlasting Burning, to which
they adjudged their Souls, as well as their bodies were condemned to
the fire; but with this signal difference, that they could find no such
effectual way to oblige God to execute their sentence, as they contri-
ved against the Civil Magistrate. But however they confidently gave
it out, that by vertue of that Promise of our Saviours, Whose sins ye
kind on Earth, they are bound in Heaven, their Decrees were ratified in
Heaven. And it not being eafe to disprove what they said, people be-
lieved the one, as they law the other sentence executed. So that
whatever they condemned as Heresie, was looked on as the worst thing
in the world.

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

The Custom at that time was to engross Copies of all the Acts of Parliament, and to send them with a Writ under the great Seal to the Sheriffs, to make them be proclaimed within their jurisdictions. And John Braibrook Bishop of London, then Lord Chancellor, sent this with the other Acts of that Parliament to be proclaimed. The Writ bears date the 26th. of May, 5th Reg. But in the next Parliament that was held in the 6th. year of that Kings Reign, the Commons preferred a Bill reciting the former Act, and constantly affirmed that they had ne'er attented to it, and therefore desired it might be declared to be void; for they protested it was never their intent to be justified, and to bind themselves and their Successors to the Prelates, more than their Ancestors had done in times past. To which the King gave the Royal Affent, as it is in the Records of Parliament. But in the Proclamation of the Acts of that Parliament this Act was suppressed; so that the former Act was still looked on as a good Law, and is printed in the Book of Statutes. Such pious frauds were always practised by the Popish Clergy, and were indeed necessary for the supporting the Credit of that Church. When Richard the 2d. was deposed and the Crown usurped by Henry the 4th, then lie in gratitude to the Clergy that assisted him in his coming to the Crown, granted them a Law to their hearts content in the 2d year of his Reign. The Preamble bears, That some had a new Faith about the Sacraments of the Church, and the Authority of the same; and did preach without Authority, gathered Conventicles, taught Schools, wrote Books against the Catholick Faith; with many other heinous aggravations. Upon which the Prelates and Clergy, and the Commons of the Realm prayed the King to provide a sufficient remedy to so great an evil: Therefore the King by the assent of the States and other dissent men of the Realm being in the said Parliament, did ordain, That none should Preach
Preach without Licence, except persons Privileg'd; That none should Preach any Doctrine contrary to the Catholic Faith, or the Determination of the Holy Church, and that none should fancy and abett them, nor keep their Books, but deliver them to the Diocesan of the place within 40 days after the Proclamation of that Statute. And that if any Persons were defaim'd, or suspected of doing against that Ordinance, then the Ordinary might arrest them, and keep them in his Prison, till they were Canonically purged of the Articles laid against them, or did abjure them according to the Laws of the Church. Provided always that the proceedings against them were publicly and judicially done and ended, within three Months after they had been so Arrested; and if they were Convict, the Diocesan, or his Commisaries, might keep them in Prison as long as to his discretion shall seem expedient, and might Fine them as should seem competent to him, certifying the fine into the Kings Exchequer; and if any being Convict did refuse to abjure, or after Abjuration did fall into Relapse, then he was to be left to the Secular Court according to the Holy Canons. And the Majors, Sheriffs, or Bailiffs were to be personally present at the passing the Sentence, when they should be required by the Diocesan or his Commisaries, and after the Sentence they were to receive them, and them before the People in a high place do to be Bred. By this Statute the Sheriffs, or other Officers, were immediately to proceed to the Burning of Heretics without any Writ, or Warrant from the King. But it seems the Kings Learned Council advised him to issue out a Writ, De Heretico comburendo, upon what grounds of Law I cannot tell. For in the same year when William Sauntre (who was the first that was put to death upon the account of Heresie) was judged Relapse by Thomas Arundel, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, in a Convocation of his Province, and thereupon was degraded from Priesthood, and left to Secular Power; a Writ was issued out to Burn him, which in the Writ is called The Customary Punishment (relating it is like to the Customs that were beyond Sea.) But this Writ was not necessery by the Law, and therefore it seems these Writs were not Enrolled: For in the whole Reign of King Henry the 8th. I have not been able to find any of these Writs in the Rolls. But by Warham's Register I see the Common course of the Law, was to certify into the Chancery the Conviction of an Heretick, upon which the Writ was issued out, if the King did not send a Pardon. Thus it went on all the Reign of Henry the 4th. But in the beginning of his Sons Reign, there was a Conspiracy (as was pretended) by Sir John Oldesfield, and some others against the King and the Clergy; upon which many were put in Prison, and 29 were both attainted of Treson, and condemned of Heresie, so they were both Hanged and Burnt. But as a Writer that lived in the following Age, says, Certain affirmed that there were but feign'd causes, furnisht of the Spirituality more of dishonour than truth. That Conspiracy, whether real or pretended, produced a severe Act against those Heretics, who were then best known by the name of Lollards. By which Act all Officers of State, Judges Justices of the Peace, Majors, Sheriffs and Bailiffs, were to be Sworn when they took their Employments, to use their whole Power and Diligence to destroy all Heresies and Errors, called Lollardies, and to a'dit the Ordinaries and their Commisaries in their proceedings against them; and that the Lollards should forfeit all the Lands they held in Fee-Simple, and their Goods and Chattels to the King.
The Clergy, according to the Genius of that Religion, having their Authority fortified with such severe Laws, were now more cruel and insolent than ever. And if any man denied them any part of that respect, or of those advantages to which they pretended, he was prefently brought under the fulfilment of Herefie, and vexed with Imprisonments, and Articles were brought against him.

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

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

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

That same day another of Tenterden abjured the same Doctrines. On the 15th of May the Court fate at Lambeth, where four Men and one Woman abjured. On the 19th four Men more abjured. On the 3d of June a Man and a Woman abjured. Another Woman the 26th of July: Another Man the 29th of July: Two Women on the 2d of August: A Man on the 3d and a Woman on the 8th of August: Three Men on the 16th of August: And three Men and a Woman on the 3d of Sept. In these Abjurations some were put to abjure more, some fewer of the former Doctrines; and in some of their Abjurations Two Articles more were added: 1st. That the Images of the Crucifix, of our Lady and other Saints, ought not to be worshipped, because they were made with men's hands, and were but Stocks and Stones. 2dly. That Money and Labour spent in Pilgrimages was all in vain. All these Persons (whether they were unjustly accused, or were overcome with fear, or had but crude conceptions of those Opinions, and so were easily frighted out of them) abjured and performed the Penance that was enjoyned them. Others met with harder measure, for on the 29th of April, in the same year, 1511. one William Carder of Tenterden, being Endited on the former Articles, he denied them all but one, That he had said it was enough to pray to Almighty God alone, and therefore we needed not to pray to Saints for any mediation. Upon which Witnekses were brought against him, who were all such as were then Prisoners, but intended to abjure, and were now made use of to Convict others. They Swore that he had taught them these Opinions. When their Depositions were published, he said, he did repent if he had said any thing against the Faith and the Sacraments; but he did not remember that he had ever said any such thing. Sentence was given upon him as an obstinate Heretic, and he was delivered up to the Secular Power. On the same day a Woman, Agnes Grevill, was Endited upon the same Articles: She pleaded Not Guilty, but by a strange kind of proceeding, her Husband and her Two Sons were brought in Witnekses against her. Her Husband deposed, that in the end of the Reign of King Edward the 4th one John Iue, had persuaded her into these Opinions, in which she had perfidtly ever since: Her Sons also deposed, that she had been still infuing those Doctrines into them. One Robert Harrison was also Endited, and pleading Not Guilty, Witnekses did prove the Articles against him. And on the 2d of May
May Sentence was given against these Two as obstinate Hereticks. And
the same day the Arch-bishop Signed the Writs for certifying these Sen-
tences into the Chancery, which conclude in these words: Our holy Mo-
ther the Church having nothing further that she can do in this matter, we leave
the fore-mentioned Hereticks, and every one of them to your Royal Highness,
and to your Secular Council. And on the 8th of May, John Brown and Ed-
ward Walker, being also Endited of Heretic on the former Points, they
both pleaded Not Guilty. But the Witnesses deposing against them, they
were judged obstinate Hereticks, and the former a Relapfe, for he had
abjured before Cardinal Morton. And on the 13th of May Sentence
was given. When, or how the Sentences were Executed, I cannot find.
Sure I am, there are no Pardons upon Record for any of them, and it
was the course of the Law, either to send a Pardon, or to issue out the
Writ for Burning them.

Fox mentions none of these proceedings only he tells that John Brown
was taken for some words said in Discourse with a Priest, about the say-
ing of Matles for Redeeming Souls out of Purgatory. Upon which he
was committed for sulpicion of Heretic: But Fox seems to have been
misinformed about the time of his Burning, which he says was, Anno
1517, for they would not have kept a condemned Heretic six years
out of the Fire. I never find them guilty of any such clemency. These
severe Sentences made the rest so apprehensive of their danger, that all
the others who were Endited, abjured. And in the year 1512, on the
5th of June, Two Men and Two Women abjured that Article, That in
the Sacrament of the Altar, there was only Material Bread, and not the
Body of Christ. And on the 4th and 13th of September, Two other
Women abjured the former Articles; and this is all that is in Warpam’s
Register about Hereticks.

In what remains of Fitz-James, Bishop of London’s Register, there
are but Three Abjurations. In the year 1509, one Elizabeth Sampson,
of Aldermanbury, was Endited for having spoken reproachfuly of the
Images of our Lady, of Willsden, Crom, and Walsingham, condemning
Pilgrimages to them, and saying, It was better to give Alms at home
to poor People, than to go on Pilgrimages; and that Images were but
Stocks and Stones, and denying the virtue of the Sacrament of the
Altar, when the Priest was not in clean life, and saying, It was but
Bread, and that Christ could not be both in Heaven and Earth; and
for denying Christ’s Ascension to Heaven; and saying, That more
should not go to Heaven than were already in it. But the, to be free
of further trouble, confessed her self Guilty, and abjured all those Op-
inions. It is generally observed, That in the proceedings against Lollards,
the Clergy always mixed some Capital Errors, which all Christians
rejected, with those for which they accused them; and some particu-
lar being proved, they gave it out that they were Guilty of them all,
to represent them the more odious. And in this case the thing is plain,
for this Woman is charged for denying Christ’s Ascension; and yet an-
other of the Articles was, That she said Christ’s Body could not be in
the Sacrament, because it could not be both in Heaven and on Earth.
Which two Opinions are inconsistent. In the year 1511, William Potier
was Endited for saying, There were Three Gods, and that he knew not
for what Christ’s Pauion, or Baptism availed; and did abjure. Whe-
ther he only spoke these things Impiously; or whether he held them in Opinion, is not clear. But certainly he was no Lollard. One Joan Baker was also made to abjure some words she had said, That Images were but Idols, and not to be worshipped; and that they were set up by the Priest out of Covetousness, that they might grow rich by them; and that Pilgrimages were not to be made. More is not in that Register. But Fox gives an account of Six others, who were burnt in Fitz James his time. On this I have been the longer, that it may appear, what were the Opinions of the Lollards at that time before Luther had published any thing against the Indulgences. For these Opinions did very much dispose people to receive the Writings which came afterwards out of Germany.

The first beginnings and progress of Luther's Doctrine are so well known, that I need not tell how upon the publishing of Indulgences in Germany, in so gross a manner, that for a little Money any man might both preferve himself, and deliver his Friends out of Purgatory; many were offended at this Merchandise, against which Luther wrote. But it concerning the See of Rome in so main a Point of their Prerogative, which would also have cut off a great Branch of their Revenue, he was proceeded against with extream severity: So small a spark as that Collision made, could never have raised so great a fire, if the World had not been strongly disposed to it, by the just prejudices they had conceived against the Popish Clergy, whose Ignorance and Lewd Lives had laid them so open to contempt and hatred, that any one that would set himself against them, could not but be kindly looked on by the People. They had engroffed the greatest part both of the Riches and Power of Christendome, and lived at their ease and in much Wealth. And the corruptions of their Worship and Doctrine were such, that a very small proportion of common sense, with but an overly looking on the New Testament, discovered them. Nor had they any other varnish to colour them by, but the Authority and Traditions of the Church. But when some studious men began to read the Ancient Fathers, and Councils, (though there was then a great mixture of Sophisticated stuff that went under the Ancient Names, and was joyned to their true Works, which Criticks have since discovered to be spurious) they found a vast difference between the first Five Ages of the Christian Church, in which Piety and Learning prevailed, and the last Ten Ages in which Ignorance had buried all their former Learning, only a little misguided Devotion was retained for Six of these Ages; and in the last Four, the restless Ambition and Usurpation of the Popes was supported by the seeming holiness of the Begging Friers, and the false Counterfeits of Learning, which were among the Canonists, School-men and Casuists. So that it was incredible to see, how men, notwithstanding all the opposition the Princes everywhere made to the progress of these reputed new Opinions, and the great advantages by which the Church of Rome both held and drew many into their Interests, were generally inclined to these Doctrines. Those of the Clergy, who at first Preached them, were of the Begging Orders of Friers, who having fewer engagements on them from their Interests, were ftreer to discover and follow the Truth. And the austerer Discipline they had been trained under, did prepare them to encounter those difficulties that lay in their way. And the Laity that had long looked
lookt on their Pastors with an evil Eye, did receive these Opinions very easily; which did both discover the Impostures with which the World had been abused, and shewed a plain and simple way to the Kingdom of Heaven, by putting the Scriptures into their hands, and such other Instructions about Religion, as were sincere and genuine. The Clergy who at first defpised these new Preachers, were at length much Allarmed when they saw all People running after them, and receiving their Doctrines.

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

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

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

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

When the Party became so considerable, that it was known there were Societies of them, not only in London, but in both the Universities, then the Cardinal was constrained to act. His contempt of the Clergy was looked on as that which gave encouragement to the Hereticks. When reports were brought to Court of a company that were in Cambridge, Bilney, Latimer, and others that read and propagated Luther's Book and Opinions; some Bishops moved, in the year 1523, that there might be a Visitation appointed to go to Cambridge, for trying who were the Factor of Herefie there. But he, as Legate, did inhibit it (upon what grounds I cannot imagine.) Which was brought against him afterwards in Parliament (Art. 43. of his Impeachment.) Yet when these Doctrines were spread everywhere, he called a meeting of all the Bishops and Divines, and Canonists about London; where Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur were brought before them, and Articles were brought in against them. The whole Process is set down at length by Fox in all Points according to Tonstall's Register, except one fault in the Translation. When the Cardinal asked Bilney whether he had not taken an Oath before, not to preach, or defend any of Luther's Doctrines; he confessed he had done it, but not judicially, (judicialiter in the Register.) This Fox Translates, not lawfully. In all the other particulars there is an exact agreement between the Register and his Acts. The sum of the proceedings of the Court, was, That after examination of Witnesses, and several other steps in the Process, which the Cardinal left to the Bishop of London, and the other Bishops to manage; Bilney stood out long, and seemed resolved to suffer for a good Conscience. In the end, what through humane infirmity, what through the great importunity of the Bishop of London, who set all his Friends on him, he did abjure on the 7th of December, as Arthur had done on the 2d of that Month. And though Bilney was relapsed, and so was to expect no mercy by the Law, yet the Bishop of London enjoined him Penance, and let him go. For Tonstall being
being a man both of good Learning and an unblemish'd Life, these Ver-
tues produced one of their ordinary effects in him, great moderation, that
was so eminent in him, that at no time did he dip his hands in Blood.
Geoffrey, Loni, and Thomas Gerard, also abjured for having had Luther's
Books, and defending his Opinions.
These were the Proceedings against Hereticks, in the first half of this
Reign. And thus far I have opened the State of Affairs, both as to Re-
ligious and Civil Concerns for the first 18 years of this Kings time, with
what Observations I could gather of the dispositions and tempers of the
Nation at that time, which prepared them for the Changes that followed
afterwards.

Book II.

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

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

Henry the 7th upon wife and good considerations, resolved to link himself in a close Confederacy with Ferdinand and Isabel, Kings of Castile and Aragon, and with the House of Burgundy against France, which was looked on as the lasting and dangerous Enemy of England. And therefore a Match was agreed on between his Son, Prince Arthur, and Katherine the Infanta of Spain, whose eldest Sister Joan was Married to Philip, that was then Duke of Burgundy, and Earl of Flanders; out of which arose a triple Alliance between England, Spain, and Burgundy, against the King of France, who was then become formidable to all about him. There was given with her 200000 Ducats, the greatest Portion that had been given for many Ages with any Princess, which made it not the least acceptable to King Henry the Seventh.
1486. Nata.

Book II. of the Church of England.

The Infanta was brought into England, and on the 14th of Nov. was Married at St. Pauls to the Prince of Wales. They lived together as man and wife, till the 2d of April following, and not only had their Bed solemnly blest when they were put in, on the night of their Marriage, but also were seen publicly in Bed for several days after, and went down to live at Ludlow-Castle in Wales, where they still bedded together. But Prince Arthur, though a strong and healthful youth when he Married her, yet died soon after, which some thought was hastened by his too early Marriage. The Spanish Ambassador had by his Masters order taken proofs of the Confummation of the Marriage, and sent them into Spain; the young Prince also himself had by many expressions given his Servants cause to believe that his Marriage was consummated the first night, which in a youth of Sixteen years of Age, that was vigorous and healthful, was not at all judged strange. It was so constantly believed that when he dyed, his younger Brother Henry Duke of York was not called Prince of Wales, for some considerable time. Some say for one Month, some for 6 Months. And he was not created Prince of Wales till 10 Months were elapsed, viz. in the February following, when it was apparent that his Brothers wife was not with Child by him. These things were afterwards looked on as a full Demonstration (being as much as the thing was capable of) that the Prince was not a Virgin after Prince Arthur's Death.

But the reason of State still standing for keeping up the Alliance against France, and King Henry the 7th having no mind to let go great Revenue as she had in Jointure be carried out of the Kingdom, it was proposed, That she should be married to the younger Brother Henry now Prince of Wales. The two Prelates that were then in greatest esteem with King Henry the 7th, were Warham Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and Fox Bishop of Winchester. The former delivered his opinion against it, and told the King that he thought it was neither honourable nor well-pleasing to God. The Bishop of Winchester prevailed it, and for the Objections that were against it, and the Murmuring of the people who did not like a Marriage that was disputable, left out of it new Wars should afterwards arise about the Right of the Crown, the Popes Dispensation was thought sufficient to answer all; and his Authority was then so undisputed that it did it effectually. So a Bull was obtained on the 26 of December, 1503 to this effect, that the Pope according to the greatness of his Authority, having received a Petition from Prince Henry and the Princess Katharine, Baring, That whereas the Princess was Lawfully Married to Prince Arthur (which was perhaps consummated by the Carnalis Copula) who was dead without any issue, but they being desirous to Marry for preserving the Peace between the Crowns of England and Spain, did Petition his Holiness for his Dispensation; therefore the Pope, out of his care to maintain peace among all Catholic Kings, did absolve them from all Censures under which they might be, and Dispenset with the Impediment of their Affinity, notwithstanding any Apostolical Constitutions or Ordinances to the contrary, and gave them leave to Marry, or if they were already Married, be Confirming it, required their Consecrator to enjoy them some healthful penance for their having Married before the Dispensation was obtained.
It was not much to be wondered at, that the Pope did readily grant this, for though very many both Cardinals and Divines did then oppose it, yet the Interest of the Papacy, which was preferred to all other Considerations, required it. For as that Pope being a great Enemy to "Lewis the 12th the French King, would have done any thing to make an Alliance against him firmer; so he was a War-like Pope who considered Religion very little, and therefore might be easily persuaded to Confirm a thing that must needs oblige the succeeding Kings of England to maintain the Papal Authority, since from it they derived their Title to the Crown; little thinking that by a secret Direction of an over-ruling Providence, that Deed of his would occasion the extirpation of the Papal Power in England. So strangely doth God make the Devices of Men become of no effect, and turn them to a contrary end to that which is intended.

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

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

In this State was the Kings Family when the Queen left bearing more Children, and contracted some diseases, that made her person unacceptable to him; but was, as to her other Qualities, a virtuous and grave Princeps, much esteemed and beloved both of the King and the whole Nation. The King being out of hopes of more Children declared his Daughter Princes of Wales, and sent her to Ludlow to hold her Court there, and projected divers Matches for her. The first was with the Dolphin, which was agreed to between the King of France and him the 9th of November, 1518, as appears by the Treaty yet extant. But this was broken afterwards upon the Kings Confederating with
with the Emperor against France, and a new Match agreed and sworn to between the Emperor and the King at Windor the 22. of June 1522, the Emperor being present in person. This being afterwards neglected and broken by the Emperor, by the advice of his Cortes and States, as was formerly related, there followed some Overtures of a Marriage with Scotland. But these also vanished, and there was a second Treaty begun with France, the King offering his Daughter to Francis himself, which he gladly accepting, a Match was Treatied and on the last of April, it was agreed that the Lady Mary should be given in Marriage either to Francis himself, or to his second Son the Duke of Orleance; and that Alternative was to be determined by the two Kings, at an Interview that was to be between them, soon after at Calais with forfeitures on both sides if the Match went not on.

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

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

While this Treaty went on, the Kings scruples about his Marriage began to take vent. It is said that the Cardinal did first instiue them into him, and made Longland Bishop of Lincoln, that was the Kings Confessor, poftell the Kings mind with them in Confession. If it was so, the King had, according to the Religion of that time, very just cause
cause of Scruple, when his Councillor judged his Marriage sinful, and the Pope's Legate was of the same mind. It is also said that the Cardinal being alienated from the Emperor, that he might irreparably embroil the King and him, and unite the King to the French Interests, designed this out of Spite; and that he was also dissatisfied toward the Queen, who hated him for his Lewd and dissolute Life, and had oft admonished and check't him for it: And that he therefore, designing to engage the King to Marry the French Kings Sister the Dutchess of Almon, did (to make way for that) set this Matter on foot: but as I see no good Authority for all this, except the Queens suspicions, who did afterwards charge the Cardinal as the cause of all her trouble; so I am inclined to think the Kings Scruples were much ancier, for the King declared to Simon Grines four years after this, that for seven years he had abstained from the Queen upon these Scruples, so that by that it seems they had been received into the Kings mind three years before this time.

What were the Kings secret motives and the true grounds of his Aversion to the Queen, is only known to God, and till the discovery of all secrets at the day of Judgment, must lyehid. But the reasons which he always owned, of which all Humane Judicatories must only take notice, shall be now fully opened. He found by the Law of Moses, if a man took his Brothers Wife they should die childless: This made him reflect on the death of his Children, which he now looked on as a Curie from God for that unlawful Marriage. Upon this he set himself to study the case, and called for the judgments of the best Divines and Canonists. For his own Enquiry, Thomas Aquinas being the Writer in whose works he took most pleasure, and to whose judgment he submitted most, did decide it clearly against him. For he both Concluded, that the Laws in Leviticus about the forbidden degrees of Marriage were Moral and Eternal, such as obliged all Christians; and that the Pope could only Dispence with the Laws of the Church, but could not Dispense with the Laws of God. Upon this reason, that no Law can be Dispenced with, by any Authority, but that which is equal to the Authority that enacted it. Therefore he infers that the Pope can indeed Dispence with all the Laws of the Church, but not with the Laws of God, to whose Authority he could not pretend to be equal. But as the King found this from his own private Study, so having commanded the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury to require the Opinions of the Bishops of England, they all in a Writing under their hands and Seals, declared they judged it an unlawful Marriage. Only the Bishop of Rochester refused to set his hand to it, and though the Arch-Bishop pressed him most earnestly to it, yet he persisted in his refusal, saying, that it was against his Conscience. Upon which the Arch-Bishop made another write down his Name, and set his Seal to the Resolution of the rest of the Bishops. But this being afterwards questioned, the Bishop of Rochester denied it was his hand, and the Arch-Bishop pretended that he had leave given him by the Bishop to put his hand to it, which the other denied. Nor was it likely that Fisher who scrupled in Conscience to Subscribe it himself, would have consented to such a weak Artifice. But all the other Bishops did declare against the Marriage, and as the

The grounds of his Scruples,

All his Bishops except Fisher declare it unlawful.

Fisher his life of Wolsey.

In his Letter to Exer. Sept. 10. 1531. in MSS.K.Smib.
King himself said afterwards in the Legantine Court, neither the Cardinal nor the Bishop of Lincoln did first suggest these turples, but the King being displeased with them, did in Conclusion propose them to that Bishop: and added that the Cardinal was so far from cherishing them, that he did all he could to stifle them.

The King was now convinced that his Marriage was unlawful, both by his own study, and the resolution of his Divines. And as the point of Conscience wrougth on him, so the Interest of the Kingdom required, that there should be no doubting about the Succession to the Crown; left as the long Civil-War between the Houses of York and Lancaster had been burried with his Father, so a new one should rise up at his death.

The King of Scotland was the next Heir to the Crown after his Daughter. And if he Married his Daughter to any out of France, then he had reason to judge, that the French upon their Ancient Alliance with Scotland, and that they might divide and distract England, would be ready to affilt the King of Scotland in his pretensions: Or if he Married her in France, then all those in England to whom the French Government was hateful, and the Emperor and other Princes to whom the French Power grew formidable, would have been as ready to support the pretensions of Scotland. Or if he should either set up his Baftrard Son, or the Children which his Sifter bore to Charles Brandon, there was still caufe to fear a bloody decision of a Title that was so doubtful. And though this may seem a consideration too Politick and Foreign to a matter of that nature, yet the obligation that lies on a Prince to provide for the happiness and quiet of his Subjects, was so weighty a thing, that it might well come in among other Motives, to incline the King much to have this matter determined. At this time the Cardinal went over into France under colour to conclude a League between the Two Crowns, and to Treat about the means of setting the Pope at liberty, who was then the Emperors Prisoner at Rome; and also for a project of Peace between Francis, and the Emperor. But his chief busines was to require Francis to declare his Resolutions concerning that Alternative about the Lady Mary. To which it was answered, that the Duke of Orleans as a fitter Match in years, was the French Kings Choice; but this matter fell to the ground upon the Proceeds that followed soon after.

The King did much apprehend the opposition the Emperor was likely to make to his designs; either out of a principle of nature and honour to protect his Aunt, or out of a Maxime of State, to raise his Enemy all the trouble he could at home. But on the other hand he had some caufe to hope well even in that particular. For the Question of the unlawfulness of the Match had been first debated in the Cortes, or Assembly of the States at Madrid; and the Emperor had then fliewed himself so favourable to it, that he broke the Match, (to which he had bound himself) with the Princes. Therefore the King had reason to think that this at leaft would mitigate his opposition, the Emperor had also ufed the Pope so hardly, that it could not be doubted that the Pope hated him. And it was believed that he would find the protection of the King of England moft necessary to secure him, either from the greatness of France or Spain, who were fighting for the best part of Italy, which must needs fall into one of their hands. Therefore the King did not doubt but the Pope would be compliant to his desires. And in this
he was much confirmed by the hopes, or rather assurance, which the Cardinal gave him of the Popes favour; so either calculating what was to be expected from that Court on the account of their own interest, or upon some promisés made him, had undertaken to the King to bring that matter about to his hearts content. It is certain that the Cardinal had carried over with him out of the Kings Treasure 24000 l. to be employed about the Popes Liberty. But whether he had made a bargain for the Divorce, or had fancied that nothing could be denied him at Rome, it does not appear. It is clear by many of his Letters that he had undertaken to the King, that the busines{s} should be done; and it is not like that a man of his wisdom would have adventured to do that without some good warrant.

But now that the Suit was to be moved in the Court of Rome, they were to devise such Arguments as were like to be well heard there. It would have been unacce{p}table to have insist{ed} on the nullity of the Bull on this account, because the matter of it was unlawful, and fell not within the Popes power. For Popes, like other Princes, do not love to hear the extent of their Prerogative disputed, or defined. And to condemn the Bull of a former Pope as unlawful, was a dangerous Precedent at a time when the Popes Authority was rejected by so many in Germany. Therefore the Canonists as well as Divines, were consulted to find such Nullities in the Bull of Dispensation, as according to the Canon Law and the proceedings of the Rota, might serve to invalidate it without any diminution of the Papal Power. Which being once done, the Marriage that followed upon it, must needs be annulled. When the Canonists examined the Bull, they found much matter to proceed upon. It is a Maxime in Law, that if the Pope be surprized in any thing, and Bulls be procured upon false suggestions and untrue premises, they may be annulled afterwards. Upon which foundation most of all the Proceedings against Popes Bulls were grounded. Now they found by the preamble of this Bull that it was false, The King had desired that he might be dispensed with to Marry the Princes. This was false; for the King had made no such desire, being of an Age that was below such considerations, but Twelve years old. Then it appeared by the preamble that this Bull was desired by the King to preserve the Peace between the King of England, and Ferdinand, and Isabella (called Elizabetha in the Bull) the Kings of Spain. To which they excepted, That it was plain this was false, since the King being then but Twelve years old, could not be supposed to have such deep speculations, and so large a prospect as to desire a Match upon a political account. Then it being also in the Bull, that the Popes Dispensation was granted to keep Peace between the Crowns, if there was no hazard of any Breach or War between them, this was a false suggestion, by which the Pope had been made believe, That this Match was necessary for averting some great mischief. And it was known that there was no danger at all of that, and so this Bull was obtained by a surprize. Besides, both King Henry of England, and Isabella of Spain were dead before the King Married his Queen; so the Marriage could not be valid by virtue of a Bull that was granted to maintain Amity between Princes that were dead before the Marriage was consummated: And they also judged that the Proclamation which the King made, when he came of Age, did retract any such pretended desire, that might have been preferred to the Pope in
in his name; and that from that time forward, the Bull could have no
further operation, since the ground upon which it was granted, which
was the King's desire, did then cease, any pretended desire before he
was of Age being clearly annulled and determined by that Protestant
ation after he was of Age, so that a subsequent Marriage founded upon the
Bull must needs be void.

There were the grounds upon which the Canonists advised the Process
at Rome to be carried on. But first to amuse or over-reach the Spanish,
the King sent word to his Ambassador in Spain to silence the noise that
was made about it in that Court. Whether the King had then resolved
on the Person that should succeed the Queen, when he had obtained
what he desired, or not, is much questioned. Some suggest that from
the beginning he was taken with the charmes of Anne Boleyn, and that
all this Process was moved by the unseen spring of that secret affection.
Others will have this Amour to have been later in the King's thoughts.
How early it came there, at this distance it is not easy to determine. But
before I say more of it, the being so considerable a Person in the follow-
ing Relation, I shall give some account of her. "Sanders has affured
the World, That the King had a liking to her Mother, who was Daugh-
ter to the Duke of Norfolk, and to the end that he, might enjoy her
with the less disturbance, he sent his Husband Sir Thomas Boleyn to
be Ambassador in France: And that after Two years absence, his Wife
being with Child, he came over, and sued a Divorce against her in the
Arch-Bishop of Canterbury's Court, but the King sent the Marques of
Dorset to let him know, that she was with Child by him, and that
therefore the King desired he would pass the matter over, and be re-
conciled to his Wife: To which he consented. And so Anne Boleyn,
though she went under the name of his Daughter, yet was of the King's
begetting. As he describes her, she was ill-shaped and ugly, had Six
Fingers, a Gag-tooth, and a Tumor under her Chin, with many other
unfeemly things in her Person. At the 15th year of her Age, he says,
both her Father's Butler and Chaplain lay with her: Afterwards she
was sent to France, where he was at first kept privately in the house of
a Person of Quality, then she went to the French Court, where she
led such a Difficult life, that she was called the English Hackney. That
the French King liked her, and from the freedoms he took with her,
she was called, the King's Male. But returning to England, she was
admitted to the Court, where she quickly perceived how weary the
King was of the Queen, and what the Cardinal was designing; and
having gained the King's affection, she governed it so, that by all inno-
cent freedoms she drew him into her Toiles, and by the appearances
of a severe virtue, with which she disguised her self, so encreased
his affection and esteem, that he resolved to put her in his Queens
place as soon as the Divorce was granted. The same Author adds, That
the King had likewise enjoyed her Sister, with a great deal more, to the
 disgrace of this Lady and her Family.

I know it is not the work of an Historian to refute the Lies of others;
but rather to deliver such a plain account as will be a more effectual con-
futation, than anything can be that is said by way of Argument, which
belongs to other Writers. And at the end of this King's Reign, I intend
to set down a Collection of the most Notorious Falsely-hoods of that Wri-
ter.
ter, together with the evidences of their being so. But all this of Anne Boleyn is so palpable a lie, or rather a complicated heap of lies, and so much depends on it, that I presume it will not offend the Reader to be detained a few minutes in the refutation of it. For if it were true, very much might be drawn from it, both to disparage King Henry, who pretended Conscience to annul his Marriage for the neareste of Affinity, and yet would after that Marry his own Daughter. It leaves also a foul and lafiting pain both on the Memory of Anne Boleyn, and of her incomparable Daughter Queen Elizabeth. It also derogates so much from the first Reformers, who had some kind of dependence on Queen Anne Boleyn, that it seems to be of great importance for directing the Reader in the judgment he is to make of persons and things, to lay open the fallhood of this account. It were sufficient for blaming it, that there is no proof pretended to be brought for any part of it, but a Book of one Raistall a Judge, that was never seen by any other person than that Writer. The Title of the Book is the Life of Sir Thomas More: there is great reason to think that Raistall never writ any such Book, for it is most common for the Lives of great Authors to be prefixed to their Works. Now this Raistall published all More's Works in Queen Mary's Reign, to which if he had written his Life, it is likely he would have prefixed it. No evidence therefore being given for his Relation, either from Record, Letters, or the Testimony of any person who was privy to the matter, the whole is to be looked upon as a black Forgery, devised on purpose to defame Queen Elizabeth. For upon her Mothers death, who can doubt but that some, either to flatter the King, or to defame her, would have published these things, which if they had been true, could be no secrets? For a Lady of her Mothers condition to bear a Child, two years after her Husband was sent out of England on such a publick Employment, and a Process thereupon to be entred in the Arch-Bishops Courts, are things that are not so soon to be forgotten. And that the her self was under so ill a Reputation, both in her Father's Family, and in France, for common lewdness, and for being the Kings Concubine, are things that could not lie hid. And yet when the Books of the Arch-Bishops Courts (which are now burnt) were extant, it was published to the World, and satisfaction offered to every one that would take the pains to inform themselves that there was no such thing on Record. Nor did any of the Writers of that time, either of the Imperial or Papal side, once mention these things, notwithstanding their great occasion to do it. But 80 years after, this Fable was invented, or at least it was then first published, when it was farther to lie, because none who had lived in the time could disprove it.

But it has not only no foundation, but Sanders through the vulgar errors of Liars, has strained his wit to make so ill a story of the Lady, that some things in his own relation, make it plainly appear to be impossible. For to pass by those many improbable things that he relates, as namely, That both the King of England and the French King, could be so taken with so ugly and monstrous a Woman, of so notorious and lewd manners; and that this King, for the space of seven years, that is, during the Suit of the Divorce, should continue enamoured of her, and never discover this, or having discovered it, should yet resolve at all hazards to make her his Wife; which are things that would require no common testimony to make them seem credible: There is beside in that story, an heap
heap of things so inconsistent with one another, that none but such an one as Sanders could have had either blindness or brawn enough to have made or publish it. For first, if the King, that he might the more freely enjoy Sir Thomas Boleyn's Lady, sent him over into France, as Sanders says, I shall allow it as soon as may be, that it was in the very beginning of his Reign 1503. Then the time when Anne Boleyn was born, being according to Sanders his account two years after, that must be Anno 1511. and being, as he says, deflowered when she was 15, that must be Anno 1526. Then some time must be allowed for her going to France, for her living privately there for some time, and afterwards for her coming to Court, and meriting those Characters that he says went upon her; and after all that, for her return into England, and intimating her self into the Kings favour: yet by Sanders his own Relation these things must have happened in the same year 1526. for in that year he makes the King think of putting away his Wife in order to Marry Anne Boleyn, when according to his account she could be but 15 years old, though this king had sent Sir Thomas Boleyn into France the first day of his coming to the Crown. But that he was not sent so early appears by several Grants, that I have seen in the Rolls, which were made to him in the first 4 years of the Kings Reign: They sufficiently shew that he was all that while about the Kings person, and mention no services beyond Sea, but about the Kings person, as the ground upon which they were made. Besides, I find in the Treaty-Rolls no mention of his being Ambassador the first 8 years of the Kings Reign. In the first year the bishops of Winchester and Durefia, and the Earl of Surrey, are named in the Treaty between the two Crowns, as the Kings Ambassadors in France. After this, none could be Ambassadors there for two years together, for before two years elapsed there was a War proclaimed against France, and when overtures were made for a Peace, it appears by the Treaty-Rolls that the Earl of Worcester was sent over Ambassador. And when the Kings sifter was sent over to Lewis the French King, though Sir Thomas Boleyn went over with her, he was not then so much considered as to be made an Ambassador. For in the Commission that was given to many persons of Quality, to deliver her to her Husband King Lewis the 12, Sir Thomas Boleyn is not named. The persons in the Commission are the Duke of Norfolk, the Marqués of Dorset, the Bishop of Durefia, the Earls of Surrey, and Worcester, the Prior of St. Johns, and Doctor Wift-Dean of Windfor. A year after that, Sir Thomas Boleyn was made Ambassador; but then it was too late for Anne Boleyn to be yet unborn, much less could it be, as Sanders says, that she was born two years after it.

But the Learned Camden, whose Study and Profession led him to a more particular knowledge of these things, gives us another account of her birth. He says that she was born in the year 1507, which was two years before the King came to the Crown. And if it be sug- gested, that then the Prince, to enjoy her Mother, prevailed with his Father to send her Husband beyond Sea, that must be done when the Prince himself was not 14 years of Age: so they must make him to have corrupted other mens wifes at that Age, when yet they will not allow his Brother (no not when he was 2 years older) to have known his own wife.
But now I leave this foul Fiction, and go to deliver certain Truths.

Anne Boleyn's Mother was Daughter to the Duke of Norfolk, and sister to the Duke that was at the time of the Divorce Lord Treasurer. Her Fathers Mother was one of the Daughters and heirs to the Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, and her great Grand-Father Sir Geoffry Boleyn, who had been Lord Major of London, Married one of the Daughters and Heirs of the Lord Hastings; and their Family as they had mixed with so much great Blood, so had Married their Daughters to very Noble Families. She being but seven years old was carried over to France with the Kings Sister, which she was able to have none of those deformities in her person, since such are not brought into the Courts and Families of Queens. And though upon the French Kings Death the Queen Dowager came soon back to England, yet she was so liked in the French Court, that the next King Francis his Queen kept her about her self for some years; and after her death the Kings Sister the Dutchess of Alenfon, kept her in her Court all the while she was in France; which as it shews there was somewhat extraordinary in her person, so those Princes being much celebrated for their virtues, it is not to be imagined that any person so notoriously defamed as Sanders would represent her, was entertained in their Courts.

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

And so far was this Lady at least for some time from any thoughts of Marrying the King, that she had contented to Marry the Lord Percy the Earl of Northumberland's eldest Son, whom his Father, by a strange compliance with the Cardinals vanity, had placed in his Court and made him one of his servants. The thing is considerable, and clears many things that belong to this History; and the Relator of it was an Ear-witnes of the Dicourse upon it as himself informs us. The Cardinal hearing that the Lord Percy was making addresses to
to Anne Boleyn, one day as he came from the Court called for him before his Servants (before us all says the Relator including himself) and chid him for it, pretending at first that it was unworthy of him to match so meanly; but he justified his choice, and reckoned up her birth and Quality, which he said was not inferior to his own. And the Cardinal insisting fiercely, to make him lay down his pretensions, he told him, he would willingly submit to the King and him; but that he had gone so far before many witnesses, that he could not forfake it, and knew not how to discharge his conscience; and therefore he entreated the Cardinal would procure him the Kings favour in it. Upon that the Cardinal in great rage said, why? thinkest thou that the King and I know not what we have to do in so weighty a matter? yes I warrant you, but I can see in thee no submission at all to the purpose: and said, you have matched your self with such a one, as neither the King, nor yet your Father will agree to it; and therefore I will send for thy Father, who at his coming shall either make thee break this unadvized bargain, or disinherit thee for ever. To which the Lord Piercy replied, That he would submit himself to him, if his Convenience were discharged of the weighty burden that lay upon it, and soon after, his Father coming to Court he was diverted another way.

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

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

After great and high Complements, and Affurances of Rewards to engage him to follow the Business very vigorously, and with great Diligence, he writes that he had before opened the Kings case to him, and that partly by his own study, partly by the opinion of many Divines, and other Learned men of all sorts, he found that
he could no longer with a good Conscience continuie in that Marriage with the Queen ; having God and the Quiet and Salvation of his Soul chiefly before his eyes. And that he had consulted both the most learned Divines and Canonists, as well in his own Dominions as elsewhere, to know whether the Popes Dispensation could make it good, and that many of them thought the Pope could not. Dispensation in this case of the first degree of Affinity, which they esteemed forbidden by a Divine, Moral, and Natural Law; and all the rest concluded, that the Pope could not do it, but upon very weighty reasons: and they found not any such in the Bull. Then he lays out the reasons for Annulling the Bull which were touched before, upon which they all concluded the Dispensation to be of no force; that the King looked on the death of his Sons as a Curse from God; and to avoid further Judgments, he now desired the help of the Apostolick See, to consider his case, to reflect on what he had merited by these Services he had done the Papacy, and to find a way that he being divorced from his Queen may marry another Wife, of whom by the blessing of God he might hope for issue Male. Therefore the Ambassador was to use all means possible to be admitted to speak to the Pope in private, and then to deliver him these Letters of Credence, in which there was a most earnest clause added with the Kings own hand. He was also to make a Condolence of the Miseries the Pope and Cardinals were in, both in the Kings name and the Cardinals, and to assure the Pope they would use all the most effectual means that were possible for setting him at liberty, in which the Cardinal would employ as much industry, as if there were no other way to come to the Kingdom of Heaven but by doing it. Then he was to open the Kings business to the Pope, the Scruples of his Conscience, the great danger of cruel Wars upon so disputable a Succession, the Entreaties of all the Nobility and the whole Kingdom, with many other urgent reasons, to obtain what was desired. He was also to lay before the Pope the present condition of Christendome and of Italy, that he might consider of what Importance it was to his own affairs, and to the Apostolick See, to engage the King so firmly to his Interests as this would certainly do. And to move that the Pope without communicating the matter to any person, would freely grant it, and sign the Communion which was therewith sent engraven in due form, and ready to be signed, by which the Cardinal was authorized with the Assistance of such as he should choose, to proceed in the matter, according to some Instructions which were also sent fairly written out for the Pope to sign. A Dispensation was also sent in due form: and if these were expedied, he might assure the Pope that as the King had sent over a vast sum to the French King, for paying his Army in Italy, so he would spare no Travel nor Treasure, but make War upon the Emperor in Flanders, with his whole strength, till he forced him to set the Pope at liberty, and restore the State of the Church to its former Power and Dignity. And if the Pope were already at liberty, and had made an Agreement with the Emperor, he was to represent to him how little cause he had to truft so much to the Emperor, who
"had oft broke his faith, and designed to do all he could towards
the depressing the Ecclesiastical State. And the Pope was to be re-
membred that he had dispenc'd with the Emperors Oath, for Mar-
rying the Kings Daughter without communicating the Matter to
the King. And if he had done so much for one that had been his
Enemy, how much more might the King expect the like favour.
who had always payed him a moft filial duty? Or if the Pope would
not grant the Commission to the Cardinal to try the Matter, as a
Perfon that being the Kings chief Minister, was not indifferent e-
ough to judge in any of the Kings Concerns; he was by all means
to overcome that, and allure the Pope that he would proceed in it
as a Judge ought to do. But if the Pope stood upon it, and would
by no means be perfwaded to sign the Commission for the Cardi-
nal, then he was to propose Stephanius, Dean of the Rest, who was
then in England; and was to except against all other Foreigners,
if the Pope chanced to propose any other. He was also to repre-
sent to the Pope, that the King would look upon a delay as a De-
nial, and if the Pope inclined to consult with any of the Cardinals,
about it, he was to divert him from it all that was possible; but if
the Pope would needs do it, then he was to Address himself to them,
and partly by informing them of the reasons of the Kings Caufe,
 partly by rewarding the good Offices they should do, he was to
engage them for the King. And with this Dispatch Letters were
sent to Cardinal Pucci, Sanctorum Quatrot, and the other Cardinals,
to be made use of as there should be occasion for it. And because
Money was like to be the most powerful Argument, especially to
men impoverifh'd by a Captivity, 10000 Ducats were remitted
to Venice, to be distributed as the Kings Affairs required; and he was
empowered to make farther promises, as he faw caufe for it, which
the King would faithfully make good; and in particular, they were
to be wanting in nothing, that might absolutely engage the Cardi-
nal Dutary to favour the Kings Bufines.

The same things had been committed to the Secretary's care, and
they were both to proceed by concert, each of them doing all that
was poifible to promote the bufines. But before this reached Rome,
Secretary Knight was come thither, and finding it inpoifible to be
admitted to the Popes Prefence, he had by corrupting some of his
Guards sent him the Sum of the Kings Demands. Upon which the
Pope fent him word, that the Diffenfation should be fent fully expel-
ded. So gracious was a Pope in Captivity. But at that time the Ge-
neral of the Observants in Spain being at Rome, required a Promise
of the Pope not to grant any thing that might prejudice the Queens
Caufe till it were firft communicated to the Imperialists there. But
when the Pope made his Escape, the Secretary and the Ambaffador
went to him to Orvieto about the end of December, and firft did in the
Kings and Cardinals name congratulate his freedom. Then the Se-
cretary discoursed the Bufines. The Pope owned that he had receiv-
ed the Meffage which he had fent to him at Rome, but in refpeét of
his Promise, and that yet in a manner he was in Captivity, he beg-
ed the King would have a little Patience, and he should before long
have not only that Diffenfation, but any thing else that lay in his
Power.
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Power. But the Secretary not being satisfied with that excuse, the Pope in the end said, he should have it; but with this condition, That he would beseech the King not to proceed upon it, till the Pope were fully at Liberty, and the German and Spaniards were driven out of Italy. And upon the King's promising this, the Dispensation was to be put in his hands. So the Secretary, who had a great mind once to have the Bull in his possession, made no scruple to engage his promise for that. The Pope also told them he was not expert in those things, but he easily apprehended the danger that might arise from any dispute about the Succession to the Crown, and that therefore he would communicate the business to the Cardinal Sancforum Quator; upon which they resolved to prevent that Cardinals being with the Pope, and went and delivered the Letters they had for him, and promised him a good reward if he were favourable to their Requests in the King's behalf. Then they showed him the Commissions that were sent from England; but he upon the perusal of them, said, They could not pass without a perpetual dishonour on the Pope and the King too, and excepted to several Clauses that were in them. So they desired him to draw one that might both be sufficient for the King's purpose, and such as the Pope might with honour grant. Which being done, the Pope told them, That though he apprehended great danger to himself, if the Emperor should know what he had done; yet he would rather expose himself to utter ruine, than give the King, or the Cardinal cause to think him Ingrate; but with many sighs and tears, he begged that the King would not precipitate things, or expose him to be undone, by beginning any Process upon the Bull. And so he delivered the Commission and Dispensation Signed to Knight. But the means that the Pope proposed for his publishing and owning what he now granted, was, that Lautrec with the French Army should march, and coming where the Pope was, should require him to grant the Commission: So that the Pope should excuse himself to the Emperor, that he had refused to grant it upon the desire of the English Ambassador, but that he could not deny the General of the French Army, to do an act of publick justice: And by this means he would save his honour, and not seem guilty of breach of promise; and then he would dispatch the Commission about the time of Lautrec's being near him, and therefore he entreated the King to accept of what was then granted for the present. The Commission and Dispensation was given to the Secretary: and they promised to send the Bull after him, of the same form that was desired from England, and the Pope engaged to reform it as should be found needful. And it seems by these Letters that a Dispensation and Commission had been signed by the Pope when he was a Prisoner; but they thought not fit to make any use of them, lest they should be thought null, as being granted when the Pope was in Captivity.

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

Secretary *Knight* being Infirm, could not travel with that haste that was required in this business, and therefore he sent the Proto-Notary *Gambara* with the Commission and Dispensation to England, and followed in easie journeys. The Cardinals that had been consulted with, did all express great readines in granting the Kings desire: The Cardinal *Datary* had forsworn the Court, and betaken himself to serve God and his Curé; and other Cardinals were Hoftages, so that now there were but Five about the Pope, *Monte, Sanctorum Quatuor, Ridolphi, Ravennato* and *Perusano*. But a motion being made of lending over a Legate, the Pope would by no means hearken to it, for that would draw new troubles on him from the Emperor. That had been defired from England by a dispatch of the 27th. of December, which presied a speedy conclusion of the business; upon which the Pope on the 12th. of January, did communicate the matter under the Seal of Confeffion to the Cardinals *Sanctorum Quatuor* and *Simonetis* (who was then come to the Court) and upon conference with them, he proposid to Sir *Gregory Caffali*, that he thought the safer way was, "That either by vertue of the Commission that the Secretary had obtained, or by the Legantine Power that was lodged with the Cardinal of York, he should proceed in the business.

And if the King found the matter clear in his own Conscience, (in which the Pope said, No Doctor in the whole world could resolve the matter better than the King himself) he should without more noise, make judgment be given, and presently Marry another Wife, and then fend for a Legate to Confirm the matter. And it would be easier to ratifie all when it was once done, than to go on in a Proces from Rome. For the Queen would protest, that both the Place and the judges were suspected and not free, uppon which, in the course of Law, the Pope must grant an Inhibition for the Kings not Marrying another while the Suit depended, and must advociate the business to be heard in the Court of Rome; which, with other prejudices, were unavoidable in a publick Process by Bulls from Rome. But if the thing went on in England,
1528. "England, and the King had once married another Wife, the Pope then would find very good reasons to justify the confirming a thing that was gone so far, and promised to send any Cardinal whom they should name. This the Pope desired the Ambassador would signifie to the King, as the advice of the two Cardinals, and take no notice of him in it. But the dispatch shews he was a more faithful Minister than to do so.

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

But now I must look over again to England, to open the Counsels there. At that time Staphileus Dean of the Rota was there; and he either to make his Court the better, or that he was so persuaded in opinion, seemed fully satisfied about the Justice of the King's Charge. So they sent him to Rome with Instructions both publick and secret. The publick Instructions related to the Popes Affairs, in which all possible Affiance was promised by the King. But one Proposition in them flowed from the Cardinals Ambition, "That the Kings of England and France thought it would advance the Popes Interests, if he should command the Cardinals that were under no restraint, to meet in some secure place, to consider of the Affairs of the Church, that they might suffer no prejudice by the Popes Captivity: And for that end, and to conserve the Dignity of the Apostolick See, that they should choose such a Vicar or President, as partly by his Prudence and Courage, partly by the Affiance of the two Kings, upon whom depended all their hopes; might do such Services to the Apostolick See, as were most necessary in that distracted time, by which the Popes Liberty would be haf- tened.

It cannot be imagined but the Pope would be offended with this Proposition, and apprehend that the Cardinal of York was not satisfied to be intriguing for the Popedom after his death, but was aspiring to it while he was alive. For as it was plain, he was the Person that must be chosen for that trust; so if the Pope were used hardly by the Emperor, and forced to ill conditions, the Vicar so chosen and his Cardinals would disown those Conditions, which might end in a Schism or his Deposition. But Staphileus his secret Instructions, related wholly to the Kings business, which were these: "That the King had opened to him the error of his Marriage, and that the said Bishop out of his great Learning, did now clearly perceive how invalid and insufficient it was: Therefore the King recommended it to his care, that he would convince the Pope and the Cardinals, with the Arguments that had been laid before him, and of which a Breviate was given him. He was also to represent the great mischiefs that might follow, if Princes got not justice and ease from the
the Apostolick See. Therefore if the Pope were yet in Captivity
he was to propose a meeting of the Cardinals, for choosing the Car-
dinal of York to be their Head, during the Popes Imprisonment, or
that a full Commission might be sent to him for the Kings matter. And
in particular he was to take care that the Business might be tried in
England. And for his pains in promoting the Kings Concerns, the
King promised to procure a Bishoprick for him in France 5 and to
help him to a Cardinals Hat. By him the King wrote to the Pope.
The rude draught of it remains under the Cardinals hand, earnestly
desiring a speedy and favourable dispatch of his business with a Cre-
dence to the Bearer.

The Cardinal also wrote to the Pope by him; and after a long
Congratulating his Liberty with many sharp reflections on the Em-
peror, he prefixed a Dispatch of the Kings Business, in which he would
not use many words: this only I will add, _fay be_, That which is
desired is holy and just, and very much for the safety and quiet of
this Kingdom, which is most devoted to the Apostolical See. He
also wrote by the same hand to the Ambassador, that the King would
have things so carried, that all occasion of discontent or cavilling,
whether at home or abroad, might be removed; and therefore desired
that another Cardinal might be sent Legate to England, and joined
in Commission with himself for judging the Matter. He named ei-
ther Campegius, Transus, or Farnefs : Or if that could not be obtain-
ed, that a fuller Commission might be sent to himself, with all possible
haste, since delays might produce great inconveniences. If a Legate
were named, then care must be taken that he should be one who were
Learned, Indifferent, and Tractable; and if Campegius could be the
Man, he was the fittest person. And when one was named he should
make him a decent Present, and assure him that the King would most
liberally recompence all his labour and expense. He also required him
to press his speedy Dispatch, and that the Commission should be full
to try and determine, without any reservation of the Sentence to be
given by the Pope. This Dispatch is interlined, and amended with
the Cardinals own hand.

But upon the Arrival of the Medlinger whom the Secretary had
sent, with the Commission and Dispensation, and the other Packets
before-mentioned; It was debated in the Kings Council, whether he
should go on in his Process, or continue to sollicit new Bulls from
Rome. On the one hand, they saw how tedious, dangerous and ex-
penfive a Process at Rome was like to prove; and therefore it seemed
the easiest and most expeditious way to proceed before the Cardinal in
his Legantine Court, who should _ex officio_, and in the Summary way
of the Court, bring it to a speedy Conclusion. But on the other
hand, if the Cardinal gave Sentence, and the King should Marry, then
they were not sure, but before that time the Pope might either change
his mind, or his Interest might turn him another way. And the
Popes Power was so absolute by the Canon Law, that no general
Clauses in Commissions to Legates, could bind him to confirm their
Sentences: and if upon the Kings Marrying another Wife, the Pope
should refuse to confirm it, then the King would be in a worse case
than he was now in, and his Marriage and Issue by it should be still
disputable.
The History of the Reformation Book II.

1528.

Cardinal and
Excellency to
England

With Letters
from the King,
Collection
Number 7.

The substance
of the Bull
defined by
them.
Collection
Number 10.

disputable: Therefore they thought this was by no means to be adven-
tured on, but they should make new Address to the Court of Rome.
In the debate, some sharp words fell either from the King, or some of
his Secular Councillors; Intimating that if the Pope continued under
such fears, the King must find some other way to set him at ease. So
it was resolved that Stephen Gardiner, commonly called Doctor Stevens,
the Cardinals chief Secretary, and Edward Fox the Kings Almoner,
should be sent to Rome; the one being esteemed the ablest Canonist
in England, the other one of the best Divines, they were Dispatched
the 9th of February. "By them the King wrote to the Pope thank-
ing him, that he had expressed such forward and earnest willingness
"to give him ease; and had so kindly promised to gratifie his desires,
"of which he expected now to see the effects. He wrote also to the
"Cardinals, his thanks for the cheerfulness with which they had in
"Consistory promised to promote his Sute; for which he assured them
"they should never have cause to repent. But the Cardinal wrote in
"a strain, that he was in some fear that if he could not bring
about the Kings desires, he was like to lose his favour. "He befought
"the Pope as lying at his feet, that if he thought him a Chriflian,
"a good Cardinal, and not unworthy of that Dignity, an able Member
"of the Apoftolick See, a Promoter of Justice and Equity, or
"thought him his faithful Creature, or that he defined his own eternal
"Salvation, that he would now far confider his Intereffion, as
"to grant kindly and speedily that which the King earnestly defired;
"which if he did not know to be Holy, Right, and Jufz, he would
"undergo any hazard or punishment whatsoever, rather than pro-
"mote it; but he did apprehend if the King found that the Pope was
"so over-awed by the Emperor, as not to grant that which all Chriften-
"dome judged was grounded both on the Divine and Humane Laws,
"both he and other Chriflian Princes would from thence take occa-
"sion to provide themselves of other Remedies, and leffen and defpire
"the Authority of the Apoftolick See. In his Letters to Cafafi he
expressed a great fense of the Services which the Cardinal Sanfelmo
Quatnor had done the King; and bid him enquire what were the
things in which he delighted moft, whether Furniture, Gold, Plate,
or Horfes, that they might make him acceptable Prefents; and affure
him that the King would contribute largely towards the carrying on the
building of St. Peters in the Vatican.

The moft Important thing about which they were employed, was
to procure the expediting of a Bull which was formed in England,
with all the Strongest Claffes that could be imagined. In the Pream-
ble of which all the Reafons against the validity of the Bull of P. Ju-
lins the second, were recited: and it was alfo hinted that it was against
"the Law of God; but to leffen that, it was added, at least where there
"was not a fufficient Differtation obtained: therefore the Pope, to re-
ward the great Services by which the King had obliged the Apofto-
lick See, and having regard to the Diftractions that might follow
on a Disputable Title; upon a full Consultation with the Cardi-
"nals, having alfo heard the Opinions of Divines and Canonifts,
"Deputed — for his Legate, to concur with the Cardinal of York, ei-
ther together, or (the one being hindred, or unwilling) severally.
And if they found those things that were suggested against the Bull of P. Julius, or any of them, well or sufficiently proved, then to declare it void and null, as surreptitiously procured, upon false grounds; and thereupon to annul the Marriage that had followed upon it: And to give both Parties full leave to marry again, notwithstanding any Appellation or Protestation, the Pope making them his Vicars, with full and absolute Power and Authority: empowering them also to declare the Issue begotten in the former Marriage good and legitimate, if they saw caufe for it. The Pope binding himself to confirm whatever they should do in that Proceedings, and never to revoke or repeal what they should pronounce. Declaring also that this Bull should remain in force till the Proceedings were ended, and that by no Revocation or Inhibition it should be recalled; and if any such were obtained, these are all declared void and null, and the Legates were to proceed notwithstanding: and all ended with a full Non obsitante.

This was judged the uttermost force that could be in a Bull: Though the Civilians would scarce allow any validity at all in these extravagant Clauses: but the most material thing in this Bull, is, that it seems the King was not fully resolved to declare his Daughter illegitimate. Whether he pretended this, to mitigate the Queens, or the Emperors opposition, or did really intend it, is not clear. But what he did afterwards in Parliament, shews, he had this deep in his thoughts, though the Queens Carriage did soon after provoke him to pursue his resentments against her Daughter. The French King did also join a most earnest Letter of his to the Pope, which they were also to deliver. They had likewise a secret Instruction by all means to endeavour that Cardinal Campegio should be the Legate, he had the reputation of a Learned Canonist, and they knew he was a tractable man: and besides that, he was Bishop of Salisbury, the King had obliged him by the grant of a Palace, which the King was building in Burgo at Rome for his Ambassadors, which before it was finished, he had by a Patent given to him and his Heirs: so they had better hopes of him than of any other.

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

With those Letters and Instructions were Gardiner and Fox sent to Rome, where both the Caffales and Stepaldens were promoting the Kings business all they could. And being strengthened with the Accession of those other two they made a greater progress 5 so that in April the Pope did in Consistory, declare Cardinal Campegio Legate to go to England, that he with the Cardinal of York might try the validity of the Kings Marriage: But that Cardinal made great excuses, he was then Legate at Rome, in which he had such advantages, that he had no mind to enter in a business which must for ever engage either the Emperor or the King against him. He also pretended an Inability to travel so great a Journey, being much subject to the Gout. But when this was known in England, the Cardinal wrote him a most earnest Letter, to haften over, and bring with him all such things as were necessary for making their Sentence firm and irreversible, so that it might never again be question.

But here I shall add a Remark, which though it is of no great importance, yet will be diverting to the Reader. The draught of the Letter is in Wolsey's Secretaries hand, amended in some places by his own 5 and concluded thus, I hope all things shall be done according to the Will of God, the Desire of the King, the Quiet of the Kingdom, and to our honour with a good Conscience. But the Cardinal daft put out this last word with a good Conscience 5 perhaps judging that was a thing fit for meaner persons, but that it was below the Dignity of two Cardinals to consider it much. He wrote also to Caffale high Complements for his diligence in the Step that was made, but desired him with all possible means to get the Bull granted andtrusted to his keeping, with the deepest Protestations, that no use should be made of it, but that the King only should see it, by which his mind would be at ease, and he being put in good hopes would employ his Power in the Service of the Pope and Apostolick See; but the Pope was not a Man to be cozen'd so easily.

When the Cardinal heard by the next Dispatch what excuses and delays Campegio made, he wrote to him again, and pressed his coming over in haste. "For his being Legate of Rome he defined him to name "a Vice-Legate. For his want of Money, and Horses, Gardiner would "furnish him as he desired, and he should find an equipage ready for "him in France; and he might certainly expect great Rewards from "the King. But if he did not make more haste, the King would in "cline to believe an Advertisement that was sent him, of his turning "over to the Emperors Party. Therefore if he either valued the "Kings kindnes, or were grateful for the favours he had received "from him; if he valued the Cardinals Friendship or Safety, or if he "would hinder the diminution of the Authority of the Roman Church, "all excuses let aside, he must make what haste in his Journey was pos "sible.
The Pope grants a Decretal Bull.  

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

The writer of this Letter would not cease till she had caused me likewise to set to my Hand; desiring you, though it be short to take it in good part. I ensure you there is neither of us, but that greatly desireth to see you, and much more joyous to hear that you have escaped this Plague so well, trusting the fury thereof to be passed, specially with them that keepeth good diet as I trust you do. The not hearing of the Legates Arrival in France, causeth us somewhat to mistrust; notwithstanding we trust by your diligence and vigilance (with the assistance of Almighty God) shortly to be eafed out of that trouble. No more to you at this time; but that I pray God send you as good health and prosperity as the Writer would.

By Your

Loving Sovereign and Friend

Henry K.

Your Humble Servant

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

Your Humble and

Obedient Servant,

Anne Boleyn.

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

At this time the Cardinal having finished his Foundations at Oxford and Ipswich, and finding they were very acceptable, both to the King and the Clergy, resolved to go on, and suppress more Monasteries, and erect new Bishoppricks, turning some Abbeys to Cathedrals. This was proposed in the Consistory, and granted, as appears by a Dispatch of Caffari's. He also spoke to the Pope about a general Visitation of all Monasteries. And on the 4th of November, the Bull for supressing some was expected, a Copy whereof is yet extant, but written in such a Hand, that I could not read three words together in any place of it; and though I tried others that were good at reading all Hands, yet they could not do it. But I find by the dispatch that the Pope did it with some aversion: and when Gardner told him plainly, it was necessary and it must be done, he paused a little, and seemed unwilling to give any further offence to Religious Orders: But since he found it so unwise to gratifie the King in so great a Point, as the matter of his Divorce, he judged it the more necessary to mollifie him by a compliance in all other things. So there was a power given to the Two Legates to examine the State of the Monasteries, and to suppress such as they thought fit, and convert them into Bishoppricks and Cathedrals.

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

But there appeared great grounds to reject this Breve as a forged Wri-
ting. It was neither in the Records of England, nor Spain, but laid to be
found among the Papers of D. de Puebla, that had been the Spanish Am-
assador in England at the time of concluding the Match. So that if he
only had it, it must have been effaced, otherwise the Parties concerned
would have got it into their hands: Or else it was forged since. Many of
the Names were written false, which was a presumption that it was lately
made by some Spaniards, who knew not how to write the Names true:
For Sigismund, who was Secretary, when it was pretended to have been
Signed, was an exact Man, and no such errors were found in Breves at
that time. But that which shewed it a manifest Forgery, was, that it
bore date the 26th of December Anno 1503, on the same day that the
Bull
Bull was granted. It was not to be imagined that in the same day a Bull, and a Breve, should have been expedited in the same business, with such material differences in them. And the state of the Court of Rome had this singularity in it; for in all their Breves, they reckon the beginning of the year from Christmas-day, which being the Nativity of our Lord, they count the year to begin then. But in their Bulls they reckon the year to begin at the Feast of the Annunciation. So that a Breve dated the 26th of December, 1502, was, in the vulgar account in the year 1503, therefore it must be false; for neither was Julius the second, who granted it, then Pope, nor was the Treaty of the Marriage so far advanced at that time, as to admit of a Breve so soon. But allowing the Breve to be true, they had many of the same Exceptions to it, that they had to the Bull, since it bore that the King desired the Marriage, to avoid a Breach between the Crowns, which was false. It likewise bore that the Marriage had been Consummated between the Queen and Prince Arthur, which the Queen denied was ever done; so that the Suggestor in her Name being as the said, false, it could have no force, though it were granted to be a true Breve: And they said, it was plain, the Imperialists were convinced the Bull was of no force, since they betook themselves to such Arts to fortify their Cause.

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

Of all this the Cardinal of York advertized the Caffidier, and ordered them to use all possible endeavours, that the Bull might be shewn to some of the Kings Council. Upon that (Sir Gregory being then out of Rome) the Proto-Notary went to the Pope, and complained that Campeggio had dissuaded the Divorce. The Pope justified him in it, and said, He did as he had ordered him. He next complained that the Legate would not proceed to execute the Legantine Communion. The Pope denied that he
he had any order from him to delay his proceedings, but that by virtue of his Commission they might go on and pass Sentence. Then the Proto-Notary prefixed him for leave to shew the Bull to some of the Kings Council, complaining of Campeggio's stiffness in refusing it, and that he would not trust it to the Cardinal of York, who was his equal in the Commission. To this the Pope answered in passion, That he could shew the Cardinals Letter, in which he assures him, that the Bull should only be shewed to the King and himself; and that if it were not granted he was minded, therefore to preferve him he had sent it, but had ordered it to be burnt when it was once shewed. He wished he had never sent it, saying, he would gladly lose a Finger to recover it again, and expressed great grief for granting it: and said, They had got him to send it, and now would have it shewed, to which he would never consent, for then he was undone forever. Upon this, the Proto-Notary laid before him the danger of losing the King, and the Kingdom of England; of ruining the Cardinal of York, and of the undoing of their Family, whose hopes depended on the Cardinals; and that by these means Heresie would prevail in England, which if it once had got footing there, would not be so easily rootit out: That all persons judged the Kings Caufe right, but though it were not fo, something that were not good, must be borne with to avoid greater evils. And at last he fell down at his feet, and in most passionite expressions begged him to be more compliant to the Kings desires, and at least not to deny that small favour of showing the Decretal to some few Counsellors, upon the assurance of absolute secrecy: But the Pope interrupted him, and with great signs of an unual grief, told him, these bad effects could not be chargeit on him, he had kept his word, and done what he had promised, but upon no consideration would he do any thing that might wound his Conscience, or blemish his Integrity. Therefore let them proceed as they would in England, he should be free of all blame, but should confirm their Sentence. And he protested he had given Campeggio no commands to make any delays, but only to give him notice of their proceedings. If the King, who had maintained the Apostolick See, had written for the Faith, and was the Defender of it, would over-turn it, it would end in his own disgrace. But at last the secret came out, for the Pope confessed there was a League in Treaty between the Emperor and himself, but denied that he had bound himself up by it, as to the Kings business.

The Pope consulted with the Cardinals, Sandororum Quatuor, and Simo- netes, (not mentioning the Decretal to them, which he had granted without communicating it to any body, or entering it in any Register) and they were of opinion that the Proceeds should be carried on in England, without demanding any thing further from Rome. But the Imperial Cardinals spake against it, and were moving presently for an Inhibition, and an Avocation of the Cause, to be tried at the Court of Rome. The Pope also took notice, that the Intercession of England and France had not prevailed with the Venetians to restore Cervia and Ravenna, which they had taken from him; and that he could not think that Republick durst do so, if these Kings were in earnest. It had been promised that they should be restored as soon as his Legate was sent to England, but it was not yet done. The Proto-Notary told him it should moft certainly be done. Thus ended that Conversation. But the more earnest
the Cardinal was to have the Bull seen by some of the Privy-Council,  
the Pope was the more confirmed in his resolutions never to consent to  
it. For he could not imagine the desire of seeing it was a bare curiosity,  
or only to direct the Kings Counsellors; since the King and the Cardi-  
 nal could inform them of all the material Clauses that were in it. There-  
fore he judged the desire of seeing it was only that they might have so  
many witticisms to prove that it was once granted, whereby they had the  
Pope in their power; and this he judged too dangerous for him to sub-  
mit to.

But the Pope, finding the King and the Cardinal so ill satisfied with him,  
resolved to send Francisco Campegio, one of his Bed-chamber, to England,  
to remove all mistakes, and to seduce the King with fresh hopes. In En-  
gland, Campegio found still means by new delays to put off the business,  
and amused the King with new and subtile motions for ending the matter  
more desirably. Upon which, in the beginning of December, Sir Francis  
Brins and Peter Vannes, the Kings Secretary for the Latine Tongue  
were sent to Rome. They had it in Commission to search all the Records  
there, for the Brevi that was now so much talked of in Spain. They  
were to propose several overtures. "Whether if the Queen vowed Re-  
ligion, the Pope would not dispute with the Kings second Marriage?  
or if the Queen would not vow Religion, unless the King also did it,  
"whether in that case would the Pope dis pense with his vow? or whe-  
ther if the Queen would hear of no such proposition, would not the  
"Pope dispence with the Kings having two Wives? For which there  
"were divers precedents vouch'd from the Old Testament. They were to  
represent to the Pope that the King had laid out much of his best Treasure  
in his Service, and therefore he expected the highest favours out of the  
deepsest Treasure of the Church. And Peter Vannes was commanded to  
tell the Pope as of himself, that if he did for partial respects and fears,  
refuse the Kings desires, he perceived it would not only alienate the King  
from him, but that many other Princes his Confederates, with their  
Realms, would withdraw their Devotion and Obedience from the Apo-  
stolick See.

By a dispatch that followed them, the Cardinal tried a new project,  
which was an offer of 2000 men for a Guard to the Pope, to be maintain-  
ed at the cost of the King and his Confederates. And also proposed an  
terview of the Pope, the Emperor, the French King, and the Ambashi-  
dors of other Princes, to be either at Nice, Avignon, or in Savoy; and that  
himself would come thither from the King of England. But the Pope  
resolved steadfastly to keep his ground, and not to engage himself too  
much to any Prince; therefore the motion of a Guard did not at all work  
on him. To have Guards about him upon another Princes pay, was  
to be their Prisoner; and he was so weary of his late Imprisonment, that  
he would not put himself in hazard of it a second time. Besides, such  
Guard would give the Emperor just cause of jealouzie, and yet not fe-  
cure him against his power. He had been also so unsuccessful in his con-  
tenst with the Emperor, that he had no mind to give him any new pro-  
vocation: And though the Kings of England and France gave him good  
words, yet they did nothing, nor did the King make War upon the Em-  
peror, so that his Armies lying in Italy, he was still under his power.  
Therefore the Pope resolved to unite himself firmly to the Emperor; and
and all the use he made of the Kings earneftnes in his Divorce, was only to bring the Emperor to better terms. The Lutheran in Germany were like to make great use of any decision he might make against any of his Predecessors Bulls. The Cardinal Elector of Mentz, had written to him to consider well what he did in the Kings Divorce, for if it went on, nothing had ever fall out since the beginning of Luther Sect, that would so much strengthen it as that Sentence. He was also threatened on the other side from Rome, that the Emperor would have a General Council called, and whatever he did in this Process should be examined there, and he proceeded against accordingly. Nor did they forget to put him in mind of his Birth, that he was a Bailard, and so by the Canon incapable of that Dignity, and that thereupon they would depose him. He having all these things in his prospect, and being naturally of a fearful temper, which was at this time more prevalent in him by reason of his late Captivity, resolved not to run these hazards, which seemed unavoidable, if he proceeded further in the Kings business. But his constant Maxime, being to promise and swear deepest, when he intended least, he sent Campana to England, with a Letter of Credence to the Cardinal, the effects of which meallige will appear afterwards. And thus ended this year, in which it was believed that if the King had employed that Money, which was spent in a fruitless Negotiation at Rome, on a War in Flanders, it had so distracted the Emperors Forces, and encouraged the Pope, that he had sooner granted that, which in a more fruitless way was fought of him.

In the beginning of the next year, Caffali wrote to the Cardinal, that the Pope was much inclined to unite himself with the Emperor, and proposed to go in Person to Spain, to solicit a general Peace; but intended to go privately, and desired the Cardinal would go with him thither, as his Friend and Counsellor, and that they two should go as Legates. But Caffali, by Salviati's means, who was in great favour with the Pope, understood that the Pope was never in greater fear of the Emperor than at that time; for his Ambassadors had threatened the Pope severely, if he would not recall the Commission that he had sent to England; so that the Pope spoke oft to Salviati of the great Repentance that he had inwardly in his heart, for granting the Decretal; and said, He was undone for ever, if it came to the Emperors knowledge. He also resolved, that though the Legates gave Sentence in England, it should never take effect, for he would not confirm it: Of which Gregory Caffali gave Advertisement by anexpress Messenger, who as he palled through Paris, met Secretary Knight and Doctor Bennet, whom the King had dispatched to Rome, to assist his other Ambassadors there, and gave them an account of his meallige; and that it was the Advice of the Kings Friends at Rome, that he and his Confederates should follow the War more vigorously, and press the Emperor harder, without which all their applications to the Pope would signify nothing. Of this they gave the Cardinal an account, and went on but faintly in their Journey, judging that upon these Advertisement they would be recalled, and other Counsels taken.

At the same time the Pope was with his usual Arts cajoling the Kings Agents in Italy: For when Sir Francis Bricke and Peter Vannes came to Bononia, the Proto-Notary Caffali was surprized, to hear that the business was not already ended in England; since (he said) he knew there were sufficient
that the Pope assured him he would confirm their Sentence; but that he made a great difference between the confirming their judgment, by which he had the Legates between him and the Empire or Obiscon of it, and the granting a Bull: by which the judgment should arise immediately from himself. This his best Friends declined, and he seemed apprehensive, that in case he should do it, a Council would be called, and he should be deposed for it. And any such distraction in the Papacy, considering the footing which Herefie had already gotten, would ruin the Ecclesiastical State, and the Church: So dextrously did the Pope govern himself between such contrary sides. But all this Diffimulation was short of what he acted by Campana in England, whose true errand thither was to order Campegia to destroy the Bull: but he did so perfiwade the King and the Cardinal of the Popes sincerity, that by a dispatch to Sir Francis Brium, and Peter Vannes; and Sir Gregory Caffeli, he chid the two former for not making more haste to Rome; for he believed it might have been a great advantage to the Kings Affairs, if they had got thither before the General of the Observants (then Cardinal Angelo). He ordered them to settle the business of the Guard about the Pope presently, and tells them that the Secretary was recalled, and Dr. Stephens again sent to Rome: And in a Letter to Secretary Knight, who went no further than Lion, he writes to him 1 That Campana had assured the King and him, in the Popes name, that the Pope was ready to do, not only all that of Law, Equity, or Justice, could be desired of him, but whatever of the falseness of his Power he could do or devise, for giving the King content: And that although there were three things, which the Pope had great reason to take care of; The calling a General Council, The Emperors descent into Italy, and the Restitution of his Towns, which were offered to be put in his hands by the Emperors means; yet neither these, nor any other considerati- on, should divert him from doing all that lay within his Authority, or Power, for the King: And that he had so deep a sense of the Kings merits, and the obligations that he had laid on him, that if his regi- nation of the Popedom might do him any Service, he would readily consent to it: And therefore, in the Popes name he encouraged the Legates to proceed and end the busines.

Upon these assurances the Cardinal ordered the Secretary to haste forward to Rome, and to thank the Pope for that kind message, to settle the Guard about him, and to tell him, that for a Council, none could be called but by himself, with the consent of the Kings of England and France. And for any pretended Council or meeting of Bishops, which the Emperor by the Cardinals of his Party might call, he needed not fear that. For his Towns, they should be most certainly restored. Nor was the Emperors offering to put them in his hand to be much regarded; for though he restored them, if the Pope had not a better Guaranty for them, it would be case for him, to take them from him when he pleased. He was also to propose a firmer League between the Pope, England, and France, in order to which, he was to move the Pope most carefully to go to Nice; and if the Pope proposed the Kings taking a second Wife, with a Legitimation of the Ilia, which she might have, so the Queen might be induced to enter into a State of Religion, to which the Pope inclined most, he was not to accept of that; both because the thing would take
take up much time, and they found the Queen resolved to do nothing, but as she was advised by her Nephews. Yet if the Pope offered a 
Favour about it, he might take it, to be made use of as the Occasion 
might require. But by a Postscript he is recalled, and it is signified to him, that Gardiner was sent to Rome, to negotiate those affairs, who had returned to England with the Legate, and his being so suc-
cessful in his former Mediation, made them think him the fittest Min-
ister they could imploy in that Court; and to send him with the great-
er Advantage, he was made a Privy Councillor.

But an unlooked-for Accident put a stop to all Proceedings in the 
Court of Rome. For on Epiphany-day the Pope was taken extreme 
il at Maf, and a great distemper followed, of which it was gene-

rally believed he could not recover; and though his distemper did 
soon abate so much, that it was thought to be over, yet it returned 
again upon him, insomuch that the Physicians did suspect he was poi-
tined. Then followed all the secret Caballings, and Intrigues, which 
are ordinary in that Court upon such an occasion. The Colonna's and 
the other Imperialists were very busy, but the Cardinal of Mantua 
opposed them; and Farinelli, who was then at his house in the Coun-
try, came to Rome and joyned with Mantua, and these of that Fa-
cition, resolved that if the Spanish Army marched from Naples 
toward them, they would dispence with that Bull, which provides that 
the Succeeding Pope should be chosen in the same place where the former 
died, and would retire to some safe place. Some of the Cardinals 
spoke highly in favour of Cardinal Wolsey, whom (if the Amba-
fadors did not flatter and lie grolly in their Letters, from which I draw 
these Informations) they reverenced as a D.ity. And the Cardinal of 
Mantua, it seems, proposing him as a Pattern, would needs have a 
Particular account of his whole Courfe of Life, and expressed great 
efem for him. When Gardiner was come as far as L1ons he wrote 
the Cardinal word, that there went a Prophecy that an Angel should 
be the next Pope, but should die soon after. He also gave Advice 
that if the Pope died, the Commission for the Legates must needs 
expire with him, unless they made some Step in their Business, by a 
Citation of Parties, which would keep it alive; but whether this 
was done or not I cannot find. The Cardinals Ambition was now fer-
menting strongly, and he resolved to lay his Project for the Popedom 
better than he had done before. His Letter about it to Gardiner, and 
the Kings Instructions to his Ambassadors, are Printed by Fox, and 
the Originals from which they are taken are yet extant. He wrote 
also another Letter to the Ambassadors, which the Reader will find in 
the Collection. But because the Instructions show what were the me-

thods in choosing Popes in these days, by which it may be easily ga-
tered, how such an Election must needs recommend a man to Infall-
ibility, Supremacy, and all the other Appendages of Christ's Vicar on 
Earth, I shall give a short Summary of them.

"By his Letter to his confident Gardiner, he commits the thing 
chiefly to his care, and orders him to employ all his parts, to bring 
it to the desired issue; sparing neither Presents, nor Promises; and that 
as he saw mens inclinations or affections led them, whether to pub-
lick or private Concerns, to he should govern himself towards them 
accordingly;"
Accordingly, The Instructions bear, that the King thought the Cardinal the fittest person to succeed to the Papacy: (they being adverized that the Pope was dead;) that the French King did also of his own motion offer his Assistance to him in it, and that both for publick and private ends, the Cardinal was the fittest. Therefore the Ambassadors are required with all possible earnestnes and vigour, to promote his Election. A Schedule of the Cardinals names is lent them with marks to every one, whether he was like to be present or absent, favourable, indifferent, or opposite to them. It was reckoned there could be but 39 present, of which 26 were necessary to choose the Pope. Of these the two Kings thought themselves sure of 20. So 6 was all the number that the Ambassadors were to gain, and to that number, they were first to offer them good reasons, to convince them of the Cardinals fitness for the Papacy. But because humane frailty was such, that reason did not always take place, they were to promise Promotions, and Sums of Money, with other good Rewards, which the King gave them Communion to offer, and would certainly make them good: besides all the great Pernaments which the Cardinal had, that should be shared among those who did procure his Election. The Cardinals of their party were first to enter into a firm bond, to exclude all others. They were also to have some Creatures of theirs to go into the Conclave, to manage the Business. Sir Gregory Caffith, was thought fittest for that Service. And if they saw the adverse party too strong in the Conclave, so that they could carry nothing, then Gardiner was to draw a Protestation, which should be made in name of the two Crowns; and that being made, all the Cardinals of their Faction were to leave the Conclave. And if the fear of the Emperors Forces over-awed them, the Ambassadors were to offer a Guard of 2 or 3000 men to secure the Cardinals: and the French King Ordered his Armies to move, if the Spanish Troops did move either from Naples, or Milan. They were also to assure them, that the Cardinal would presently upon his Election come and live at Rome, and were to use all endeavours to gain the Cardinal de Medici to their Faction; but at the same time to assure the Florinues, that Wolfe would assist them to exclude the Medici out of the Government of their Town and State. They were also to have a strict eye upon the motions of the French Faction, lest if the Cardinal were excluded, they should consent to any other, and refuse to make the Protestantation as it was desired. But to oblige Campegio the more, it was added, that if they found all hopes of raising the Cardinal of York to vanish, then they should try if Campegio could be Elect: and in that case the Cardinals of their Faction were to make no Protestantation.

These were the Apostolical Methods, then used for choosing a Successor to St. Peter; for though a Successor had been chosen to Judas by lot, yet more Caution was to be used in choosing one for the Prince of the Apostles. But when the Cardinal heard that the Pope was not dead, and that there was hope of his recovery, he wrote another long Letter to the Ambassadors (the Original of which is yet extant) "to keep all their Instructions about a new Pope very secret, to beginning as many Cardinals as they could, and to take care that the Card-
"dinals should not go into the Conclave, unless they were free, and "safe from any fears of the Imperial Forces. But if the Pope reco-
vered, they were to press him to give such orders about the Kings "Business, that it might be speedily ended: and then the Cardinal "would come and wait on the Pope over to Spain, as he had propo-
"sed. And for the Apprehensions the Pope had of the Emperors be-
"ing highly offended with him, if he granted the Kings desire, or of "his coming into Italy, he needed not fear them. They knew what-
"ever the Emperor pretended about his obligation to protect his Aunt, "it was only for reason of State: but if he were satisfied in other "things, that would be soon passed over. They knew also that his "design of going into Italy was laid aside for that year; because he "apprehended that France and England would make War on him in "other places. There were also many Precedents found, of Dispensa-
fations granted by Popes in like cases: And lately there had been "one granted by Pope Alexander the 6th, to the King of Hungary, a-
"gainst the Opinion of his Cardinals, which had never been ques-
tioned: and yet he could not pretend to such Merits as the King had. "And all that had ever been said in the Kings Cause, was sum'd up in a short Breviate by Caflafi, and offered to the Pope; a Copy whereof Collec-
taken from an Original under his own hand, the Reader will find in the Collection.

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

But the Popes relapse put a new Stop to business, of which the Car-
dinal being informed, as he ordered the Kings Agents to continue their care about his Promotion, so he charged them to see if it were "possible to get Access to the Pope, and though he were in the very "Agony of Death, to propose two things to him: the one, that he "would prefently command all the Princes of Christendom to agree "to a Cession of Arms, under pain of the Cenfures of the Church, "as Pope Leo and other Popes had done; and if he should die, he "could not do a thing that would be more meritorious, and for the "good of his Soul, than to make that the laft Act of his Life. The "other thing was concerning the Kings business, which he prelief as "a thing necessary to be done, for the clearing and ease of the Popes "Confidence, towards God: And withal he orders them to gain as "many about the Pope, and as many Cardinals and Officers in the "Rota as they could, to promote the Kings desires, whether in the "Popes
Pope's sickness or health. The Bishop of Verona had a great Interest with the Pope, to by that, and another Dispatch of the same Date, (sent another way) they were ordered to gain him, promising him great Rewards, pressing him to remain still about the Popes person: to balance the ill Offices which Cardinal Angell, and the Arch-Bishop of Capua did, who never stirred from the Pope: And to allure that Bishop, that the King laid this Matter more to heart, than any thing that ever befel him; and that it would trouble him as much to be overcome in this Matter by these two Friers, as to loose both his Crowns: and for my part (writes the Cardinal) I would expose any thing to my life, yea life itself, rather than see the Inconveniences that may ensue upon disappointing of the Kings desire. For promoting the Business, the French King sent the Bishop of Bayon, to assist the English Ambassadors in his name, who was first sent over to England, to be well instructed there. They were either to procure a Decretal for the Kings Divorce, or a new Commission to the two Legates, with ampler Clauses in it, than the former had; to judge as if the Pope were in person, and to emit compulsory Letters against any, whether Emperor, King, or of what degree ever, to produce all manner of Evidences or Records, which might tend towards the clearing the Matter, and to bring them before them. This was fought because the Emperor would not send over the pretended Original Breve, to England, and gave only an Attested Copy of it to the Kings Ambassadors: lest therefore from that Breve, a new Suit might be afterwards raised, for Anulling any Sentence which the Legates should give, they thought it needful to have the Original brought before them. In the penning of that new Commission, Dr. Gardiner was ordered to have special care that it should be done, by the best advice he could get in Rome. It appears also from this dispatch, that the Popes Pollitation to Confirm the Sentence which the Legates should give, was then in Gardiner's hands, for he was ordered to take care that there might be no disagreement between the date of it, and of the new Commission. And when that was obtained, Sir Francis Brix was commanded to bring them with him to England. Or if neither a Decretal, nor a new Commission could be obtained, then if any other expedient were proposed, that upon good advice should be found sufficient and effectual, they were to accept of it, and send it away with all possible diligence. And the Cardinal conjured them "by the Reverence of Almighty God, to bring them out of their Perplexity, that this Virtuous Prince may have this thing speeded, which would be the most joyous thing that could befal his heart upon Earth. But if all things should be denied, then they were to make their Protestations, not only to the Pope, but to the Cardinals, of the Injustice that was done the King, and in the Cardinals name to let them know that not only the King and his Realm would be lost, but also the French King and his Realm, with their other Confederates, would also withdraw their Obedience from the See of Rome, which was more to be regarded, than either the Emperors Displeasure, or the Recovery of two Cities. They were also to try what might be done in Law by the Cardinals in a Vacancy, and they were to take good Counsell upon some Chapters of the Canon-Law, which related to that: and Govern
Govern themselves accordingly, either to hinder an Avocation, or Inhibition, or if it could be done to obtain such things, as they could grant, towards the Conclusion of the Kings Business. At this time al- so the Cardinals Bulls for the Bishoprick of Winchester were expedi- ted: they were rated high at 15000 Ducats, for though the Cardinal pleaded his great Merits, to bring the composition lower, yet the Car- dinals at Rome, said the Apostolick Chamber was very poor, and other Bulls were then coming from France, to which the favour they should show the Cardinal would be a Precedent. But the Cardinal sent word that he would not give half 5, or 6000 Ducats, because he was exchang- ing Winchester for Daresford, and by the other they were to get a great Composition. And if they held his Bulls so high, he would not have them; for he needed them not, since he enjoyed already by the Kings Grant the Temporalities of Winchester; which it is very likely was all that he considered in a Bishoprick. They were at last expeditied, at what Rates I cannot tell; but this I set down to show, how severe the Exactions of the Court of Rome were.

As the Pope recovered his health, so he inclined more to join him- self to the Emperor than ever, and was more alienated than formerly from the King and the Cardinal; which perhaps was increased by the diftaste he took at the Cardinals aspiring to the Popedom. The first thing that the Emperor did in the Kings Cause, was to protest in the Queen of England name, that he refused to submit to the Legates. The one was the Kings chief Minister and her mortal enemy: The other was also justly suspected, since he had a Bishoprick in England. The Kings Ambaffador profied the Pope much, not to admit the Proteftation; but it was pretended that it could not be denied, either in Law or Justice. But that this might not offend the King, Salvati that was the Popes Favourite, wrote to Canpepio, that the Proteftation could not be hindered, but that the Pope did still most earnestly desire to satisfaction the King, and that the Ambassadors were much mistaken, who were fo disjointfull of the Popes good mind to the Kings Cause. But now good words could deceive the King no longer, who clearly discovered the Popes mind, and being out of all hopes of any thing more from Rome, resolved to proceed in England, before the Legates: and therefore Gardiner was recalled, who was thought the fittest per- fon, to manage the Procefs in England, being esteemed the greatest Canonift they had; and was so valued by the King, that he would not begin the Procefs till he came. Sir. Francis Brias was also recalled, and when they took leave of the Pope, they were ordered to Expostulate in the Kings name: "Upon the Partiality he expressed for the Emperor, notwithstanding the many assurances, that both the Legates had given the King, that the Pope would do all he could to- ward his Satisfaction; which was now so ill performed that he ex- pected no more justice from him. They were also to say, as much as they could devise in the Cardinals name, to the fame purpose, up- on which they were to try, if it were possible to obtain any Enlarge- ment of the Commiffion with fuller Power to the Legates; for they saw it was in vain to move for any new Bulls, or Orders from the Pope about it. And though Gardiner had obtained a Pollication from the Pope, by which he both bound himself not to recall the caufe from the Legates,
gates, and also to confirm their Sentence, and had sent it over; they found it was so conceived, that the Pope could go back from it when he pleased. So there was a new Draught of a Pollicitation formed with more binding Clauses in it, which Gardiner was to try if he could obtain by the following Pretence. "He was to tell the Pope, "that the Courier to whom he trusted it, had been so little careful "of it, that it was all wet and defaced, and of no more use; so "that he durst not deliver it. And this might turn much to Gardiners "prejudice, that a matter of such concern was through his neglect "spoiled: upon which he was to see if the Pope would renew it. "If that could be obtained, he was to use all his Industry to get as "many pregnant and material words added, as might make it more "binding. He was also to assure the Pope, that though the Empe- "ror was gone to Barcelona, to give reputation to his affairs in Italy; "yet he had neither Army, nor Fleet ready, so that they needed not "fear him. And he was to inform the Pope of the Arts he was u- "sing both in the English and French Court to make a Separated Tre- "aty: But that all was to no purpose, the two Kings being so firmly "linked together. But the Pope was so great a Master in all the "Arts of Diffimulation, and Policy, that he was not to be over-reached easilly; and when he understood that his Pollicitation was defaced, he was in his heart glad at it, and could not be prevailed with to renew it. So they returned to England, and Dr. Bennet came in their place. He carried with him one of the fullest and most important Diispatches that I find in this whole matter, from the two Legates to the Pope, and the Confiatory, who wrote to them, "that they had in vain en- "deavoured to perswade either party to yield to the other; That the "Breve being shewed to them by the Queen, they found great and e- "vident Presumptions of it's being a meer forgery; and that they "thought it was too much for them to fit and try the Validity, or "Authenticalnes of the Popes Bulls, or Breves, or to hear his Pow- "er of Dispencing in such cases disputed: therefore it was more ex- "pedient to Avocate the caufe, to which the King would content, if "the Pope obliged himself under his hand, to pass Sentence speedily "in his favour; but they rather advised the Granting a Decretal Bull "which would put an end to the whole matter, in order to which "the Bearer was instrucred to shew very good Precedents. But in "the mean while, they advised the Pope to prefs the Queen most ef- "fectually, to enter into a Religious life, as that which would com- "pose all these differences in the fovereign and easiest way. It pitied them "to fee the rack and torments of Confcience, under which the King "had smarted fo many years: and that the Diispaces of Divines, and "the Decrees of Fathers, had fo diquitted him, that for clearing a "matter thus perplexed, there was not only need of Learning, but of "a more singular Piety and Illumination. To this were to be added "the desire of thine, the Settlement of the Kingdom, with many other "pressing reasons: that as the matter did admit of no further delays, "so there was not any thing in the oppofite Scale to balance these "Condefcrations. There were falf Suggestions furnifhed abroad, as "if the hatred of the Queen, or the desire of another wife (who was "not perhaps yet known, much lefs designed) were the true caufes of "this
this Suit. But though the Queen was of a rough Temper, and an
unpleasant Conversation, and was puffed all hopes of Children; yet
who could imagine that the King who had spent his most youthful
days with her, so kindly, would now in the decline of his Age, be
at all this trouble to be rid of her, if he had no other Motives?
But they by searching his fore, found there was rooted in his heart,
both an awe of God, and a respect to Law and Order; so that though
all his people preferred him to drive the Matter to an issue, yet he
would still wait for the decision of the Apoftolick See. Therefore
they most prefillingly desire the Pope to grant the Cure which his di-
stemper required, and to consider that it was not fit to inflict too
much on the Rigour of the Law; but since the Soul and life of all
the Laws of the Church was in the Popes breast; in doubtful cafes,
where there was great hazard, he ought to mollifie the severity of
the Laws, which if it were not done, other Remedies would be found
out, to the vast prejudice of the Ecclesiastical Authority, to which
many about the King advife him: There was reason to fear they
should not only lose a King of England, but a Defender of the Faith.
The Nobility and Gentry were already enraged at the delay of Mat-
ter, in which all their Lives and Interests were fo nearly concerned:
and said many things against the Popes Proceedings, which they
could not relate without horror. And they plainly complained, that
whereas Popes had made no scruple to make and change divine Laws,
at their pleasure; yet one Pope sticks fo much at the repealing what
his Predecessor did, as if that were more sacred, and not to be med-
led with. The King took himself to no ill Arts, neither to the
charms of Magitians, nor the Forgeries of Impoftors, therefore they
expected such an Anfwer as should put an end to the whole mat-
ter.

But all these things were to no purpose: the Pope had taken his
measures, and was not to be moved by all the reasons, or Remonfran-
ces, the Ambassador could lay before him. The King had absolutely
gained Campegio to do all he could for him without lofing the Popes
favour. He led at this time a very difolute life in England, hunting
and gaming all the day long, and following whores all the night:
and brought a Baflard of his own over to England with him, whom
the King Knighted, fo that if the King fought his pleasure, it was no
strange thing: since he had such a Copy fet him by two Legates, who
representing his Holinefs fo lively in their manners, it was no unus-
fual thing, if a King had a flight tenfe of fuch disorders. The King
wrote to his Ambaffadors, that he was satisfied of Campegio's love and
affection to him, and if ever he was gained by the Emperors Agents,
he had said something to him which did totally change that Inclination.

The Imperialifts being Alarm'd at the recalling of fome of the
English Ambaffadors, and being Informed by the Queens means, that
they were forming the Proces in England, put in a Memorial for an
Avocation of the caufe to Rome. The Ambaffadors anfwered, that
there was no Colour for asking it, since there was nothing yet done
by the Legates. For they had strict orders to deny that there was
any Proces forming in England, even to the Pope himfelf in private,
unless he had a mind it should go on; but were toufe all their En-
deavors

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deavours to hinder an Avocation; and plainly in the Kings name, to tell the Pope, that if he granted that, the King would look on it as a Formal decision against him. And it would also be an high affront to the two Cardinals: and they were thereupon to Profeft, that the King would not obey, nor consider the Pope any more, if he did an Act of such high Injustice; as after he had granted a Commission, upon no complaint of any Illegality, or Injust Proceedings of the Lagates, but only upon surmises and fufpitions, to take it out of their hands. But the Pope had not yet brought the Emperor to his Terms in other things, therefore to draw him on the faster, he continued to give the English Ambassador good words; and in discourse with Peter Vannes, did insinuate as if he had found a means to bring the whole matter to a good Conclusion, and spoke it with an Artificial finile, adding, In the name of the Father, &c. But would not speak it out, and seemed to keep it up as a secret, not yet ripe. But all this did afterwards appear to be the deepest Diffimulation that ever was practifed. And in the whole Proceeds, though the Cardinal studied to make tricks past upon him, yet he was always too hard for them all at it; and seemed as Infallible in his Arts of Jugling, as he pretended to be in his Decifions. He wrote a Cajoling Letter to the Cardinal, but words went for nothing.

Soon after this, the Pope complained much to Sir Gregory Caffali, of the ill ufe he received from the French Ambassador, and that their Confederates, the Florentines, and the Duke of Ferrara ufed him fo ill, that they would force him to throw himself into the Emperors hands: and he seemed inclined to grant an Avocation of the caufe, and complained that there was a Treaty of Peace going on at Cambrai, in which he had no share. But the Ambassador undertook that nothing should be done to give him juft offence; yet the Florentines continued to put great affronts on him, and his Family: And the Abbot of Farfa their General, made excursions to the gates of Rome; so that the Pope, with great signs of fear, faid that the Florentines would some day feize on him, and carry him with his hands bound behind his back in Procession to Florence: and that all this while the Kings of England and France did only entertain him with good words, and did not so much as restrain the Infolencies of their Confederates. And whereas they ufed to fay, that if he joyned himself to the Emperor, he would treat him as his Chaplain, he faid with great Comotion, that he would not only choofe rather to be his Chaplain, but his horse-Groom, than fuffer fuch injuries from his own Rebelious Vaffals and Subjects. This was perhaps fent on by the Cardinals Arts, to let the Pope feel the weight of offending the King, and to oblige him to ufe him better: but it wrought a contrary effect, for the Treaty between the Emperor and him, was the more advanced by it. And the Pope reckoned that the Emperor being (as he was inform'd) afhamed and grieved for the taking and Sacking of Rome, would study to repair that by better ufeage for the future.

The Motion for the Avocation was still driven on, and pressed the more earnestly, because they heard the Legates were proceeding in the caufe. But the Ambaffadors were instructed by a Dispatch from the King, to obviate that carefully; for as it would reflect on the Legates, and
and to defeat the Commission, and be a gross violation of the Popes Prom-ife, which they had in writing; for it was more for the Popes interest to leave it in the Legates hands, than to bring it before himself; for then, whatever Sentence passed, the ill effects of it would lye on the Pope without any Interpolition. And as the King had very just exceptions to Rome where the Emperors Forces lay so near, that no safety could be expected there; so they were to tell the Pope that by the Laws of England, the Prerogative of the Crown Royal was such, that the Pope could do nothing that was prejudicial to it: To which the cing the King to Rome, to have his cause decided there, was contrary in a high degree. And if the Pope went on, notwithstanding all the diligence they could uce to the contrary, they were by an other Dilpatch which Gardiner lent, ordered to Protest and Appeal from the Pope as not the true Vicar of Christ, to a true Vicar. But the King upon second thought, judged it not fit to proceed to this Extremity so soon. They were also ordered to advertise the Pope, that all the Nobility had assured the King, they would adhere to him, in cafe he were ill used by the Pope, that he were constrained to withdraw his obedience from the Apostolick See; and that the Cardinalsruine was unavoidable, if the Pope granted the Avocation. The Emperors Agents had pretended they could not send the original Breve into England, and said their Matter would send it to Rome, upon which the Ambassadors had solicited for Letters Compulory, to require him to send it to England; yet left that might now be made an Argument by the Imperialies for an Avocation, they were ordered to speak no more of it, for the Legates would proceed to Sentence, upon the attested Copy that was sent from Spain.

The Ambassadors had also orders to take the best Counfel in Rome, Just 28. about the Legal ways of hindring an Avocation. But they found it was not fit to rely much on the Lawyers in that manner. For as on the one hand, there was no secrecy to be expected from any of them, they having such expectations of preferments from the Pope, (which were beyond all the Fees that could be given them,) that they discovered all secrets to him: So none of them would be earnest to hinder an Avocation, it being their Interests to bring all Matters to Rome, by which they might hope for much greater Fees. And Salvati whom the Ambassadors had gained, told them, that Campa he brought word out of England, that the Process was then in a good forwardness. They with many Oaths denied there was any such thing, and Silvester Da-rius who was sent express to Rome, for opposing the Avocation, con-71 mitted all that they swore. But nothing was believed, for by a se-cret conveyance, Campa had Letters to the contrary. And when they objected to Salvati, what was promis'd by Campa, in the Popes name, that he would do every thing for the King, that he could do out of the subje-ts of his Power; He answered, that Campa, swore he had never said any such thing. So hard is the cafe of Ministers in such sickly negotiations, that they must say, and unlay, swear, and for-"rver, as they are instructed, which goes of Course, as a part of their Businesses.

But now the Legates were proceeding in England: Of the steps in which they went, though a great deal be already published, yet con-siderable
tiderable things are passed over. On the 31st of May, the King by a
Warrant under the Great Seal, gave the Legates leave to execute their
Commission, upon which they set that same day. The Commission was
prevented by Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, which was given to the Proto-
Notary of the Court, and he read it publicly; then the Legates took
it in their hands, and said, they were resolved to Execute it: And this
gave the usual Oaths to the Clerks of the Court, and ordered a perempto-
ry Citation of the King and Queen to appear on the 8th of June, be-
tween 9 and 10 Clock; and to the Court Adjourned. The next Sec-
tion was on the 18th of June, where the Citation being returned duly
Executed, Richard Sampson, Dean of the Chapell, and Mr. John Bell,
appeared as the Kings Proxies. But the Queen appeared in Person, and
did protest against the Legates as incompetent Judges, alleging that the
case was already Avocated by the Pope, and desired a competent time
in which she might prove it. The Legates advised her the 21st, and
so Adjourned the Court till then.

About this time there was a severe Complaint exhibited against the
Queen in Council, of which there is an account given in a paper, that
has somewhat written at the conclusion of it, with the Cardinals own
hand. "The substance of it is, That they were informed some designed
to kill the King, or the Cardinal; in which, if she had any hand, she
must not expect it spared. That she had not shewed such love to
the King, neither in Bed, nor out of Bed, as she ought. And now that
the King was very penfive, and in much grief, she shewed great signs
of joy, setting on all people to Dancings, and other Diverisions. This
it seemed she did out of pignot to the King, since it was contrary to her
temper and ordinary behaviour. And whereas she ought rather to pray
to God to bring this matter to a good conclusion, she seemed not at all
serious; and that she might corrupt the peoples affections to the King,
she shewed her self much abroad, and by civilities, and gracious bow-
ing her head, which had not been her custom formerly, did study to
work upon the people: And that having the pretended Breve in her
hands, she would not shew it sooner. From all which the King con-
cluded that she hated him: Therefore his Council did not think it ad-
vicable for him to be any more conversant with her, either in Bed or
at Board. They also in their Conferences thought his life was in such
danger that he ought to withdraw himself from her company, and not
 suffer the Princes to be with her. These things were to be told her,
to induce her to enter into a Religious Order, and to perfwade her to
submit to the King. To which paper, the Cardinal added in Latinie,
That she played the fool, if she contended with the King, that her Children
had not been blessed, and somewhat of the evident suspicions that were of the
Forgery of the Breve. But she had a constant mind, and was not to be
threatened to any thing. On the 21st of June, the Court Sate, the King
and Queen were present in Person. Campegio made a long Speech of the
errand they were come about: * "That it was a new, unheard-of, yel-
" and intolerable thing, for the King and Queen to live in Adultery, or
" rather Incest; which they must now try, and proceed as they saw justi-
cafe. And both the Legates made deep protestations of the sincerity
of their minds, and that they would proceed justly and fairly without
any favour or partiality.
As for the formal Speeches which the King and Queen made, Hall, who never failed in trifles, lets them down, which I incline to believe they really spoke; for with the Journals of the Court, I find those Speeches written down, though not as a part of the Journal.

But here the Lord Herbert's usual diligence fails him; for he fancies the Queen never appeared after the 18th, upon which, because the Journal of the next Sessions are lost, he inferest against all the Histories of that time, That the King and the Queen were not in Court together. And he seems to conclude that the 25th of June, was the next Session after the 18th, but in that he was mistaken: For by an original Letter of the Kings to his Ambassadors, it is plain that both the King and Queen came in Person into the Court, where they both sat, with their Council standing about them: The Bishops of Rochester, and St. Asaph, and Doctor Ridley being the Queens Council. When the King and Queen were called on the King answered, Here; but the Queen left her fear and went and kneeled down before him, and made a Speech, that had all the Insinuations in it to raise pity and compassion in the Court. She said, "She was a poor woman, and a stranger in his Dominions, where she could neither expect good Council, nor indifferent Judges; she had been long his Wife, and defired to know wherein she had offended him: she had been his Wife twenty years and more, and had born him several Children, and had ever studied to please him; and protested he had found her a true Maid, about which he appealed to his own Conscience. If she had done any thing amiss, she was willing to be put a-way with shame. Their Parents were esteemed very wise Principes, and no doubt had good Councillors, and Learned men about them, when the Match was agreed: Therefore she would not submit to the Court, nor durt her Lawyers, who were his Subjects, and assigned by him, speake freely for her. So she defired to be excused till she heard from Spain. That said she rose up, and made the King a low Reverence, and went out of the Court. And though they called after her, she made no answer, but went away and would never again appear in Court.

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

Articles drawn by the Legates.

Upon which wittnesses are examined.

The proceedings at Rome about Avocati-
on.

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

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The tendered he had his consent to make another write his name to the judgment of the rest, which he positively denied.

The Court Adjourned to the 25th, ordering Letters Monitory to be intituled for Citing the Queen to appear under pain of Contumacy. But on the 25th, was brought in her appeal to the Pope, the Original of which is extant, every page being both Subscribed and Supercribed by her. She excepted both to the Place, to the Judges, and to her Council, in whom she could not confide; and therefore appealed and desired her Cause might be heard by the Pope, with many things out of the Canon-Law, on which she grounded it. This being read, and the not appearing was Declared Contumax. Then the Legates being to proceed ex officio, drew up twelve Articles, upon which they were to examine wittnesses. The substance of them was, "That Prince Arthur and the King "were Brothers; that Prince Arthur did Marry the Queen, and Con-"summated the Marriage; that upon his death the King by vertue of a "Dispensation had Married her; that this Marrying his Brothers Wife "was forbidden both by Humane and Divine Law; and that upon the "complaints which the Pope had received, he had sent them now to try "and judge in it. The Kings Council insifted moft on Prince Arthur's having Consummated the Marriage, and that led them to say many things that seemed incident; of which the Bifhop of Rochester complained, and faid they were things detestable to be heard: but Cardinal, Wolfeck checkt him, and there paffed some sharp words between them.

The Legates proceeded to the Examination of Wittnesses, of which I shall fay little, the substance of their Depositions, being fully fett down with all their names by the Lord Herbert. The sum of what was most material in them, was, that many violent presumptions appeared by their Testimonies, that Prince Arthur did carnally know the Queen. And it cannot be imagined how greater proofs could be made 27 years after their Marriage. Thus the Court went on for a number of days Examining Wittnesses; but as the matter was going on to a conclusion, there came an Avocation from Rome. Of which I shall now give an Account.

The Queen wrote moftearnthly to her Nephews to procure an Avoca-"tion; protesting she would suffer any thing, and even death it self, rather than depart from her Marriage; that she expected no justice from the Legates, and therefore lookt for their affittance, that her appeal being admitted by the Pope, the Cause might be taken out of the Legates hands. Campogio did also give the Pope an account of their Progress, and by all means advised an Avocation; for by this he thought to excute himself to the King, to oblige the Emperor much, and to have the reputation of a man of Conience.

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

The matter was such, that by the Canon-Law it could not be denied. For to grant an Avocation of a Cause upon good reason, from the Delegated to the Supream Court, was a thing which by the course of Law was very usual: And it was no less apparent that the Reasons of the Queens Appeal were just and good. But the secret and most convincing Motives that wrought more on the Pope than all other things, were, that the Treaty between him and the Emperor was now concerted; Therefore this being to be published very speedily, the Pope thought it necessary to avocate the matter to Rome, before the publication for the Peace, lest if he did it after, it should be thought that it had been one of the secret Articles of the Treaty, which would have cast a foul blot upon him. Yet on the other hand, he was not a little perplexed with the fears he had of losing the King of England; he knew he was a Man of an high Spirit, and would resent what he did severely. "And the Cardinal now again order’d Dr. Bonnet in his Name, and as with tears in his eyes, lying at the Popes feet, to allure him, that the King and Kingdom of England were certainly lost, if the Caufe were Avocated: Therefore he besought him to leave it still in their hands, and assured him, that for himself, he should rather be torn in pieces Joynt by Joynt, than do any thing in that matter contrary to his Conscience or to Justice. These things had been oft said, and the Pope did apprehend that ill effects would follow; for if the King fell from his Obedience to the Apostolick See, no doubt all the Lutheran Princes, who were already bandying against the Emperor, would join themselves with him; and the Interests of France would most certainly engage that King also into the Union, which would distract the Church, give encouragement to Heretick, and end in the utter ruine of the Pope-dom. But in all this the crafty Pope comforted himself, that many times threatenings are not intended to be made good, but are used to terrify; and that the King who had written for the Faith against Luther, and had been so ill used by him, would never do a thing that would found so ill, as because he could not obtain what he had a mind to, therefore to turn Heretick: he also resolved to care for the French King much, and was in hopes of making Peace between the Emperor and him.

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

The Ambassadors seeing the Pope was resolv'd to grant the Avocation, prefixed against it no further, but stud'd to put it off for some time. And therefore propos'd that the Pope would himself write about it to the King, and not grant it till he received his answer. Of all this they gave Advertisement to the King, and wrote to him, that he must either drive the matter to a Sentence in great haste, or to prevent the affront of an Avocation, fulfill the Proceeds for some time. They also advis'd the forwarding all the Packets that went or came by the way of Flanders; and to keep up all Campegio's Letters, and to take care that no Bull might come to England; for they did much apprehend that the Avocation would be granted within very few days. Their next Dispatch bore, that the Pope had sent for them to let them know, that he had Signed the Avocation the day before. But they understood another way, that the Treaty between the Emperor and him was finisht, and the Peace was to be proclaimed on the 18th of July, and that the Pope did not only fear the Emperor more than all other Princes, but that he also trusted him more now. On the 19th of July, the Pope sent a Messenger with the Avocation to England, with a Letter to the Cardinal. To the King he wrote afterwards.

All this while Campegio, as he had Orders from the Pope to draw out the matter by delays, do'd it very dextrously: And in this he pretend'd a fair Excuse, that it would not be for the King's Honour to precipitate the matter too much, left great advantages might be taken from that by the Queen's Party. That therefore it was fit to proceed slowly, that the World might see with what Moderation as well as Justice, the matter was hand'd. From the 25th of June, the Court Adjourned to the 28th, ordering a second Citation, for the Queen under the pains of Contumacy, and of their proceeding to examine Witnesses. And on the 28th they declared the Queen Contumacious the second time; and examined several Witnesses upon the Articles, and Adjourn'd to the fifth of July. On that day the Bull and Bree were read in Court, and the King's Council argued long against the Validity of the one, and the truth of the other, upon the grounds that have been already mention'd, in which Campegio was much disgusted to hear them argue against the Pope's Power, of granting such a Dispensation in a matter that was against a Divine Precept,
Precept, alleging that his Power did not extend so far. This the Legates over-ruled, and said, that that was too high a Point for them to judge in, or so much as to hear argued; and that the Pope himself was the only proper Judge in that: "And it was odds but he would judge favourably for himself." The Court Adjourned to the 12th, and from that to the 14th. On these days the Depositions of the rest of the Witneces were taken, and some that were ancient Persons were examined by a Commission from the Legates; and all the Depositions were published on the 17th; other Instruments relating to the Process, were also read and verified in Court. On the 21st the Court sat to conclude the matter as was expected, and the Instrument that the King had Signed when he came of Age, proteeting that he would not stand to the Contract made when he was under Age, was then read and verified. Upon which, the Kings Council (of whom Gardiner was the chief,) closoed their Evidence, and summed up all that had been brought: and in the Kings Name, directed Sentence might be given. But Campeggio pretending that it was not some interval should be between that and the Sentence, put it off till the 25th, being Friday 5 and in the whole Process he presided, both being the ancient Cardinal, and chiefly to show great Equity; since exceptions might have been taken, if the other had appeared much in it; so that he only sat by him for form: But all the Orders of the Court were still directed by Campeggio. On Friday there was a great appearance, and a general expectation; but by a strange surprize Campeggio Adjourned the Court to the first of October, for which he pretended that they sat there as a part of the Consistory of Rome, and therefore must follow the Rules of that Court, which from that time till October was in a Vacation, and heard no Causes: And this he averred to be true on the word of a true Prelate.

The King was in a Chamber very near where he heard what passed, and was inexpriably surprized at it. The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were in Court, and complained much of this delay; and presided the Legates to give Sentence. Campeggio answered, that what they might then pronounce would be of no force, as being in Vacation-time; but gave great hopes of a favourable Sentence in the beginning of October. Upon which the Lords spake very high. And the Duke of Suffolk with great Commotion, Swore by the Mifs, that, he saw it was true which had been commonly said, That never Cardinal yet did good in England; and so all the Temporal Lords went away in a fury, leaving the Legates (Wolsey especially,) in no small perplexity. Wolsey knew it would be suspected that he understood this before-hand, and that it would be to no purpose for him, either to say he did not know, or could not help it, all Apologies being ill heard by an enraged Prince. Campeggio had not much to lose in England but his Bishoprick of Salisbury, and the reward he expected from the King, which he knew the Emperor and the Pope would plentifully make up to him. But his Collegue was in a worse condition, he had much to fear, because he had much to lose: For as the King had severely chid him for the delays of the business, so he was now to expect a heavy frown from him; and after so long an Administration of Affairs by so inofient a Favourite, it was not to be doubted, but as many of his Enemies were joyning against him, so matter must needs be found to work his ruine with a Prince that was Alieinated from him:

K 2 There-
Therefore he was under all the disorders, which a fear that was heightened by Ambition and Covetousness could produce.

But the King govern'd himself upon this occasion, with more temper than could have been expected from a Man of his humour: Therefore as he made no great shew of disturbance, so to divert his uneasie thoughts he went his Proces. Soon after, he received his Agents Letter from Rome, and made Gardiner (who was then Secretary of State) write to the Cardinal, to put Campegio to his Oath, whether he had revealed the Kings Secrets to the Pope, or not? And if he swore he had not done it, to make him swear he should never do it. A little after that, the Meffenger came from Rome with a Breeze to the Legates, requiring them to proceed no further, and with an Avocation of the Caufe to Rome; together with Letters Citatory to the King and Queen to appear there in Person, or by their Proxies. Of which when the King was advertized, Gardiner wrote to the Cardinal by his order, That the King would not have the Letters Citatory executed, or the Commission discharged by vertue of them; but that upon the Popes Breeze to them, they should declare their Commission void: For he would not suffer a thing so much to the prejudice of his Crown, as a Citation be made to appear in another Court, nor would he let his Subjects imagine that he was to be Cited out of his Kingdom. This was the first step that he made for the lessening of the Popes Power: Upon which the two Cardinals (for they were Legates no longer) went to the King at Grafton. It was generally expected that Wolsey should have been disgraced then, for not only the King was offended with him, but he received new Informations of his having jugged in the busines, and that he secretly advised the Pope to do what was done. This was set about by some of the Queens Agents, as if there was certain knowledge had of it at Rome; and it was said, that some Letters of his to the Pope were by a trick found and brought over to England. The Emperor lookt on the Cardinal as his inveterate Enemy, and designed to ruin him if it was possible; nor was it hard to persuade the Queen to concur with him to pull him down. But all this seems an Artifice of theirs only to destroy him. For the earnestness the Cardinal expressed in this matter, was such, that either he was sincere in it, or he was the best at dissembling that ever was. But these suspicions were easily infus'd in the Kings angry mind, so strangely are men turned by their affections, that sometimes they will believe nothing, and at other times they believe every thing. Yet when the Cardinal with his Colleague came to Court, they were received by the King with very hearty expressions of kindnes; and Wolsey was often in private with him, sometimes in presence of the Council, and sometimes alone: once he was many hours with the King alone, and when they took leave he sent them away very obligingly. But that which gave Cardinal Wolsey the most assurance, was, that all those who were admitted to the Kings Privacies, did carry themselves towards him as they were wont to do; both the Duke of Suffolk, Sir Thomas Boleyn, then made Viscount of Rochford, Sir Brian Tuke and Gardiner: concluding that from the motions of such Weather-cocks the Air of the Princes affections was best gathered.

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

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

While his thoughts were thus divided, a new Proposition was made to him that seemed the most reasonable and feasible of them all. There was one Dr. Cranmer, who had been a Fellow of Jesus Colledge in Cambridge; but having Married, forfeited his Fellowship, yet continued his Studies, and was a Reader of Divinity in Buckingham Colledge. His Wife dying, he was again chosen Fellow of Jesus Colledge; and was much esteemed in the University for his Learning, which appeared very eminently on all publick occasions. But he was a man that neither courted Preferment, nor did willingly accept of it, when offered. And therefore though he was invited to be a Reader of Divinity in the Cardinals Colledge at Oxford, he declined it. He was at this time forced to fly out of Cambridge, from a Plague that was there, and having the Sons of one Mr. Creffy of Waltham-Crofts committed to his Charge, he went with his Pupils to their Fathers House at Waltham. There he was when the King returned from his Progress, who took Waltham in his way, and lay a night there. The Harbingers having appointed Gardiner and Fox, the Kings Secretary, and Almoner, to lie at Mr. Creffy's House; it so happened that Cranmer was with them at Supper. The whole discourse of England being then about the Divorce, these two Courtiers, knowing Cranmer's Learning and solid Judgment, entertained him with it, and desired to hear his opinion concerning it. He modestly declined it; but told them, that he judged it would be a shorter and safer way once to clear it well, if the Marriage was unlawful in itself, by vertue of any Divine Precept: For if that were proved, then it was certain, that the Popes Dispensation could be of no force to make that lawful, which God had declared to be unlawful. Therefore he thought that instead of a long fruitless Negotiation at Rome, it were better to consult all the Learned Men, and the Universities of Christendome; for if they once declared it in the Kings favour, then the Pope must needs give judgment, or other-
wife the Bull being of it self null and void, the Marriage would be
found sinful, notwithstanding the Popes Dispensation. This seemed a
very good Motion, which they resolved to offer to the King; so next
night when he came to Greenwich, they proposed it to him; but with
this difference, that Gardiner had a mind to make it pass for their own
Contrivance; but Fox, who was of a more ingenious Nature, told
the King from whom they had it. He was much affected with it, so
soon as he heard it, and said, had he known it sooner, it would have
faved him a vast expence, and much trouble; and would needs have
Cranmer sent for to Court, saying in his coarse way of speaking, That
he had the Sow by the Right Ear. So he was sent for to Court, and being
brought before the King, he carried himself so, that the King con-
ceived an high opinion of his Judgment, and Candour, which he pre-
served to his death, and still paid a respect to him, beyond all the
other Church-men that were about him: and though he made more
ufe of Gardiner in his Business, whom he found a Man of great dex-
terity and cunning; yet he never had any respect for him. But for
Cranmer, though the King knew that in many things he differed from
him, yet for all his being so impatient of Contradiction, he always Re-
verenced him.

He was soon looked on as a Rising Church-man, and the rather be-
cause the Cardinal was now declining; for in the following Michael
mas-Term, the King sent for the great Seal, which the Cardinal at first
was not willing to part with. But the next day the King wrote to
him, and he presently delivered it to the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk.
It was offered back again to Warham, Arch-bishop of Canterbury; but
he being very old, and foreseeing great difficulties in the keeping of
it, executed himself. So it was given to Sir Thomas More, who was
not only eminent in his own Profession, but in all other Learning;
and was much esteemed for the strictness of his Life, and his Con-
tempt of Money. He was also the more fit to be made ufe of, hav-
ing been in ill terms with the Cardinal. Soon after, Hills the At-
torney-General put in an Information against the Cardinal, in the
Kings-Bench; bearing, that notwithstanding the Statute of Richard the
second, against the procuring Bulls from Rome, under the pains of Pre-
munire, yet he had procured Bulls for his Legantine Power, which he had
for many years executed; and some particulars, for form, were named out
of a great many more. To this he put in his Answer, by his Attorney,
and confessed the Indictment, but pleaded his ignorance of the Statute,
and submitted himself to the Kings mercy. Upon this it was decla-
red, that he was out of the Kings protection, and that he had forfeited
his Goods and Chattels to the King, and that his Perfon might be
feized on. Then was his rich Palace of York-bone (now Whitehall) 
with all that vast Wealth, and Royal Furniture that he had heaped to-
gether, (which was beyond any thing that had ever been seen in Eng-
land before,) feized on for the King. But it seems the King had not
a mind to destroy him out-right, but only to bring him lower, and to
try if the terror of that would have any influence on the Pope: There-
fore on the 21st of November, the King granted him first his Prote-
ction, and then his Pardon, and restored him to the Arch-bishopric
of York, and the Bishoprick of Winchester, and gave him back in Mo-
ney.
ney, Goods, and Plate, that which amounted to 6374 l. 3 s. 7 d. and
many kind Meffages were sent him, both by the King, and Anne
Bolyn.

But as he had carried his Greatnes with moft extravagant pride,
so he was no les badly cast down with his misfortune; and having
no ballast within himself, but being wholly guided by things without
him, he was lifted up, or cast down, as the Scales of Fortune turned:
yet his Enemies had gone too far, ever to suffer a man of his parts or
temper, to return to favour. And therefore they fo ordered it, that
an high Charge of many Articles was brought against him, into the
House of Lords, in the Parliament that fate in November following,
and it paffed there, where he had but few Friends, and many and great
Enemies. But when the Charge was sent down to the Houfe of Com-
mons, it was fo managed by the induftry of Cromwell, who had been
his Servant, that it came to nothing. The Heads of it have been oft
printed, therefore I fhall not repeat them; they related chiefly to his
Legantine Power, contrary to Law, to his Infolence and Ambition, his
lew life, and other things that were brought to defame, as well as
destroy him.

All these things did fo sink his proud mind, that a deep melancho-
ly overcame his Spirits. The King fent him frequent alluriances of his
favour, which he received with extravagant transports of joy, falling
down on his Knees in the dirt, before the Meffenger that brought one
of them, and holding up his hands for joy, which fhewed how mean
a Soul he had, and that as himself afterwards acknowledged, he pre-
ferred the King’s favour, to God Almighty. But the King found they
took little notice of him at Rome; the Emperor hated him, and the
Pope did not love him, looking on him as one that was almost equal
to himself in Power: and though they did not love the Precedent to
have a Cardinal fo used, yet they were not much troubled at Rome,
to fee it fall on him. So in Easter-week, he was ordered to go North,
though he had a great mind to have stayed at Richmond, which the King
had given him in exchange for Hampton-Court, that he had also built.
But that was too near the Court, and his Enemies had a mind to fend
him further from it. Accordingly he went to Cawood in Yorkshire, in
which Journeys it appears, that the ruines of his state were considerable,
for he travelled thither with an 160 Horfe in his Train, and 72 Carts fol-
lowing him, with his household-stuff.

To conclude his Story all at once, he was in November the next
year, feized on by the Earl of Northumberland, who attached him for
high Treafon, and committed him to the keeping of the Lieutenant
of the Tower, who was ordered to bring him up to London. And even
then he had gracious Meffages from the King; but these did not work
much on him, for whether it was that he knew himself guile of some
secret Pratfices with the Pope, or with the Emperor, which yet he de-
nied to the laft; or whether he could no longer stand under the Kings
displeafure, and that change of condition; he was fo cast down, that
on his way to London, he fickened at Sheffield Park, in the Earl of
Shrewsbury’s Houfe, from whence by law Journeyes he went as far as
Leiceter, where after some days languishing he died; and at the laft
made great Proteftations of his being ferved the King faithfully, and
that
that he had little regarded the Service of God, to do him pleasure; but if he bad served God as he had done him, he would not have given him over so, as he did in his gray hairs. And he defir'd the King to reflect on all his past Services, and in particular, in his weighty matter, (for by that Phrase, they usually spoke of the Kings Divorce) and then he would find in his Confidence whether he had offended him or not. He died the 28th of November 1530, and was the greatest Instance that several Ages had shown of the Variety and Inconstancy of Humane things, both in his rife and fall; and by his temper in both, it appears he was unworthy of his greatness, and deferved what he suffered. But to conclude all that is to be said of him, I shall add what the Writer of his Life ends it with. Here is the end and fall of Pride and Arrogancy; for I assure you, in his time he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings alive, having more respect to the honour of his Person, than he bad to his Spiritual Profession, wherein should be shewn all meekness and charity.

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

When these Bills were brought up to the House of Lords, the Bishop of Rochester speaking to them, did reflect on the House of Commons: saying, That they were resolved to bring down the Church, and he defir'd they would consider the miserable state of the Kingdom of Bohemia, to which it was reduced by Herefie, and ended, That all this was for lack of Faith. But this being afterwards known to the House of Commons, they sent their Speaker, Sir Thomas Audley, with 30 of their Members, to complain to the King of the Bishop of Rochester, for saying, that their Acts flowed from the want of Faith, which was an high Imputation on the whole Nation, when the Representative of the Commons was so charged, as if they had been Infidels and Heathens. This was set on by the Court, to mortife that Bishop, who was unacceptable to them, for his adhering so firmly to the Queens Cause. The King sent for the Arch-bishop of Canterbury and fix other Bishops, and before them told the complaint of the Commons. But the Bishop of Rochester excused himself, and said, he only meant of the Kingdom of Bohemia, when he said, all flowed from the want of Faith, and did not at all intend
intend the House of Commons. This Explanation the King sent by the
Treurer of his household, Sir Will. Fitz-Williams. But though the
matter was past over, yet they were not at all satisfied with it, fo that
they went on, laying open the abuses of the Clergy.

In the Houfe of Peers, great opposition was made to the Bills, and
the Clergy both within and without doors did difie them, and said,
these were the ordinary beginnings of Heresie, to complain of Abu-
fes, and pretend Reformation, on purpose to disgrace the Clergy, from
which Heresie took its chief Strength. And the Spiritual Lords did ge-
erally oppose them, the Temporal Lords being no less earnest to have
them past. The Cardinal was admitted to fit in the House, where he
showed himselfe as submissive in his fauning as he had formerly done in
his scorn and contempt of all who durft oppose him. But the King fit
the Bills forward, and in the end they were agreed to by the Lords, and
had the Royal Assent.

The King intended by this, to let the Pope see what he could do
if he went on to offend him, and how willingly his Parliament would
concur with him, if he went to extremities. He did also endeavor him-
self much to the People, by relieving them from the oppressions of
the Clergy. But the Clergy loft much by this means, for these Acts
did not only lefien their present profits, but did open the way for other
things that were more to their detriment afterward. Their oppo-
sing of this and all other motions for Reformation, did very much encrea-
se the prejudices that were conceived against them: whereas if
such motions had either risen from themselves, or had at leaft been
cherished by them, their Adverfaries had not perhaps been fo favour-
ably heard; fo fatally did they mistake their true Interest, when
they thought they were concerned, to link with it all abufes and
corruptions.

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

This was brought into the House by the Kings Servants, who en-
larged much on the Wealth and Peace of the Nation, notwithstanding
the Wars, the King always making his Enemies Country the Scene of
them; and thought that for fourteen years the King had but one Subsidy
from his People; that now he asked nothing for any other purpose,
but only to be discharged of a Debe contracted for the publick, the
accounts whereof were thown, by which they might see to what uzes
the Money fo raised had been applied. But there were several ends in
passing this Bill: those of the Court did not only intend to deliver the
King from a charge by it, but also to relieve all the Cardinals Friends and
Creatures, whom he had cauèd every where to advance great Sums,
for an Example to others. Others in the House that were convinced that the Act was unjust in it fell, yet did easily give way to it, that they might effectually for the future difcredit that way of raising Money by Loans, as judging it to be the publick Interest of the Kingdom, that no Sums of Money should be raised but by Parliament. So this Act palled, and occasioned great Murmuring among all them that suffered by it. But to qualify the general discontent, the King gave a free pardon to his Subjects for all offences, some Capital ones only excepted, as is usual in such cases; and to keep the Clergy under the Lath, all transgessions against the Statutes of Prorogation and Preambule were excepted, in which they were all involved, as will afterwards appear. There are two other exceptions in this Pardon, not fit to be omitted: the one is of the pulling or digging down Croples on the high ways, which shews what a Spirit was then stirring among the People; the other is of the Forfeitures that accrued to the King, by the Prosecution against Cardinal Wolsey; that is, the Cardinals College in Oxford, with the Lands belonging to it which are excepted, upon which the Dean and Canons resigned their Lands to the King, the Original of which is yet extant: But the King founded the College a new soon after. All this was done both to keep the Clergy quiet, and to engage them to use what Interest they had in the Court of Rome, to dispoce the Pope to use the King better in his great Suit. After those Acts were palled, on the 17th of December, the Parliament was prorogued till April following; yet it did not fit till January after that, being continued by several Prorogations.

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

The Emperor went over into Italy, and met the Pope at Bononia, where he was Crowned with great Magnificence. The Pope and he lodged together in the same Palace, and there appeared such signs of a familiar Friendship between them, that the Kings Ambassadors did now clearly perceive that they were firmly united. The Emperor did also by a rare mixture of Generofity and Prudence, restore the Dutchie of
Book II. of the Church of England.

Milan to Francis Sforza. By this he setled the Peace of Italy, nothing holding out but Florence, which he knew would be soon reduced, when there was no hope of succour from France; and accordingly after eleven Months Siege, it was taken, and within a year after, Alexander de Medici was made Duke of it. About the time that the Emperor came to Bologna, news was brought, that Turk was forced to raise the Siege of Vienna; so that all things concurred to raise his glory very high. At Bologna he would needs receive the two Crowns of the Roman Empire, that of Milan, and that of Rome, which was done with all the Magnificence possible, the Pope himself laying Mals both in Latin and Greek. There is one Ceremony of the Coronation, fit to be taken notice of, in this Work; that the Emperor was first put in the Habit of a Canon of Santa Maria de la Torre in Rome, and after that in the Habit of a Deacon, to make him be look'd on as an Ecclesiastical Person. This had riven out of an Extravagant vanity of the Court of Rome, who devised such Rites to raise their reputation so high, that on the greatest solemnity, the Emperor should appear in the Habit of the lowest of the Sacred Orders, by which he must know, that Priests and Bishops are above him. When the Pope and he first met, the Ceremony of killing the Popes Foot was much look'd for, and the Emperor very gently kneel'd to pay that submission; but the Pope (whether it was that he thought it was no more seannable to expect such Complements, or more signally to oblige the Emperor) did humble himself so far as to draw in his Foot, and kiss his Cheek.

But now the Divorce was to be managed in another method, and therefore Cranmer, after he had discoursed with the King, about that Proposition which was formerly mentioned, was commanded by him to write a Book for his Opinion, and confirm it with as much Authority as he could; and was recommended to the care of the Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond (to which honour the King had advanced Sir Thomas Boleyn in the Right of his Mother) and in the beginning of the next year he published his Book about it. Richard Creeke (who was Tutor to the Duke of Richmond) was sent into Italy, and others were sent to France and Germany, to consult the Divines, Canonists, and other Learned Men in the Universities, about the Kings business. How the rest managed the matter, I have not yet been able to discover; but from a great number of Original Letters of Doctor Creeke, I shall give a full account of his Negotiation. It was thought best to begin at home, and therefore the King wrote to the two Universities in England, to send him their Conclusions about it. The matters went at Oxford thus. The Bishop of Lincoln being sent thither with the Kings Letters for their Resolution, it was by the major Vote of the Convocation of all the Doctors and Masters, as well Regents as non-Regents, committed to 33 Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity, (who were named by their own Faculty) or to the greater number of them, to determine the Questions, that were sent with the Kings Letters, and to fet the common Seal of the University to their Conclusions: and by vertue of that Warrant, they did on the eighth of April put the common Seal of the University to an Instrument, declaring the Marriage of the Brothers Wife to be both contrary to the Laws of God and Nature. The Collector of the Antiquities of Oxford, informs us of the uneasiness that was in
the University in this matter, and of the several Messages the King sent, before that Instrument could be procured; so that from the 12th of February to the eighth of April, the matter was in agitation, the Masters of Arts generally opposing it, though the Doctors and Heads were (for the greatest part) for it. But after he has set down the Instrument, he gives some Reasons (upon what design, I cannot easily imagine) to shew that this was extorted by force; and being done without the consent of the Masters of Arts, was of it self void, and of no force: and as if it had been an ill thing, he takes pains to purge the University of it, and lays it upon the fears and corruptions of some aspiring men of the University: and without any proof, gives credit to a lying Story set down by Sanders, of an Assembly called in the night, in which the Seal of the University was set to the Determination. But it appears that he had never seen or considered the other Instrument, to which the University set their Seal, that was agreed on in a Convocation of all the Doctors and Masters, as well Regents as non-Regents; giving Power to these Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity, to determine the Matter, and to set the Seal of the University to their Conclusion. The Original whereof the Lord Herbert saw, upon which the Persons so deputed, had full Authority to set the University Seal to that Conclusion without a new Convocation. Perhaps that Instrument was not so carefully preferred among their Records, or was in Queen Mary’s days taken away, which might occasion these mistakes in their Historian.

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

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

It is thought strange, that the King who was otherwise so absolute in
England, should have met with more difficulty in this matter at home,
than he did abroad. But the most reasonable account I can give of it, is,
That at this time there were many in the Universities, (particularly at
Cambridge,) who were addicted to Luther's Doctrine. And of those Cran-
mer was lookt on as the most learned: So that Crooke, Shaxton, Latimer,
and others of that Society favoured the Kings Cause; besides that, Anne
Bolton had in the Dutchess of Almeon's Court (who inclined to the Re-
formation) received such impressions as made them fear, that her Great-
ness and Cranmer's Preferment would encourage Herefie; to which the
Universities were furiously averse, and therefore they did refuse all Con-
clusions that might promote the Divorce.

But as for Crooke in Italy, he being very learned in the Greek Tongue,
was first sent to Venice to search the Greek Manuscripts that lay in the
Library of St. Mark, and to examine the Decrees of the Ancient Counci-
s: He went incognito without any Character from the King, only he
had a Letter Recommending him to the care of John Cassili, then Amb-
assador at Venice, to procure him an admittance into the Libraries there.
But in all his Letters he complained mightily of his Poverty, that he had
scare whereby to live and pay the Copiers who he employed to Tran-
scribe passages out of MSS. He stayed some time at Venice, from whence
he went to Padua, Bologna, and other Towns, where he only talked with
Divines and Canonists about these Questions: Whether the Precepts in
Leviticus, of the Degrees of Marriage, do still oblige Christians? And
whether the Popes Dispensation could have any force against the Law of God?
These he proposed in Difeource, without mentioning the King of Eng-
lund, or giving the least intimation, that he was sent by him, till he once
discovered their Opinions. But finding them generally inclining to
the Kings Cause, he took more courage and went to Rome; where he
sought to be made a Penitentuary Priest, that he might have the freer ac-
cess into Libraries, and be lookt on as one of the Popes Servants. But at
this time the Earl of Wiltshire and Stokesley, (who was made Bishop of
London, Townall being Translated to Durham) were sent by the King in
to Italy, Ambassadors both to the Pope and Emperor. Cranmer went
with them to justify his Book in both these Courts. Stokesley brought full
Instructions to Crooke to search the Writings of most of the Fathers on
a great many passages of the Scripture; and in particular to try, what
they wrote on that Law in Deuteronomy, which provided, that when one
died
died without Children, his Brother should marry his Wife to raise up Children to him. This was most professed against the King by all that were for the Queen, as either an Abrogation of the other Law in Leviticus, or at least a Dispersation with it in that particular Case. He was also to consult the Jews about it; and was to Copy out every thing that he found in any Manuscript of the Greek or Latin Fathers, relating to the Degrees of Marriage. Of this labour he complained heavily, and said, That though he had a great task laid on him, yet his allowance was so small, that he was often in great straits. This I take notice of, because it is said by others, That all the Subscriptions that he procured were bought. At this time there were great Animosities between the Ministers whom the King employed in Italy; the two Families of the Cassali, and the Ghinucci, hating one another. Of the former Family were the Ambassadors at Rome, and at Venice. Of the other Hierome was Bishop of Worcester, and had been in several Ambassadors into Spain. His Brother Peter was also employed in some of the little Courts of Italy as the Kings Agent. Whether the King out of Policy kept this hatred up to make them Spies one on another, I know not. To the Ghinucci was Crooke gained, so that in all his Letters he complained of the Cassali, as men that betrayed the Kings affairs; and said that John, then Ambassador at Venice, not only gave him no assistance, but used him ill: and publicly discovered, That he was employed by the King; which made many who had formerly spoken their minds freely, be more referred to him. But as he wrote this to the King, he begged of him, that it might not be known, otherwise he expected either to be Killed, or Poisoned by them: Yet they had their Correspondents about the King, by whose means they understood what Crooke had informed against them. But they wrote to the King, that he was so morose and ill-natured, that nothing could please him; and to lessen his Credit, they did all they could to stop his Bills. All this is more fully set down, than perhaps was necessary, if it were not to shew that he was not in a condition to corrupt so many Divines, and whole Universities, as some have given out. He got into the acquaintance of a Frier at Venice, Franciscus Georgius, who had lived 49 years in a Religious Order, and was esteemed the most Learned man in the Republick, not only in the vulgar Learning, but in the Greek and Hebrew, and was so much accounted of by the Pope, that he called him the Hammer of Hereticks. He was also of the Senatorial Quality, and his Brother was Governor of Padua, and paid all the Readers there. This Frier had a great opinion of the King: and having studied the Cafe, wrote for the Kings Caece, and endeavoured to satisfy all the other Divines of the Republick, among whom he had much credit. Thomas Omnibonus a Dominican, Philippus de Cremis a Doctor of the Law, Valerius of Bergamo, and some others, wrote for the Kings Caece. Many of the Jewish Rabbinis, did give it under their hands in Hebrew, That the Laws of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, were thus to be reconciled. That Law of Marrying the Brothers Wife when he dyed without Children, did only bind in the Land of Judaea, to preserve Families and maintain their Successions in the Land, as it had been divided by Lot. But that in all other places of the World, the Law of Leviticus, of not Marrying the Brothers Wife was obligatory. He also searched all the Greek MSS. of Councils, and Nazianzenes and Chrysostomes Works. After that, he
he run over Macarius, Accacius, Apollinaris, Origen, Gregory Nyssen, Cyril, Severian, and Genadius; and copied out of them all that which was pertinent to his purpose. He procured several Hands to the Conclusions, before it was known that it was the King's business, in which he was employed. But the Government of Venice was so strict, that when it was known whose Agent he was, he found it not easy to procure Subscriptions: Therefore he advised the King to order his Minister to procure a Licence from the Senate, for their Divines, to declare their Opinions in that matter. Which being proposed to the Senate, all the answer he could obtain was, that they would be Neutrals; and when the Ambassador prefixed, as an evidence of Neutrality, that the Senate would leave it free to their Divines, to declare of either side as their Consciences led them; he could procure no other answer, the former being again repeated. Yet the Senate making no Prohibition, many of their Divines put their Hands to the Conclusions. And Crook had that Success, that he wrote to the King, he had never met with a Divine that did not favour his Cause: but the Conclusions touching the Popes Power, his Agents did every where discourage, and threaten those who subscribed them. And the Emperors Ambassador at Venice, did threaten Omnibous for writing in prejudice of the Popes Authority; and afflicting Conclusions, which would make most of the Princes of Europe Bishops. He answered, he did not consider things as a State-man, but as a Divine. Yet to take off this fear, Crook suggested to the King, to order his Minister at the Court of Rome, to procure a Breve, "That Divines or Canonists might without fear or hazard, deliver their Opinions according to their Consciences, requiring them under the pain of Excommunication, that they should write nothing for gain or Partial affections, but say the pure and simple truth, without any artifice, as they would answer to God in the great day of Judgment. This seemed so fair, that it might have been expected, the Successor of St. Peter would not deny it; yet it was not easily obtained, though the King wrote a very earnest Letter to the Bishop of Verona, to assist his Minister in procuring it. And I find by another Dispatch, that the Breve was at length gained, not without much opposition made to it by the Emperors' Ambassadors: For at Rome, though they knew not well how to oppose this method, because it seemed so very reasonable; yet they had great apprehensions of it, because they thought it was designed to force the Pope to determine as the King pleas'd: and they abhorred the President, that a company of poor Friars should dictate to them in matters of this nature. Crook reports out of a Letter of Cranmer to him from Rome, these words. As for our Successes here, they be very little, nor dare we attempt to know any man's mind, because of the Pope, nor is he content with what you have done; and he says, no Friars shall dispute his Power: and as for any favour in this Court, I look for none, but to have the Pope with all his Cardinals declare against us. But Crook, as he went up and down procuring Hands, told these he came to, he desired they would write their Conclusions, according to Learning and Conscience, without any respect, or favour, as they would answer it at the last day; and protested he never gave, nor promised any Divine any thing, till he had first freely written his mind, and that what he then gave, was rather an honourable Present than a Reward. And in another No Money nor Bribes given for Subscriptions.
nother Letter to the King he writes: Upon pain of my head if the contrary be proved, I never gave any man one half-penny, before I had his Conclusion to your Highness, without former Prayer or Promise of reward for the same. From whence it appears, that he not only had no Orders from the King to corrupt Divines, but that his Orders were express to the contrary.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What difficulties or opposition those who were employed in France and in Oxford found, does not yet appear to me; but the Seals of the chief Universities there were procured. The University of Orleáns determined it on the 7th of April. The faculty of the Canon-Law at Paris, did also conclude that the Pope had no Power to dispence in that Case, on the 25th of May. But the great and celebrated faculty of the Sorbon, (whose Conclusions had been lookt on for some Ages as little inferior to the Decrees of Councils) made their Decision with all possible Solemnity and Decency. They first met at the Church of St. Mathurin, where there was a Mias of the H. Ghost, and every one took an Oath to study the Quæstration, and resolve it according to his Conscience, and from the 8th of June, to
the 2d of July, they continued searching the matter with all possible diligence, both out of the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Councils; and had many disputes about it. After which, the greater part of the Faculty did determine, That the King of England's marriage was unlawful, and that the Pope had no power to dispense in it; and they set their common seal to it, at St. Martin's, the 2d of July, 1530. To the same purpose did both the Faculties of Law, Civil and Canon, at Angiers. Determine the 7th of May. On the 10th of June, the Faculty of Divinity, at Bourges, made the same Determination. And on the 18th of October the whole University of Toledo, did all with one consent give their judgment, agreeing with the former Conclusions. More of the Decisions of Universities were not printed, though many more were obtained to the same effect. In Germany, Spain, and Flanders, the Emperors Authority was so great, that much could not be expected except from the Lutherans, with whom Cranmer conversed, and chiefly with Osiander, whose Niece he then married. Osiander upon that wrote a Book about incestuous Marriages, which was published; but was called in by a Prohibition printed at Ansborg, because it determined in the King's cause, and on his side.

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

Oecolampadius, as it appears by three Letters, one dated the 10th of August, 1531. another the last of the same Month, another to Bucer the 10th of September; was positively of Opinion, That the Law in Leviticus did bind all mankind, and lays, That Law of a Brothers Marrying his Sister-in-Law, was a Dispensation given by God to his own Law, which belonged only to the Jews; and therefore he thought, that the King might without any scruple put away the Queen. But Bucer was of another mind, and thought the Law in Leviticus did not bind, and could not be Moral, because God had dispensed with it in one Case, of raising up seed to his Brother; therefore he thought the Laws belonged only to that Dispensation, and did no more bind Christians, than the other Ceremonial or Judicial Precepts; and that to Marry in some of these Degrees, was no more a sin than it was a sin in the Disciples to pluck Ears of Corn on the Sabbath-day. There are none of Bucer's Letters remaining on this Head, but by the answers that Grinus wrote to him, one on the 29th of August, another
her of the 10th of September, I gather his Opinion, and the reasons for it. But they all agreed, That the Popes Dispensation was of no force to alter the nature of a thing. Paulus Phrygion was of Opinion, That the Laws in Leviticus did bind all Nations, because it is said in the Text, That the Canaanites were punished for doing contrary to them, which did not consist with the justice of God, if those Prohibitions had not been parts of the Law of Nature. Dated Basli the 10th of September. In Grineus's Letter to Bucer, he tells him, that the King had said to him, That now for seven years he had perpetual trouble upon him about this Marriage. Zuinglius Letter is very full. First, he largely proves that neither the Pope, nor any other Power could dispense with the Law of God: Then, that the Apostles had made no new Laws about Marriage, but had left it as they found it: That the Marrying within near degrees was hated by the Greeks, and other Heathen Nations. But whereas Grineus seemed to be of opinion, that though the Marriage was ill made, yet it ought not to be dissolved, and inclined rather to advise that the King should take another Wife, keeping the Queen still; Zuinglius confutes that, and says, if the Marriage be against the Law of God, it ought to be dissolved: But concludes the Queen should be put away honourably, and still used as a Queen; and the Marriage should only be dissolved for the future, without illegitimating theIssue begetten in it, since it had gone on in a publick way, upon a received error. But advises, that the King should proceed in a Judicial way, and not establish so ill a President as to put away his Queen, and take another without due form of Law. Dated Basli, 17th of Aug. There is a second Letter of his to the fame purpose from Zurick, the first of September. There is also with these Letters a long paper of Obsevers, in the form of a Direction how the Process should be managed.

There is also an Epistle of Calvin, published among the rest of his. Neither the date nor the petion to whom it was directed are named. Yet I fancy it was written to Grineus, upon this occasion: Calvin was clear in his judgment that the Marriage was null, and that the King ought to put away the Queen, upon the Law of Leviticus. And whereas it was objected, that the Law is only meant of Marrying the Brothers Wife while he is yet alive; he thaws that could not be admitted, for all the prohibited degrees being forbidden in the same style, they were all to be understood in one sense: Therefore since it is confessed, that it is unlawful to Marry in the other degrees, after the death of the Father, Son, Uncle, or Nephew, so it must be also a sin, to Marry the Brothers wife after his death. And for the Law in Deuteronomy of Marrying the Brothers wife to raise up seed to him; he thought, that by Brother there, is to be understood a near Kinman, according to the usual phrase of the Hebrew tongue: and by that he reconciles the two Laws which otherwise seem to differ, illustrating his Exposition by the History of Ruth and Boaz. It is given out that Melanthon advised the Kings taking another wife, justifying Polygamy from the Old Testament; but I cannot believe it. It is true the Lawfulness of Polygamy was much controverted at this time. And as in all controversies newly started, many crude things are said; so some of the Helvetians and German Divines seem not to fear against it; though none of them went so far as the Pope did, who plainly offered to grant the King Licence to have two wives: and it was a motion the Imperialists con[c]ented to, and pro-
meted, though upon what reason, the Ambassador Caffi di who wrote
the account of it to the King, could not learn. The Pope forbade him
to write about it to the King, perhaps as Whisperers enjoy silence,
as the most effectual way to make a thing publick. But for Melan-
thon being of that mind, great evidences appear to the contrary; for
there's a Letter of Oders to him, giving him many reasons to per-
suade him to approve of the Kings putting away the Queen, and Mar-
rying another: the Letter also shews he was then of opinion, that the
Law in Leviticus was Dispenfable.

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

It cannot be denied, that the Protestants did express great sincerity
in this matter: such as become men of confidence, who were acted
by true Principles, and not by maxims of Policie. For if these had go-
vern'd them, they had struck in more complitantly with so great a Prince,
who was then aliened from the Pope, and in very ill terms with the
Emperor: so that to have gained him by a full Complince to have
protected them, was the wildest thing they could do; and their being
so cold in the matter of his Marriage, in which he had engaged so deep-
ly, was a thing, which would very much provoke him against them. But
such measures as these, though they very well became the Apostolick See,
yet they were unworthy of men, who designed to reform an Apostolick
Religion.

The Earl of Wiltshire with the other Ambassadors, when they had
their Audience of the Pope at Bononia, refused to pay him the sub-
million of Killing his foot, though he graciously stretched it out to them;
but went to their Business, and expostulated in the Kings name, and in
high words; and in Conclusion told the Pope, that the Prerogative of
the Crown of England was such, that their Matter would not suffer any
Citation to be made of him, to any foreign Court; and that there-
fore the King would not have his cause tryed at Rome. The Pope an-
twered
Of the Church of England.

Book II.

1530.

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

The necessity of Prisons.

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

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

To this the Pope made answer, the 27 of September. "He took no-
tice of the vehemency of their Letter, which he forgave them, in-
putting it to their great affection to their King; they had charged him
with ingratitude and injustice; two grievous Imputations. He ac-
nowledged all they wrote of the obligations he owed to their King,
which were far greater than they called them, both on the Aposto-
lick See, and himself in particular. But in the Kings cause he had
been so far from denying justice, that he was oft charged as having
been too partial to him. He had granted a Commission to two Le-
gates to hear it, rather out of favour, than in Rigor of Law; upon
which the Queen had appealed: he had delayed the admitting of it,
as long as was possible; but when he saw it could not be any longer
denied to be heard, it was brought before the Consilatory, where all
the Cardinals with one consent, found that the Appeal, and an A-
vocation of the cause must be granted. That since that time, the
King had never desired to put it to a Tryal, but on the contrary, by
his Ambassadors at Bononia moved for a delay: and in that posture
it was still, nor could he give sentence in a thing of such Consequence,
when it was not so much as sought for. For the conclusions of Un-
iversities and Learned men, he had seen none of them from any of
the Kings Ambassadors. It was true some of them had been brought
to him another way; but in them there were no reasons given, but
only bare Conclusions, and he had also seen very important things for
the other side; and therefore he must not precipitate a Sentence, in
a cause of such high Importance, till all things were fully heard and
considered. He willled their King might have Male Illue, but he
was not in Gods head to give it. And for their Threatnings of seek-
ing other Remedies, they were neither agreeable to their wisdom, nor
to their Religion. Therefore he admonished them to abstain from
such Councils; but minded them that it is not the Physicians fault,
if the Patient will do himself hurt. He knew the King would never
like such courses; and though he had a just value for their Interest-
on; yet he considered the King much more, to whom as he had nev-
er denied any thing, that he could grant with his honor; so he
was very defirus to examine this matter, and to put it to a speedy
issue, and would do every thing that he could without offending
God.

But the King either seeing the Pope resolved to grant nothing, or appre-
ending that some Bull might be brought into England, in behalf of
the Queen, or the disgraced Cardinal, did on the Nineteenth of Sep-
tember, put forth a Proclamation against any "who purchased any thing
from Rome, or elsewhere, contrary to his Royal Prerogative and Au-
thority, or should publish or divulge any such thing, requiring them
not to do it, under the pains of incurring his indignation, Imprison-
ment, and other punishments on their persons, This was founded
on the Statute of Provifors and Prerogatives. But that being done, he
resolved
Book II. of the Church of England.

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

In the New Testament, St. John Baptist said to Herod, It is not lawful for thee, to take thy Brothers wife, which shows that these Laws of Moses were still obligatory. St. Paul also in his epistle to the Corinthians, condemns the Incestuous person for having his Fathers wife which is one of the Degrees forbidden by the Law of Moses, and

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

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From whence it is inferred, that these forbidden degrees are excluded by the Law of Nature, since the Gentiles did not admit them. St. Paul also calling it by the common name of Fornication, within which, according to that place, all undue Commixtures of men and women are included: Therefore those places in the New Testament, that condemn Fornication, do also condemn Marriages in forbidden degrees: our Saviour did also avert the foundation of affinity, by saying, that man and wife are one Flesh.

But in all Controversies, the sense of the Scriptures must be taken from the Tradition of the Church, which no good Catholic can deny: and that is to be found in the Decrees of Popes and Councils, and in the writings of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church: against which, if any argue from their private understanding of the Scriptures, it is the way of Heresy, and favours of Lutheranism. The first of the Fathers, who had occasion to write of this Matter, was Tertullian, who lived within an Age after the Apostles. He in express words says, that the Law of not Marrying the Brothers wife, did still obligate Christians.

The first Pope, whose decision was sought in this Matter, was Gregory the Great, to whom Aelius the Apostle of England wrote for his resolution of some things, in which he defined direction: and one of thefe is, Whether a man may marry his brother's wife? (who in the Language of that time was called his Kinswoman.) The Pope answered Negatively, and proved it by the Law of Moses, and therefore Defined, that if any of the English Nation, who had Married within that degree, were converted to the Faith, he must be admonished to abstain from his wife, and to look on such a Marriage as a most grievous Sin. From which it appears, that that good Pope did judge it a thing, which by no means could be dispensed with, otherwise he had not preferred it so much under fuch Circumstances; since in the first Convocation of a Nation to the Christian Faith, the Instructing too much upon it, might have kept back many from receiving the Christian Religion, who were otherwise well inclined to it. Ca- lixtus, Zacarias, and Innocent the Third, have plainly averted the obligation of thefe Precepts in the Law of Moses, the last particularly, who treats about it with great vehemency: So that the Apo- stolic See has already judged the Matter.

Several Provincial Councils have also declared the obligation of the Precepts, about the degrees of Marriage in Leviticus, by the Council at Neocesarea; If a woman had been Married to two Brothers, she was to be cast out of the Communion of the Church till her death, and the man that Married his Brothers wife, was to be Anathematised, which was also Confirmed in a Council held by Pope Gregory the Second, in the Council of Agde, where the Degrees that make a Marriage incestuous are reckoned; this of Marrying the Brothers wife is one of them: and there it was Decreed, that all Marriages within these Degrees were Null, and the Parties so Contracting, were to be cast out of the Communion of the Church, and put among the Catechumens, till they separated themselves from one another. And in the second Council of Toledo, the Authority of the Mosaical Prohibitions about the Degrees
Book II. of the Church of England.

"grees of Marriage is acknowledged. It was one of Wickliff's errors, that the Prohibition of Marriage within such degrees was without any foundation in the Law of God; for which, and other points, he was condemned first in a Convocation at London, then at Oxford, and last of all at the general Council of Constance these Condemnations were confirmed. So formally had the Church in many Provincial Councils, and in one that was General, decided this matter.

Next to these, the Opinions of the Fathers were to be considered. In the Greek Church, Origen first had occasion to Treat about it, writing on Leviticus; and Chrysostome after him; but most fully St. Basil the Great, who do expressly affirm the obligations of those Precepts. The last particularly refuting at great length the Opinion of some, who thought the Marrying two Sifters was unlawful, lays it down as a Foundation, That the Laws in Leviticus about Marriage were still in force. Hefchius also, writing upon Leviticus, proves that these Prohibitions were universally obligatory, and that both the Egyptians and Cananites are taxed for Marrying within these Degrees; From whence he infers, they are of Moral and Eternal obligation.

From the Greek they went to the Latin Fathers, and alluded, as was already observed, that Tertullian held the same Opinion, and with him agreed the three great Doctors of the Latin Church, Ambrose. Jerome, and St. Austin, who do plainly deliver the Tradition of the Church about the obligation of those Laws, and answers the objections that were made, either from Abraham's Marrying his Sitter, or from Jacob's Marrying two Sifters, in the Law of Deuteronomy, for the Brothers Marrying the Brothers Wife, if he died without Children. They observed that the same Doctrine was also taught by the Fathers and Doctors in the later Ages. Anselm held it, and pleads much for Marrying in remote Degrees, and answers the Objection from the Decision in the Cafe of the Daughters of Zelophehad. Hugo Cardinalis, Radulphe Fluviacenfis, and Ruperthus Tautienfis, do agree, that these Precepts are Moral, and of perpetual obligation, as also Hugo de Sto. Vicitore. Hildebert Bishop of Mans, being confulted in a Cafe of the same nature with what is now controverted, plainly determines, That a man may not Marry his Brothers Wife; and by many Authorities shews, That by no means it can be allowed. And Isere Card. notenfis being desir'd to give his Opinion in a Cafe of the same circumstances, of a Kings Marrying his Brothers Wife, says, Such a Marriage is null, as inconsistent with the Law of God, and that the King was not to be admitted to the Communion of the Church, till he put away his Wife, since there was no Dispensation with the Law of God, and no Sacrifice could be offered for those that continued willing in sin. Passages also to the same purpose, are in other places of his Epistles.

From these Doctors and Fathers the Inquiry descended to the Schoolmen, who had with more nicenes and fubtlety examined things. They do all agree in affording the obligation of those Levitical Prohibitions. Thomas Aquinas does it in many places, and confirms it with many Arguments. Altfidorenfis, says, the are Moral Laws, and part of the Law of Nature. Petrus de Palude, is of the same mind, and says, that a mans Marrying his Brothers Wife, was a Dispenfation granted by God, but could not be now allowed, because it was contrary to the Law.
Law of Nature. St. Antonine of Florence, Joannes de Turre Cremata, Joannes de Tabia, Jacobus de Lawfanni, and Aftexans, were also cited for the same Opinion. And tho’ who wrot against Wickliff, nameless ly + Wydoford, b Cotton, and c Walfenfis, charged him with Herefie, for denying that tho’ Prohibitions did oblige Christians. And afferted that they were Moral Laws, which obliged all Mankind, And the Books of Walfenfis were approved by P. Martin the first. There were also many Quotations brought out of Petrus de Iarantia, Durandas, Stephens Brefifer, Richardus de Medea Vitte, Guido Briancon, Jerfon, Paulus Ritus, and many others, to confirm the same Opinion, who did all unanimously affert, That tho’ Laws in Lexitici are parts of the Law of Nature, which oblige all Mankind, and that Marriages contract’d in thefe Degrees are null and void. All the Canonifts were alfo of the same mind, Joannes Andrea, Joannes de Imola, Abbas Pa- normitium, Matheus Nerar, Vincentinus, Innocentius, and Oftienfis, all Concluded that these Laws were still in force, and could not be Dif- penced with.

There was also a great deal allledged, to prove that a Marriage is compleat by the Marriage-Contract; though it be never Con- matted. Many Authorities were brought to prove that Adonijah could not Marry Abiflag, because she was his Fathers Wife, though never known by him. And by the Law of Mofes a woman eftpoused to a man, if she admitted another to her Bed, was to bestoned as an Adulteres; from whence it appears, that the validity of Marriage is from the mutual Covenant. And though Jofeph never knew the Blessed Virgin, yet he was so much her Husband by the Efpoufals, that he could not put her away, but by a Bill of Divorce: and was afterwards called her Husband and Chriff’s Father. Affinity had been also defined by all writers, a Relation arising out of Marriage, and since Marriage was a Sacrament of the Church, its Efficence could only confift in the Contracd; and therefore as a man in Orders has the Character, though he never Confecrated any Sacrament: So Marriage is compleat, though its ef- feft never follow. And it was shewed that the Canonifts had only brought in the Confummation of Marriage as effential to it by Eccle- fiatical Law. But that as Adam and Eve were perfectly Married before they knew one another, fo Marriage was compleat upon the Contracd; and what followed, was only an effect done in the right of the Marriage. And there was a great deal of filthy fluff brought together, of the different Opinions of the Canonifts concerning Confummation, to what Degree it must go, to shew that it could not be effential to the Marriage Contracd, which in modesty were fuppreffed. Both Hilderbert of Mans, Ido Carnotenfis, and Hugo de St. Victore, had delivered this Opinion, and proved it out of St. Chryfoftome, Ambrofius, Apolin, and Ifidore. Pope Nicholas, and the Council of Tribur, defined, that Mar- riage was compleat by the Confent, and the Benediction. From all which they Concluded, that although it could not be proved that Prince Arthor knew the Queen, yet that the being once lawfully Mar- ried to him, the King could not afterwards Marry her.

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

As for the validity of the Pops Dispensation, it was said, That though the Schoolmen and Canonifts did generally raffe the Pops Power very high, and stretch it as far as it was possible; yet they all agreed that it could not reach the Kings Cafe: Upon this received Maxime, That only the Laws of the Church are subject to the Pope, and may be dispensed with by him; but that Laws of God are above him, and that he cannot dispence with them in any cafe. This Aquinas delivers in many places of his Works, Petrus de Palude, says, The Pope cannot differ with Marriage in these Degrees, because it is against Nature. But Joannes de Lure Cremat, reports a fingular Cafe, which fell out when he was a Cardinal. A King of France defired a Dispensation to Marry his Wives Sitter. The matter was long confidered of and debated in the Rota, himself being there, and bearing a share in the debate; but it was concluded, That if any Pope either out of Ignorance, or being Corrupted, had ever granted fuch a Dispensation, that could be no precedent or warrant for doing the like any more, since the Church ought to be governed by Laws, and not by fuch Examples. Antonin, and Joannes de Tabia, held the fame. And one Bacon an English-man, who had taught the contrary, was cenfured for it even at Rome, and he did retract his Opinion, and acknowledged, that the Pope could not dispence with the Degrees of Marriage forbidden by the Law of God.

The Canonifts agree alfo to this, both Joannes Andreus, Joannes de Indale, and Abbas Panornitianus, affert it, laying, That the Precepts in Leviticus oblige for ever, and therefore cannot be dispensed with. And Panornitianus says, These things are to be observed in Practice, because great Princes do often defer Dispensions from Popes. Pope Alexander the 3d, would not fuffer a Citizen of Pavia to Marry his younger Son, to the Widow of his eldfeft Son, though he had sworn to do it. For the Pope said, it was against the Law of God, therefore it might not be done, and he was to repent of his unlawful Oath.

And for the Power of dispensing even with the Laws of the Church, by Popes; it was brought in, in the latter Ages. All the Fathers with one confent believed, That the Laws of God could not be dispenced with by the Church, for which many places were cited out of St. Cyprian, Basil, Ambrose, Ifforae, Bernard, and Urban, Fabian, Marcellus, and Innocent, that were Popes; besides an infinite number of latter Writers. And also the Popes Joannes, Damasenus, Leo, and Hilarinus did freely acknowledge they could not change the Decrees of the Church, nor go against the Opinions or Pratiques of the Fathers. And since the A-
"politics confused; they could do nothing against the truth, but for the truth; the Pope being Christ's Vicar, cannot be supposed to have so great a power as to abrogate the Law of God: and though it is acknowledged, that he is Veiled with a falsity of power, yet the phrase must be restrained to the matter of it, which is the Pastoral care of Souls. And though there was no Court Superior to the Popes, yet as St. Paul had written to Adolphus of the Popes, and St. Peter to his face; so in all Ages upon several occasions, holy Bishops have refused to comply with, or submit to Orders sent from Rome, when they thought the matter of them unlawful.

"Laurence that succeeded Austin the Monk in the See of Canterbury, having Excomunicated King Edwald for an Incestuous Marriage, would not absolve him, till he put away his Wife; though the Pope plied him earnestly both by Intreaties and threatenings, to let it alone, and Absole him. Dunstan did the like to Count Edwin for an other Incestuous Marriage; nor did all the Popes Interposition make him give over. They found many other such instances which occurred in the Ecclesiastical History, of Bishops proceeding by Censures and other Methods, to stop the course of Sin, notwithstanding any encouragement the Parties had from Popes.

"And it is certain that every man when he finds himself engaged in any course, which is clearly sinful, ought presently to forfake it, according to the opinion of all Divines. And therefore the King upon these Evidences of the unlawfulness of his Marriage ought to abstain from the Queen; and the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, with the other Bishops, ought to require him to do it, otherwise they must proceed to Church Censures. Many things were also brought from reason (or at least the Maximes of the School Philosophy, which passed for true reasons in those days,) to prove Marriage in the degrees forbidden by Moses to be contrary to the Law of Nature; and much was alleged out of Profane Authors, to show what an abhorrency some Heathen Nations had of Incestuous Marriages.

"And whereas the chief strength of the Arguments for the contrary opinion, rested in this, That those Laws of Moses were not confirmed by Christ or his Apostles in the New Testament. To that they answered, That if the Laws about Marriage were Moral, as had been proved, then there was no need of a particular Confirmation, since those Words of our Saviour: I came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfill it; do confirm the whole Moral Law. Christ had also expressly averted the Relation of Affinity, saying, That man and wife are one Flesh. St. Paul also condemned a Match as Incestuous for affinity. But though it were not expressly set down in the Gospel, yet the Traditions of the Church, are received with equal Authority to written Verities. This the Court of Rome, and all the Learned Writers for the Catholick Faith, lay down as a Fundamental Truth. And without it, how could the Seven Sacraments (some of which are not mentioned in the New Testament,) with many other Articles of Catholick Belief be maintained against the Hereticks. The Tradition of the Church being so full and formal in this particular, must take place: And if any Corruptions have been brought in by some Popes within an Age or two, which have never had any other Authority from the Decrees of the Church, or the Opinions of Learned men, they are not to be maintained in opposition to the Evidence that is brought on the other side. This
This I have summed up in as short and Comprehensive words as I could, Being the Substance of what I gathered out of the Printed Books and Manuscripts for the Kings cause. But the Fidelity of an Historian leads me next to open the arguments that were brought against it, by those who wrote on the other side for the Queens cause, to prove the validity of the Marriage, and the Popes Power of Dispenſing with a Marriage in that degree of Affinity.

I could never by all the search I have made, fee either MSS. or Printed Books that defended their Cause, except Cajetan and Victories Books that are Printed in their works. But from an answer that was written to the Bishop of Rocheſters Book, and from some other writings on the other side, I gather the Substance of their arguments to have been what follows.

"Cardinal Cajetan, had by many arguments endeavored to prove, that the Prohibitions in Levities, were not parts of the Moral Law. They were not observer before the Law, no not by the holy feed. Adams Children Married one another, Abraham Married his Sifler, Jacob Married two Siflers, Judah gave his two Sons to Tamar, and promised to give her the third for her Husband. By the Law of Moses, a Dispenſation was granted in one cafe, for Marrying the Brothers wife, which shews the Law was not Moral, otherwife it could not be dispenced with, and if Moses dispenced with it, why might not the Pope as well do it, nor was there any force in the places cited from the new Testament. As for that of Herod, both Josephus and Eufebius wittnes, that his Brother Philip was alive when he took his wife, and so his fin was Adultery and not Inceft. We must alfo think that the Inceftuous Persson in Corinth, took his Fathers Wife when he was yet living, otherwife if he had been dead, St. Paul could not say it was a Fornication not named among the Gentiles, for we not only find both among the Persians and other Nations, the Marriage of Step-Mothers allowed, but even among the Jews, Adonijah defired Abifbag in Marriage, who had been his Fathers Concubine.

From all which they concluded, that the Laws about the Degrees of Marriage, were only Judiciary Precepts, and so there was another obligation on Christians to obey them, than what flowed from the Laws of the Church, with which the Pope might dispence. They alfo said, that the Law in Levities of not taking the Brothers wife, must be understood of not taking her, while he was alive; for after he was dead, by another Law, a man might marry his Brothers wife.

They alfo pleaded, that the Popes Power, of Dispenſing, did reach further than the Laws of the Church, even to the Law of God, for he daily Dispenſed with the breaking of Oaths and Vows, though that was expressly contrary to the Second Commandment, and though the Fifth Command, Thou shalt do no Murther, be against Killing, yet the Pope Dispenſed with the putting Thieves to death, and in some cases, where the reaſon of the Commandment does not at all times hold, he is the only judge according to Summa Angelica. They Concluded the Popes Power of Dispenſing was as neceſsary, as his Power of Expounding the Scriptures, and since there was a Queſtion made concerning the obligation of these Levitical Prohibitions, whether they
they were Moral, and did oblige Christians or not? the Pope must be the only Judge: There were also some late Precedents found, one of P. Martin, who in the case of a mans having Married his own Sifter who had lived long with her, upon a Consultation with Divines and Lawyers, Confirmed it: to prevent the Scandal, which the disfavouring of it would have given. Upon which St. Antonin of Florence says, that since the thing was dispensed with, it was to be referred to the judgment of God, and not to be condemned. The Pope had granted this Dispenfation, upon a very weighty Consideration, to keep peace between two great Crowns; it had now stood above twenty years: it would therefore raise an high scandal, to bring it under debate; besides that it would do much hurt, and bring the Titles to most Crowns into Controversie.

But they Concluded, that whatever Informalities or Nullities were pretended to be in the Bulls or Breves, the Pope was the only Competent judge of it, and that it was too high a presumption for inferior Prelates, to take upon them to examine or difcuss it.

But to these Arguments it was Answered by the writers for the Kings caufe, that it was strange to fee men, who pretended to be such Enemies to all Heretical Novelties, yet be guilty of that, which Catholick Doctors hold to be the foundation of all Herefie; which was the setting up of private fenfes of Scripture, and Reafonings from them, against the Doctrine and Tradition of the Church. It was fully made out, that the Fathers and Doctors of the Church did universally agree in this, that the Levitical Prohibitions of the Degrees of Marriage are Moral, and do oblige all Christians. Against this Authority Cajetan was the first that presumed to write, oppofing his private conceits to the Tradition of the Church: which is the fame thing, for which Luther and his followers are fo severely Condemned. May it not then be justly said of fuch men, that they plead much for Tradition, when it makes for them, but rejet it when it is againft them? Therefore all thefe expections are overthrowen, with this one Maxime of Catholick Doctrine, That they are Novelties againft the confant Tradition of the Christian Church, in all Ages. But if the force of them be also examined, they will be found as weak, as they are New. That before the Law, thefe degrees were not oberved, proves only, that they are not evidently contrary to the common fenfe of all men; But as there are fome Moral Precepts, which have that natural evidence in them, that all men must dircem it, fo there are others, that are drawn from publick inconvenience and dipheriffy, which are also parts of the Law of nature: These Prohibitions are not of the firf, but of the second fort, since the Immorality of them appears in this, that the Familiarities and freedoms among near Relations are fuch, that if an horror were not struck in men at conjunctures in thefe degrees, Families would be much defiled. This is the Foundation of the Prohibitions of Marriages in thefe degrees: Therefore it is not strange if men did not apprehend it, before God made a Law concerning it. Therefore all examples before the Law, show only the thing is not fo evident, as to be cailly collected by the light of Nature. And for the story of Judah and Tamar, there is fo much wickedness in all the parts
"parts of it, that it will be very hard to make a President out of any part of it. As for the Provision about Marrying the Brothers Wife, that only proves, the ground of the Law is not of its own Nature Immutable, but may be dispensed with by God in some cases. And all these Moral Laws, that are founded on publick conveniency and honesty, are Dispensable by God in some cases; but because Moses did it by Divine Revelation, it does not follow, that the Pope can do it by his Ordinary Authority.

"For that about Herod, it is not clear from Josephus, that Philip was alive when Herod Married his Wife. For all that Josephus says, is, that she separated from her Husband, when he was yet alive, and divorced her self from him. But he does not say, that he lived still after the Married his Brother. And by the Law of Divorce Marriage was at an end, and broken by it as much, as if the Party had been dead. So that, in that case she might have Married any other: Therefore Herod's sin in taking her, was from the Relation of having been his Brothers Wife. And for the Incestuous persou in Corinth, it is as certain, that though some few instances of a King of Syria and some others, may be brought of Sons marrying their Stepmothers, yet these things were generally ill looked on, even where they were practised by some Princes, who made their pleasur their Law. Nor could the Laws of Leviticus be understood, of not Marrying the Brothers Wife when he was alive; for it was not Lawful to take any mans Wife from him living. Therefore that cannot be the meaning. And all these Prohibitions of Marriage in other degrees, excluding those Marriages simply, whether during the life, or after the death of the Father, Son, Uncle, and other such Relations, there is no ground to disjoin this so much from the rest, as to make it only extend to a Marriage before the Husbands death. And for any Precedents that were brought, they were all in the latter Ages, and were never Confirmed by any publick Authority. Nor must the Practises of latter Popes be laid in the Ballance against the Decisions of former Popes, and the Doctrine of the whole Church; and as to the Power that was ascribed to the Pope, that began now to be enquired into with great Freedom, as shall appear afterwards.

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

But it is not strange, that this matter went so easily in the Convocation, when another of far greater confidence paffed there, which will require a full and distinct account. Cardinal Wolfey by exercising his Legantine Authority had fallen into a Prelature, as hath been already shewn, and now those who had appeared in his Courts, and had futes there, were found to be likewise in the fame guilt by the Law; and this matter, being excepted out of the Pardon that was granted in the former Parliament, was at this time fet on foot: Therefore an Indictment was brought into the Kings Bench, against all the Clergy of England, for breaking the Statutes against Provisions or Provisions. But to open this more clearly,

It is to be considered, that the Kings of England having claimed in all Ages, a Power in Ecclesiastical Matters, equal to what the Roman Emperors had in that Empire, they exercised this Authority both over the Clergy and Laity: and did at firft erect Bishops, grant Investitures in them, call Synods, make Laws, about Sacred as well as Civil Concerns: and in a word, they Governed their whole Kingdom. Yet when the Bishops of Rome did stretch their Power beyond either the limits of it in the Primitive Church, or what was afterward granted them by the Roman Emperors; and came to assume an Authority in all the Churches of Europe; as they found some Resistance every where, so they met with a great deal in this Kingdom; and it was with much Difficulty, that they gained the Power of giving Investitures, Receiving Appeals to Rome, and of sending Legates to England, with several other things, which were long contested but were delivered up at length, either by feeble Princes, or when Kings were so engaged at home or abroad, that it was not safe for them to offend the Clergy. For in the first Contest between the Kings and the Popes, the Clergy were generally on the Popes side, because of the Immunity and Protection they enjoyed from that See, but when Popes became ambitious and warlike Princes, then new Projects and Taxes were every where set on foot, to raise a great Treasure. The Pall, with many Bulls and high Compositions for them, Annuates or first Fruits, and Tenthst were the standing Taxes of the Clergy, besides many
many new ones upon emergent occasions. So that they finding them-

selves thus oppressed by the Popes, fled again back to the Crown for
Protection, which their Predecessors had abandoned.

From the days of Edward the first many Statutes were made to restrain
the Exactions of Rome. For then the Popes not satisfied with their oth-

er oppression, (which a Monk of that time lays open fully; and

from a deep sense of them) did by Provisions, Bulls, and other Arts of
that See, dispose of Bishops, Abbesses, and other Benefices to
Forfeigners, Cardinals, and others that did not live in England. Up-

on which the Commonality of the Realm, did represent to the King
in Parliament, That the Bishops, Abbesses, and other Benefices were
founded by the Kings and People of England, To inform the People of the
Law of God, and to make Hospitality, Alms, and other Works of Charity
for which end they were endowed by the King and People of England; and
that the King, and his other Subjects who endowed them, had, upon Void-
dance, the Prefentment and Collations of them, which now the Pope had
Ufarped and given to Others, by which the Crown would be disinherited,
and the ends of their Endowments destroyed, with other great Inconvenien-
tes; Therefore it was ordained, That these Oppressions should not be suf-
fered in any manner. But notwithstanding this, the abuse went on, and
there was no efficacious way laid down in the Acts, to punish these Tran-
scensions. The Court of Rome was not so easily driven out of any
thing, that either encroached their Power or their Profits; Therefore
by another Act in his Grand-Child Edward the 3d's time, the Commons
complained that these abuses did abound, and that the Pope did daily refer
his Collations to his Church-Preferments in England, and seized the First-Fruits
with other great Profits, by which the Treasure of the Realm was carried
out of it, and many Clerks advanced in the Realm, were put out of their
Benefices, by these Provisors, therefore the King being bowed by Oath to
see the Laws kept, did with the consent of all the great Men and the Commo-
nality of the Realm, ordain, That the free Elections, Preferments, and
Collations of Benefices, should stand in the Right of the Crown, or of any
of his Subjects as they had formerly enjoyed them, notwithstanding any Pro-
visions from Rome. And if any did disturb the Incumbents by virtue of
such Provisions, those Provisors or others employed by them, were to be put
in Prison, till they made Fine and Runsome to the King at his Will; or if
they could not be apprehended, Writs were to be issued out to seize them, and all
Benefices possessed by them, were to fall into the Kings hands, except they
were Abbess or Priories, that fell to the Canons or Colleges. By another
Act the Provisions were put out of the Kings Protection, and if any man of-
fended against them, In Person or Goods, he was executed, and was
never to be impeached for it. And two years after that, upon another
Complaint, of their Suing the Kings Subjects in other Courts, or be-
yond Sea, it was Ordained, That any who Sued either beyond Sea, or in
any other Court, for things that had been Sued, and about which, judgment
had been given in former times, in the Kings Courts, were to be Cited to
answer for it in the Kings Courts within two Months; and if they came
not, they were to be put out of the Kings Protection, and to forfeit their Lands,
Goods, and Chattels to the King, and to be imprisoned and runsome at
the Kings Will. Both these Statutes received a new Confirmation Ele-
ven years after that. But these Statutes proved ineffectual, and in the
beginning of the Reign of Richard the 2d, the former Acts were Confirmed by another Statute, and appointed to be Executed; and not only the Provfores themselves, but all such as took Procurationes, Letters of Attorney, or Farms from them, were involved in the same Guilt. And in the 7th year of that King, Provisions were made against Aliens, having Benefices without the Kings Licence, and the King promis’d to abstain from granting them Licences: for this was another Artifice of the Roman Court, to get the King of their fide, by accepting his Licence; which by this Act was restrained. This failing, they betook themselves to another course, which was to prevail with the Incumbents that were presented in England according to Law, to take Provisions for their Benefices from Rome, to Confirm their Titles. This was also forbidden under the former Pains. As for the Rights of Presentations, by the Law they were ty’d and judged in the Kings Courts, and the Bishops were to give Intimation according to the Title declared in their Judgments: This the Popes had a mind to draw to themselves, and to have all Titles to Avoifions tried in their Courts; and Bishops were Excommunicated, who proceeded in this matter according to the Law. Of which great complaint was made in the 16th year of the Reign of Richard the 2d. And it was added to that, that the Pope intended to make many Translations of Bishops, some to be within, and some out of the Realm, which among other Inconveniences reckoned in the Statute, would produce this effect, That the Crown of England, which had been so free at all times, should be subjected to the Bishop of Rome, and the Laws and Statutes of the Realm by his Credit and destroyed, at his Will. They also found those things to be against the Kings Crown, and Regality, used and approved in the time of his Predecessors: Therefore all the Commons resolved to live and dye with him and his Crown, and they required him by way of Justice, to Examine all the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, what they thought of those things, and whether they would be with the Crown to uphold the Regality of it? To which all the Temporal Lords answer’d, they would be with the Crown. But the Spiritual Lords being asked, said, they would neither deny nor affirm that the Bishop of Rome might, or might not, Excommunicate Bishops, or make Translations of Prelates: But upon that Protestation, they said, that if such things were done, they thought it was against the Crown, and said, they would be with the King, as they were bound by their Leagancies; whereupon it was ordained, that if any did purchase Translations, Sentences of Excommunication, Bulls, or other Instruments from the Court of Rome, against the King or his Crown, or whatsoever brought them to England, or did receive, or execute them, they were out of the King’s Protection, and that they should forfeit their Goods and Chattels to the King, and their Persons should be imprisoned. And because the Proceedings were to be upon a Writ, called from the most material words of it, Premunire facies, this was called the Statute of Premunire.

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

Our Kings took the best opportunity that ever could have been found, to depress the Papal Power; for from the beginning of Richard the Second's Reign, till the Fourth year of Henry the Fifth, the Pope-dome was broken by a long and great Schism; and the Kingdoms of Europe were divided in their Obedience: Some holding for those that sat at Rome, and others for the Popes of Avignon: England in opposition to France, that chiefly supported the Avignon Popes, did adhere to the Roman Popes. The Papacy being thus divided, the Popes were as much at the mercy of Kings for their Protection, as Kings had formerly been at theirs; so that they durst not thunder as they were wont to do, otherwise this Kingdom had certainly been put under Excommunications and Interdicts for these Statutes, as had been done formerly upon their Provocations.

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

The first Letter is to Henry Chicheley, then Arch-bishop of Canterbury, who had been promoted to that Seat by the Pope, but had made
no opposition to the Statute against Provisions in the Fourth year of
Henry the Fifth; and afterwards in the Eighth year of his Reign, when
the Pope had granted a Provision of the Arch-bishopric of York, to
the Bishop of Lincoln, the Chapter of York rejected it, and pursuant
the former Statute, made a Canonical Election. Henry the Fifth
being then the greatest King in Christendome, the Pope durst not of-
flend him: So the Law took place without any further contradiction,
till the Sixth year of his Sons Reign, that England was both under an
Infant King, and had fallen from its former greatness: Therefore the
Pope who waited for a good conjunction, laid hold on this, and first
expostulated severally with the Arch-bishop for his remissnes, that he
had not stood up more for the Right of St. Peter and the See of Rome,
that had bestowed on him the Primacy of England; and then says many
things against the Statute of Proumuire, and exhorts him to imitate the
Example of his Predecessor St. Thomas of Canterbury the Martyr, in
asserting the Rights of the Church; requiring him, under the pain of
Excommunication, to declare at the next Parliament to both Houses,
the unlawfulness of that Statute, and that all were under Excommunica-
tion who obeyed it. But to make sure work among the People, he
also commands him, to give orders under the same pains, that all the
Clergy of England should preach the same Doctrine to the People. This
bears date the fifth day of December 1426, and will be found in the Col-
lection of Papers.

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

There is also another Letter, dated the sixth of May, directed to the
Arch-bishop, and makes mention of Letters written to the whole Clergy
to the same purpose, requiring him to use all his Endeavours, for repea-
ing the Statute, and chides him severely because he had said, that the
Papal seal in this matter was only, that he might raise much Money out of
England; which he refents as an high Injury, and protestes that he de-
dsigned only to maintain these Rights, that Christ himself had granted
to his See, which the Holy Fathers, the Councils, and the Catholick
Church has always acknowledged. If this does not look like Teaching
eX cathedra it is left to the Readers Judgment.

But the next Letter is of an higher train. It is directed to the two
Arch-bishops only, and it seems, in despite to Clackely, the Arch-bishop
of York is named before Canterbury. By it the Pope annuls the Sta-
tutes made by Edward the Third and Richard the Second, and com-
mands them to do no Act in pursuance of them: and declares, if
they, or any other gave obedience to them, they were ipso fato Ex-
communicated, and not to be relaxed, unlefs at the point of death,
by any but the Pope. He charges them also to intitate that his Mo-
nitory Letter to the whole Nation, and cause it to be affixed in the se-
veral places, where there might be occasion for it. This is dated the
8th of December, the tenth year of his Popedom. Then follow Letters
from the University of Oxford, the Arch-bishop of York, the Bishops of London, Durham, and Lincoln, to the Pope, all to mitigate his displeasure against the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, in which they gave him the highest testimony possible, bearing date the 10th and the 25th day of July. These the Arch-bishop sent by an Express to Rome, and wrote the humblest submission possible to the Pope; protesting that he had done, and would do all that was in his power, for repealing these Statutes. One thing in this Letter is remarkable, he says, he bore the Pope had proceeded to a Sentence against him, which had never been done from the days of St. Austin to that time: but he knew that only by report, for he had not opened, much less read the Bulls, in which it was contained; being commanded by the King, to bring them with the Seals entire, and lay them up in the Paper-Office, till the Parliament was brought together.

There are two other Letters to the King, and one to the Parliament, for the Repeal of the Statute. In those to the King, the Pope writes, that he had often pressed both King and Parliament to it; and that the King had answered, that he could not repeal it without the Parliament. But he excepts to that, as a delaying the business, and charges him of it being unlawful, and that the King was under Excommunication, as long as he kept it; therefore he expects that at the furthest, in the next Parliament, it should be repealed. It bears date the 13th of October, in the 16th year of his Pecord. In his Letter to the Parliament, he tells them, that no Man can be saved, who is for the observance of that Statute: therefore he requires them, under pain of Damnation to repeal it, and offers to secure them from any abuses, which might have crept in formerly with these Provisions. This is dated the third of October, Decimo Pontificis, but I believe it is an error of the Tranferiber, and that its true date was the 13th of October.

The Parliament sat in January 1437, being the sixth year of King Henry the sixth, during which on the 30th of January, the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, accompanied by the Arch-bishop of York, the Bishops of London, St. David's, Ely, and Norwich, and the Abbots of Westminster and Reading, went from the House of Lords, to the place where the House of Commons ordinarily sat, which was the Refectory of the Abbey of Westminster, where the Arch-bishop made a long Speech, in the form of a Sermon, upon that Text; Reader to Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's. He began with a Protestation, that he and his Brethren intended not to lay any thing, that might derogate from the King, the Crown, or the People of England. Then he alleged many things, for the Pope's Power in granting Provisions, to prove it was of Divine Right, and admonished and required them to give the Pope satisfaction in it, otherwise he laid out to them with tears, what mischief might follow, if he proceeded to cenfures; which will appear more fully from the Instruinent, that will be found in the Collection at the end. But it seems the Parliament would do nothing for all this, for no Act neither of Repeal nor Explanation was passed.

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

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

So in the Convocation of Canterbury, a Petition was brought in to be offered to the King. In the Kings Title, he was called, the Protector and Supreme Head of the Church, and Clergy of England. To this some opposition was made, and it was put off to another day; but by the Interposition of Cromwell, and others of the Kings Council, who came to the Convocation, and used Arguments to perswade them to it, they were prevailed with to pass it with that Title, at least none speaking against it: For when Warham Arch-bishop of Canterbury said, That silence was to be taken for consent, They cried out, they were then all silent: Yet it was moved by some to add these words to the Title, in so far as is lawful by the Law of Christ. But Parker says, The King disliked that Clause, since it left his Power still disputable; therefore it was cast out, and the Petition passed simply, as it was first brought in. Yet in that he was certainly misinformed, for when the Convocation of the Province of York demurred about the same Petition, and sent their Reasons to the King, why they could not acknowledge him Supreme Head, which (as appears by the Kings answer to them,) were chiefly founded on this, that the term Head was improper, and did not agree to any under Christ; the King wrote a long and sharp answer to them, and shewed them, that words were not always to be understood in their strict sense, but according to the common acceptation. And among other things he shewed what an Explanation was made in the Convocation of Canterbury, That it was in so far as was agreeable to the Law of Christ; by which it appears, that at that time the King was satisfied to have it pass any way; and so it was agreed to by nine Bishops (the Bishop of Rochester being one) and 52 Abbots and Priors, and the major part of the lower House of Convocation in the Province of Canterbury. Of which number it is very probable

Reginald
Reginald Pool was, for in his Book to the King, he says, he was then in England, and adds, that the King would not accept of the Sum the Clergy offered, unless they acknowledged him Supreme Head; he being then Dean of Exeter, was of the lower House of Convocation; and it is not likely the King would have continued the Penalties, and other Church-Preferments he had, if he had refused to Sign that Petition and Submission. By it they prayed the King to accept 100000 l. in lieu of all punishments which they had incurred, by going against the Statutes of Provisors, and did promise for the future, neither to make, nor execute any Constitution without the King's Licence; upon which he granted them a general Pardon: and the Convocation of the Province of York, offering 18340 l. with another Submission of the same nature afterwards, though that met with more opposition, they were also Pardoned.

When the Kings Pardon for the Clergy was brought into the House of Commons, they were much troubled to find themselves neither included within it for by the Statutes of Provisors, many of them were liable, and they apprehended, that either they might be brought in trouble, or at least it might be made use of to draw a Subsidy from them: So they sent their Speaker with some of their Members, to represent to the King, the great grief of his Commons to find themselves out of his favour, which they concluded from the Pardon of the Pains of Premunire to his Spiritual Subjects, in which they were not included; and therefore prayed the King that they might be comprehended within it. But the King answered them, That they must not restrain his Mercy, nor yet force it; it was free to him either to execute, or mitigate the severity of the Law: That he might well grant his Pardon by his Great Seal without their affliction, but he would be well advised before he pardoned them, because he would not seem to be compelled to it. So they went away, and the House was in some trouble: many blamed Cromwell, who was growing in favour, for this rough answer; yet the Kings Pardon was passed.

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

During this Session of Parliament, an unheard-of Crime was committed by one Richard Roule a Cook, who on the 16th of February, Poisoned a Vesel of Yeast that was to be used in Porridge, in the Bishop of Rochester's Kitchen, with which 17 Persons of his Family were mortally infected, and one of the Gentlemen died of it; and some poor People that were charitably fed with the remainder of it, were also infected, one Woman dying. The Person was Apprehended, and by Act of Parliament, Poisoning was declared Treason, and Roule was attainted, and sentenced to be Boiled to death, which was to be the punishment of Poisoning for all times to come: That the Terror of this unheard of Punishment might strike a Horror in all Persons at such an unexampled Crime. And the Sentence was executed in Smithfield soon after.

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

When the Session of Parliament was over, the King continued to play the Queen with all the applications he could think of, to depart from her Appeal. He grew very Melancholy, and used no sort of Diversion; but was observed to be very penive. Yet nothing could prevail with the Queen. She answered the Lords of the Council, when they pressed her much to it, That she prayed God to send the King a quiet Conscience, but that she was his Landfiil Wife, and would abide by it, till the Court of Rome declared the contrary. Upon which the King forbore to see her, or to receive any Tokens from her, and lent her word, to choose where she had a mind to live, in any of his Mannours. She answered, that to which place sooner she were removed, nothing could remove her from being his Wife. Upon this answer the King left her at Windsor, the 4th of July and never saw her more. She removed first to Moor, then to Eathamstead, and at last to Ampthill, where she stayed longer.

The Clergy went now about the raising of the 100000l. which they were to pay in five years; and to make it easier to themselves, the Prelates had a great mind to draw in the Inferior Clergy to bear a part of the burden. The Bishop of London called a meeting of some Priests about London, on the first of September, to the Chapter-House at St. Paul's: He designed to have had at first only a small number, among whom he hoped it would easily pass, and that being done by a few, others would more willingly follow. But the matter was not so secretely carried, but that all the Clergy about the City hearing of it, went thither. They were not a little encouraged by many of the Laity, who thought it no unpleasent diversion to see the Clergy fall out among themselves. So when they came to the Chapter-House on the day appointed, the Bishops Officers would only admit some few to enter, but the rest forced the door and rushed in, and the Bishops Servants were beaten and ill used. But the Bishop seeing the Tumult was such, that it could not be easily quieted, told them all, That as the State of men in this life was frail, so the Clergy through frailty and want of wisdom, had misdeemed themselves towards the King, and had fallen in a Premunire, for which the King of his great Clemency was pleased to pardon them, and to accept of a little, in stead of the whole of their Benefices, which by the Law had fallen into his hand. Therefore he desired they would patiently bear their share in this burden. But they answered, They had never medled with any of the Cardinals Faculties, and so had not fallen in the Premunire; and that their Livings were so small, that they could hardly subsist by them. Therefore since the Bishops and Abbots were only Guilty, and had good Preferments, they only ought to
to be punished, and pay the Tax; but that for themselves they needed not the Kings Pardon, and so would pay nothing for it. Upon which the Bishop's Officers threatened them, but they on the other hand (being encouraged by some Lay-men that came along with them) persisted in their denial to pay any thing; so that from high words the matter came to blows, and several of the Bishop's Servants were ill handled by them. But he to prevent a further Tumult, apprehending it might end upon himself, gave them good words, and dismissed the meeting with his blessing, and promised that nothing should be brought in Question that was then done. Yet he was not so good as his word; for he complained of it to the Lord Chancellor, who was always a great Favourer of the Clergy; by whose order fifteen Priests and five Lay-men were committed to several Prisons; but whether the inferiour Clergy pay'd their proportion of the Tax or not, I have not been able to discover.

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

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

This change in the Popes mind might have produced another in the Kings Affairs, if he had not already gone so far, that he was less in fear of the Pope than formerly. He found the Credit of his Clergy was so low, that to preserve themselves from the contempt and fury of the people, they were forced to depend wholly on the Crown. For Luthera

1531. The Pope falls off to the French Faction.


A Match projected between the Pope's Nece and the Duke of Orleans.

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what was lately done in the business of the *Promenire*, he must thereby lose the greatest advantages he drew from that Nation; and it was not likely that after the King had gone so far, he would undo what was done.

The Emperor was more remiss in prosecuting the Queens Appeal at Rome, for at that time the Turk with a most numerous and powerful Army was making an impression on Hungary (which to the great scandal of the *most Christian* King was imputed to his Councillors and Prefents at the *Port*) and all the Emperor's thoughts were taken up with this. Therefore as he gave the Protestant Princes of Germany some present satisfaction in Religion and other matters; so he sent over to England, and directed the Kings assistance against that vast Army of 30000 men that was falling in upon Christendom. To this the King made a general answer, that gave some hopes of assisting him. But at the same time the Protestant Princes, resolving to draw some advantage from that conjunction of Affairs, and being courted by the French King, entered into a League with him, for the defence of the Rights of the Empire. And to make this firmer, the King was invited by the French King to join in it; to which he consented, and sent over to France a sum of Money to be employed for the safety of the Empire. And this provoked the Emperor to renew his endeavours in the Court of Rome for prosecuting the Queens Appeal.

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

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

There was a common practice in England of men making such Settlements of their Estates by their Last Wills, or other Deeds, that the King and some great Lords were thereby defrauded of the advantages they made by Wards, Marriages, and Primer Seafon. For regulating which, a Bill was brought in to the House of Peers, and annexed to there; but when it was sent down to the House of Commons, it was rejected by them, and they would neither pass the Bill, nor any other Qualification of that Abuse. This gave the King great offence, and the House when they addressed to him about the proceedings of the Clergy, also prayed, That he would consider what Cost, Charge, and Pains they had been at since the beginning of the Parliament, and that it would please his Grace of his Prince-
by Benignity to Dissolve his Court of Parliament, and that his Subjects might return into their Countries. To which the King answered, "That for "their complaints of the Clergy, he must hear them also before he could "give Judgment, since in Justice he ought to hear both Parties; but "that they offering the Redrefs of such Abuses, was contrary to the other "part of their Petition; for if the Parliament were dissolved how could "those things they complained of be amended? And as they complain- "ed of their long attendance, so the King had stay’d as long, as they had "done, and yet he had till patience, and so they must have, otherwise "their grievances would be without Redrefs. But he did expostulate "severely upon their rejecting the Bill about Deeds in prejudice of the "Rights of the Crown. He said, he had offered them a great mitigation "of what by the rigour of the Law he might pretend to, and if they "would not accept of it, he would try the utmost severity that the Law "allowed, and would not offer them such a favour again. Yet all this did not prevail, for the Act was rejected, and their complaint against the Clergy was also laid aside, and the Parliament was Prorogued till April next.

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

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

P 2 "they
they should be invested, and enjoy all the Rights of their Sees in full and ample manner: yet that the Pope and Court of Rome might have no just cause of Complaint, the persons presented to Bishopricks are allowed to pay them 5th for the Hundred, of the clear Profits and Revenues of their several Sees. But the Parliament not willing to go to extremities, Remitted the final ordering of that Act to the King, that if the Pope would either charitably and reasonably put down the payment of Annates, or so moderate them, that they might be a tolerable burden, the King might at any time before Easter 1533 or before the next Session of Parliament, declare by his Letters Patents whether the premises or any part of them should be observed or not, which should give them the full force and Authority of a Law. And that if upon this Act the Pope should vex the King, or any of his Subjects by Excommunications or other Cenfures, these notwithstanding the King should cause the Sacraments, and other Rites of the Church to be administered, and that none of these Cenfures might be published or Executed.

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

But now I come to open the final Conclusion of the Kings Suit at Rome. On the 25th of January the Pope wrote to the King, that he heard reports, which he very unwillingly believed, that he had put away his Queen, and kept one Anne about him as his Wife; which as it gave much Scandal, so it was an high Contempt of the Apostle the Pope, to do such a thing while his Suit was still depending, notwithstanding a Prohibition to the contrary. Therefore the Pope remembering his former merits, which were now like to be clouded with his present Carriage, did exhort him to take home his Queen, and to put Anne away; and not to continue to provoke the Emperor and his Brother by so high an Indignity, nor to break the General peace of Christendome, which was its only security against the Power of the Turk. What answer the King made to this I do not find, but instead of that I shall set down the Substance of a Dispatch, which the King sent to Rome about this time, drawn from a Copy of it; to which the date is not added. But being an answer to a Letter he received from the Pope the 7th of October, it seems to have been written about this time, and it concluding with a Credence to an Ambassador, I judge it was sent by Doctor Bennet, who was dispatched to Rome in January 1532, to shew the Pope the Opinions of Learned men, and of the Universities, with their Reasons. The Letter will be found in the end of this Volume, the Contents of it are to this purpose.

"The Pope had writ to the King, in order to the Clearing all his scruples, and to give him quiet in his Conscience; of which the King takes notice, and is sorry that both the Pope and himself were so deceived in that matter; the Pope by trusting to the judgments of others, and writing whatever they suggested; and the King by depending so much on the Pope, and in vain expecting remedy from him
him so long. He imputes the mistakes that were in the Popes Letters, (which he says had things in them contrary both to God's Law and Mans Law,) to the Ignorance and rashnes of his Councillors: for which himself was much to be blamed, since he refted on their advice, and that he had not carried himself as became Christ's Vicar, but had dealt both unconfantly and deceitfully: for when the Kings Caufe was first opened to him, and all things that Related to it were explained; he had Granted a Commission, with a promise not to recall it, but to confirm the Sentence which the Legates should give: and a Decretal was fent over defining the caufe. If these were juftly granted, it was unjust to revoke them, but if they were juftly revoked, it was unjust to grant them. So he prefus the Pope, that either he could grant these things, or he could not, If he could do it, where was the Faith which became a Friend, much more a Pope since he had broke these promises: But if he laid he could not do them, had he not then juft caufe to diftrust all that came from him, when at one time he condemned what he had allowed at another. So that the King law clearly he did not consider the cafe of his Confcience, but other worldly respects; that had put him on Consulting fo many Learned men, whole judgments differed much from thofe few that were about the Pope, who thought the Prohibition of fuch Marriages was only Poftive, and might be difpenfed with by the Pope: whereas all other Learned men thought the Law was Moral and indifpenfable. He perceived the Apostolick See was deftitute of that Learning, by which it should be directed: and the Pope had oft profefled his own Ignorance, and that he spake by other mens mouths; but many Universities in England, France, and Italy, had declared the Marriage unlawful, and the Difpenfation null. None honoured the Apostolick See more than he had done, and therefore he was forry to write fuch things if he could have been filent. If he should obey the Popes Letters, he would offend God and his own Confcience, and give scandal to thofe who condemned his Marriage: he did not willingly diftance from him without a very urgent caufe, that he might not feem to defpire the A- postolick See; therefore he defired the Pope would forgive the freedom that he used, fince it was the Truth that drew it from him. And he added, that he intended not to Impugn the Popes Authority further, except he compelled him; and what he did was only to bring it within its firft and Ancient Limits, to which it was better to reduce it, than to let it always run on headlong and do amifs; therefore he defired the Pope would Conform himfelf to the opinions of fo many Learned men, and do his Duty and Office. The Letter ends with a Credence to the Ambaffador.

The Pope feing his Authority was declining in England, resolved now to do all he could to recover it, either by force or Treaty: and fo ordered a Citation to be made of the King to appear in Perfon or by Proxie at Rome, to anfwcr to the Queens appeal: upon which Sir Edward Knave was fent to Rome, with a new Character of Examinator. His Injunictions were to take the beft Counsel for pleading an Ex- cufe of the Kings appearance at Rome. First, upon the grounds that might be found in the Canon Law; and thofe being not fufficient,
1532. He was to infult on the Prerogatives of the Crown of England. Doctor Bennet went with him, who had expressed much zeal in the Kings cause, though his great zeal was for Preferment, which by the most servile ways he always Courted. He was a forward bold man, and since there were many Threatenings to be used to the Pope and Cardinals, he was thought fittest for the employment, but was neither Learned nor discreet.

They came to Rome in March, where they found great heats in the Confitory about the Kings busines. The Imperialists prefled the Pope to proceed, but all the wise and indifferent Cardinals were of another mind. And when they understood what an Act was passed about Annates; they saw clearly, that the Parliament was resolved to adhere to the King in every thing he intended to do against their Interests. The Pope expostulated with the Ambassadors about it, but they told him the Act was still in the Kings Power; and except he provoked him, he did not intend to put it in execution. The Ambassadors finding the Cardinal of Ravenna of so great reputation, both for Learning and Vertue, that in all matters of that kind his opinion was heard as an Oracle, and gave Law to the whole Confitory; they resolved to gain him by all means possible. And Doctor Bennet made a secret address to him, and offered him what Bishoprick either in France or England he would defire, if he would bring the Kings matter to a good issue. He was at first very fhy, at length he said he had been oft deceived by many Princes, who had made him great Promises, but when their business was ended, never thought of performing them; therefore he would be fure: and so drave a Bargain, and got under Doctor Bennets hand a promife, of which a Copy being sent to the King, written by Bennet himfelf will be found at the end of this Volume;) Bearing, that he having Powers from the King for that effect, dated the 29th of December laft, did promife the Cardinal for his help in the Kings affair, Monasteries or other Benefits in France, to the value of 6000 Ducats a year: and the first Bishoprick that fell vacant in England; and if it were not Ely, that when ever that See was vacant, upon his resigning the other, he should be provided with the Bishoprick of Ely; dated at Rome the 7th of February 1532. This I fet down as one of the moft Considerable Arguments that could be used to satisfie the Cardinals Confciences about the justice of the Kings caufe. This Cardinal was the fittest to work secretly for the King, for he had appeared visible againft him. I find also by other Letters, that both the Cardinals of Ancona and Montefi (afterwards Pope Julius the 3d) were prevailed with, by arguments of the fame nature, though I cannot find out what the Bargains were. Procidellus, that was accounted the greatest Canonift in Italy, was brought from Bononia, and entertained, by the Ambassadors, to give Council in the Kings caufe, and to plead his Exculp, from appearing at Rome. The plea was summed up in 28 Articles, which were offered to the Pope; and he admitted them to be examined in the Confitory, appointing three of them to be opened at a Session. But the Imperialists oppofed that, and after fifteen of them had been heard, procured a new order that they should be heard in a Congregation of Cardinals before the Pope; pretending that a Confitory sitting but
but once a week, and having a great deal of other Business, it would be long before the matter could be brought to any issue. So Korn was served with a new order to appear in the Congregation the 3d. of April, with this Certification, That if he appeared not they would proceed. Upon which he protested, that he would adhere to the former Order: yet being warned the second time, he went first and protested against it, which he got entered in the Diary. This being considered in the Congregation, they renewed the Order of hearing it in the Congregatory of the 10th. of April, and then Provided, that three Conclusions, Two of them related to Korn's Powers, the third was concerning the Safety of the place to both parties. But the Imperialists and the Queens Council being dissatisfied with this Order would not appear. Upon which Korn complained of their Contumacy, and said, By that it was visible they were distrustful of their Caufe. On the 14th. of April a new intimation was made to Korn to appear on the 17th. with his Advocates, to open all the rest of the Conclusions, but he according to the first Order would only plead to three of them, and selected the 19, 20, and 21; (what these related to I find not.) Upon which Provided, he pleaded and answered the Objections that did seem to militate against them, but neither would the Imperialists appear at that Session.

In June news were brought to Rome, which gave the Pope great offence: A Priest had Preached for the Pope's Authority in England, and was for that cast into Prison. And another Priest being put in prison by the Archbishop of Canterbury, upon suspicion of Heresy, had appealed to the King as the Supreme Head: upon which he was taken out of the Archbishop's hands, and being examined in the Kings Courts was set at liberty. This the Pope resented much, but the Embassadors said, all such things might have been prevented, if the King had got Justice at the Popes hands.

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

Upon the 27th. of June the Debate was brought to a Conclusion about the Plea Excusatory; and when it was expected, that the Pope should have given sentence against the Articles, he admitted them all Si et prout de jure. Upon which the Imperialists made great Complaints: The Cardinals grew weary of the length of the Debate, since it took up all their time; but it was told them, the matter was of great importance, and it had been better for them not to have proceeded so precipitately at first, which had now brought them into this trouble, and that the King had been at much pains and trouble on their account; therefore it was unreasonable for them to complain, who were put to no other trouble, but to sit in their Chairs two or three hours a week to hear the Kings
Defences. The Imperialists had also occasioned the Delays, though they complained of them; by their Cavils, and Allegations of Laws and Decisions that never were made, by which much time was spent. But it was objected, That the Kings Excuse for not coming to Rome, because it was too remote from his Kingdom, and not safe, was of no force, since the place was safe to his Proxy. And the Cardinal of Ravenna prefixed the Ambassadors much to move the King, instead of the Excul- tory Proces to send a Proxy, for examining and discussing the Merits of the Cause, in which it would be much easier to advance the Kings matter; and that he having appeared against the King in this Proces, would be the less suspected in the other.

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

But while these things were in debate at Rome, there was another Session of Parliament in April; and then the King sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and gave him the Answer which the Cler- gy had drawn to the Addresses they made in the former Session about their Courts. The King himself seemed not at all pleased with it, but what the House did in it does not appear, further than that they were no way satisfied with it. But there happened another thing that offended the King much: One Temple of the House of Commons moved, that they should address to the King to bring the Queen back to the Court, and ran out upon the Inconveniences that were like to follow if the Queen were put away, particularly the ill consequence of the Illigiti- mation of the Princes. Upon this the King took occasion (when he gave them the Clergys Answer) to tell them, that he wondered at that motion made in their House, for the matter was not to be determined there. It touched his Soul; he wished his marriage were good, but the Doctors and Learned men had determined it to be null and detestable; and therefore he was obliged in Conscience to abstain from her, which he assured them flowed from no Lust or foolish Appetite. He was then 41 years old and at that Age these Heats abate. But except in Spain or Portugal it had not been heard of, that a man married two Sisters; and that he never heard, that any Christian man before himself had married his Brothers Wife: Therefore he assured them his Conscience was troubled, which he desired them to report to the House. In this Session the Lord Chancellour came down to the Commons, with many of the Nobility about him, and told them the King had considered the Marches between England and Scotland, which were uninhabited on the Eng- lish side, but well peopled on the Scottish; and that laid England open to
to the Incurion of the Scots; therefore the King intended to build Hou-

tes there, for planting the English side. This the Lords liked very well, 
and thought it convenient to give the King some Aids for the Charges of 
so necessary a Work, and therefore desired the Commons to consult a-
bout it. Upon which the House voted a Subsidy of a Fifteenth: But 
before the Bill could be finifhed the Plague broke out in London, and 
the Parliament was Prorogued till February following. On the 11th 
of May (three days before the Prorogation) the King lent for the Spea-
ker of the House of Commons, and told him. "That he found upon In-
quiry, that all the Prelates, whom he had looked on as wholly his Sub-
jects, were but half Subjects; for at their Confeeration they swore 
an Oath quite contrary to the Oath they swore to the Crown; so 
that it seemed they were the Popes Subjects rather than his. Which 
he referred to their care, that such order might be taken in it, that the 
King might not be deluded. Upon which the two Oaths that the 
Clergy swore to the King and the Pope, were read in the House of 
Commons, but the Confequence of them will be better understood by 
letting them down.

The Oath to the Pope.

"I John Bishop or Abbot of A. from this hour forward shall be faith-
ful and obedient to St. Peter, and to the Holy Church of Rome, and to 
my Lord the Pope and his Successors canonically entering. I shall 
not be of counsel nor consent, that they shall lose either Life or Mem-
ber, or shall be taken, or suffer any violence or any wrong by any 
means. Their Counsel to me credited by them, their Messengers or 
Letters I shall not willingly discover to any person. The Papacy of 
Rome, the Rules of the Holy Fathers, and the Regality of St. Peter, I 
shall help and maintain, and defend against all men. The Legate of 
the See-Apostolick going and coming I shall honourably entreat. The 
Rights, Honours, Priviledges, Authorities of the Church of Rome, and 
of the Pope and his Successors, I shall cause to be conferred, defend-
ed, augmented, and promoted. I shall not be in Council, Treaty, or 
any act in which any thing shall be imagined against him or the 
Church of Rome, their Rights, Seats, Honours, or Powers. And if I 
know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, 
and as soon as I can I shall advertise him, or such as may give him 
knowledge. The Rules of the Holy Fathers, the Decrees, Ordinances, 
Sentences, Dispositions, Reservations, Provisions, and Command-
ments Apostolick, to my power I shall keep, and cause to be kept of 
others. Hereticks, Schismaticks, and Rebels to our Holy Father and 
his Successors, I shall resist and perforce to my power. I shall come to 
the Synod when I am called, except I be letted by a Canonical Im-
pediment. The Threshold of the Apostles I shall visit yearly per-
sonally, or by my Deputy. I shall not alienate or sell my Prof-
fessions without the Popes counsell. So God help me and the 
Holy Evangelists."

The
The Oath to the King.

"I, John Bishop of A., utterly renounce and clearly forswear all such Clauses, Words, Sentences, and Grants, which I have or shall have hereafter of the Popes Holiness, of and for the Bishopric of A. that in any wife hath been, is, or hereafter may be hurtful or prejudicial to your Highness, your Heirs, Successors, Dignity, Privilege, or Estate Royal. And also I do swear, That I shall be faithful and true, and Faith and Truth I shall bear to you my Sovereign Lord, and to your Heirs Kings of the same, of Life and Limb, and yearly Worship and all Creatures, for to live and dye with you and yours against all People. And diligently I shall be attendant to all your needs and business after my wit and power, and your Counsel I shall keep and hold, knowing my self to hold my Bishopric of you only, beseeching you of Restitution of the Temporalities of the same; promising as before that I shall be a faithful, true and obedient Subject to your said Highness, Heirs, and Successors, during my Life; and the Services and other things due to your Highness for the Restitution of the Temporalities of the same Bishopric, I shall truly do and obediently perform. So God me help and all Saints.

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

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

Upon this Sir Thomas Eliot was sent to Rome with answer to a Message the Pope had sent to the King, from whom Instructions both the substance of the Message and of the answer may be gathered. "The Pope had offered to the King, that if he would name any indifferent place out of his own Kingdom, he would send a Legate and two Auditors of the Rota thither, to form the Proceeds, referring only the Sentence to himself. The Pope also proposed a Truce of three or four years, and promised that in that time he would call a general Council. For this Message the King sent the Pope thanks, but for the Peace he could receive no propositions about it without the concurrence of the French King; and though he did not doubt the justice of a general Council, yet considering the state of the Emperors Affairs at that time, with the Lutherans, he did not think it was then seasonable to call one. Thas for sending a Proxy to Rome, if he were a private Person he could do it, but it was a part of the Prerogative of his Crown, and of the Privileges of his Subjects, That all Matrimonial Causes should be originally judged within his Kingdom by the English Church, which was conformable to the general Councils and Customs of the Ancient Church, whereunto he hoped the Pope would have regard: And that for keeping up his Royal Authority, to which he was bound by Oath, he could not without the consent of the Realm, submit himself to a Foreign Jurisdiction; hoping the Pope would not desire any violation of the Immunities of the Realm, or to bring these into publick Contention, which had been hitherto enjoyed without intrusion or molestation. The Pope had confessed that without an urgent caufe, the Dispensation could not be granted. This the King laid hold on, and ordered his Ambaffador to shew him that there was no War nor appearance of any between England and Spain when it was granted. To verifie that, he sent an attested Copy of the Treaty between his Father and the Crown of Spain at that time: By the words of which it appeared that it was then taken for granted, that Prince Arthur had Consummated the Marriage, which was also proved by good Wifhesses. In fine, since the thing did so much concern the Peace of the Realm, it was fitter to judge it within the Kingdom than any where else; therefore he defired the Pope would remit the difcufling of it to the Church of England, and then confirm the Sentence they should give. To the obtaining of this, the Ambaffador was to use all possible diligence, yet if he found real intentions in the Pope to satisfy the King, he was not to infift on that
as the Kings final Resolution: And to let the Cardinal of Revenge Lee, a that the King intended to make good what was promis'd in his name, b the Bishoprick of Coventry and Lichfield falling vacant, he sent him the c offer of it, with a promise of the Bishoprick of Ely when it should be d void.

Soon after this he married Anne Boleyn, on the 14th of November, upon e his landing in England, but Stow says without any ground, that it was f on the 25th of January. Rowland Lee (who afterward got the Bishop- g of Coventry and Lichfield) did officiate in the Marriage. It was h done secretly in the presence of the Duke of Norfolk and her Father, her i Mother, and Brother, and Dr. Cranmer. The grounds on which the King j did this, were, That his former Marriage being of it self null, there was k no need of a Declarative Sentence after so many Universities and Do- l ctors had given their Judgments against it. Soon after the Marriage he m was with Child, which was looked on as a signal Evidence of her Cha- n r lity, and that she had till then kept the King at a due distance.

But when the Pope and the Emperor met at Bologna, the Pope ex- p ressed great Inclinations to favour the French King, from which the q Emperor could not remove him, nor engage him to accept of a Match r for his niece Katherine de Medici with Francis Sforza Duke of Milan. But s the Pope promised him all that he desired as to the King of England, and t so that matter was still carried on. Dr. Bennet made several Propositions u to end the matter, either that it should be judged in England, according v to the Decree of the Council of Nice, and that the Arch-bishop of Can- w terbury with the whole Clergy of his Province should determine it, or x that the King should name one, either Sir Thomas More or the Bishop y of London, the Queen should name another, the French King should name z a third, and the Arch-bishop of Canterbury to be the fourth; or that the { Caufe should be heard in England, and if the Queen did Appeal, it should | be referred to three Delegates, one of England, another of France, and & a third to be sent from Rome, who should fit and judge the Appeal in some 2 indifferent place. But the Pope would hearken to none of these Over- tures, since they were all directly contrary to that height of Authority, w which he resolvd to maintain: Therefore he ordered Captiacci the ^ Dean of the Rota, to cite the King to answer the Queens Appeal. Kar- v ne at Rome protested against the Citation, since the Emperors Power w as so great about Rome, that the King could not expect justice there, g and therefore desired they would desist, otherwise the King would Ap- l peal to the Learned Men in Universities; and said there was a nullity in m all their proceedings, since the King was a Sovereign Prince, and the a Church of England a free Church, over which the Pope had no just Au- t hority.

But while this depended at Rome, another Seccion of Parliament was c held in England, which began to sit on the 4th of February. In this the d Breach with Rome was much forwarded by the Act they passed against e all Appeals to Rome. "The Preamble bears, That the Crown of England f was Imperial, and that the Nation was a compleat Body within it self, g with a full Power to give Justice in all Cases Spiritual as well as Tem- r poral; and that in the Spirituality as there had been at all times, so & there were them men of that sufficiency and integrity, that they might h declare and determine all doubts within the Kingdom; and that feve- i"
The King saw well of how great importance it was to the designs he was then forming, to fill that See, with a Learned, Prudent, and Reformatory man; but finding none in the Episcopal Order that was qualified to his mind, and having observed a native simplicity joined with much courage, and tempered with a great deal of wisdom, in Dr. Cranmer, who was then Negotiating his business among the Learned men of Germany, he of his own accord without any address from Cranmer, designed to raise him to that Dignity, and gave him notice of it, that he might make halfe and come home to enjoy that reward which the King had appointed for him. But Cranmer having received this, did all he could to excuse himself from the burden which was coming upon him; and therefore he returned
1533.

turned very slowly to England, hoping that the King's thoughts cooling, some other person might step in between him and a Dignity, of which having a just and primitive fentent, he did look on it with fear and apprehension; rather than joy and desire. This was no fit from setting him back, that the King (who had known well what it was to be importuned by ambitious and aspiring Church-men, but had not found it need that they should decline and fly from Preference) was thereby confirmed in his high opinion of him; and neither the delays of his Journ'y, not his Intentions to be delivered from a Burden, which his Humility made him imagine himself unable to bear, could divert the King. So that though six months elapsed before the thing was settled, yet the King persisted in his Opinion, and the other was forced to yield.

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

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

When these Bulls were brought into England, Thomas Cranmer was on the 13th of March consecrated by the Bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph. But here a great Scruple was moved by him concerning the Oath that he was to swear to the Pope, which he had no mind to take; and Writers near that time say, the dislike of that Oath was one of the motives that made him so unwillingly accept of that Dignity. He declared, that he thought there were many things settled by the Laws of the Popes, which ought to be reformed, and that the Obliga-
tion which that Oath brought upon him, would bind him up from doing his Duty both to God, the King, and the Church. But this being communicated to some of the Canonizts and Caufiits, they found a temper that agreed better with their Maxims, than Cranmer's sincerity; which was, that before he should take the Oath, he should make a good and formal Protestantation, That he did not intend thereby to restrain himself from any thing that he was bound to do by his Duty to God, or the King, or the Countrey; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of these. This Protestantation he made in St. Stephen's Chappel at Westminifter, in the hands of some Doctors of the Canon Law before he was consecrated, and he afterwards repeated it when he took the Oath to the Pope; by which if he did not wholly save his Integrity, yet it was plain he intended no Cheat, but to act fairly and above board.

As soon as he was consecrated, and had performed every thing that was necessary for his Investiture, he came and sat in the Upper House of Convocation. There were there at that time hot and earnest Debates upon these two Questions: Whether it was against the Law of God, and Indispensable by the Pope, for a man to marry his Brothers Wife, he being dead without Issue, but having consacrificed the Marriage? And whether Prince Arthur had consacrificed his Marriage with the Queen? As for the first, it was brought first into the Lower House of Convocation, and when it was put to the Vote, 14 were for the Affirmative, 7 for the Negative; one was not clear, and another voted the Prohibition to be Moral, but yet dispensable by the Pope. In the Upper House it was long debated, Stokeley Bishop of London arguing for the Affirmative, and Fisher Bishop of Rochester for the Negative. The Opinions of 19 Universities were read for it, and the one House being as full as the other was empty, 216 being present either in person or by Proxy, it was carried in the Affirmative Neminem contradicent; those few of the Queens Party that were there it seems going out. For the other Question about the Matter of Fact, it was remitted to the Faculty of the Canon Law, (it being a matter that lay within their Studies) whether the Presumptions were violent, and such as in the course of Law must be looked on as good Evidences of a thing that was secret, and was not capable of formal proof? They all except five or six were for the Affirmative, and all the Upper House confirmed this, the Bishop of Bath and Wells only excepted.

In this account it may seem strange, that there were but 23 persons in the Lower House of Convocation, and 216 in the Upper House. It is taken from an unquestioned Authority, so the matter of Fact is not to be doubted. The most Learned Sir Henry Spelman has in no place of his Collection of our Councils, considered the Constitution of the two Houses of Convocation; and in none of our Records have I been able to discover of what persons they were made up in the Times of Pope: and therefore since we are left to conjecture, I shall offer mine to the Learned Reader. It is, that none sat in the Lower House, but those who were deputed by the Inferior Clergy; and that Bishops, Abbots Mitered and not Mitered, and Priors, Deans and Arch-deacons, sate then in the Upper House of Convocation. To which I am induced by these two Reasons: It is probable that all who were declared Prelates by the
the Pope, and had their Writ to fit in a General Council, had likewise a
right to come to the Upper House of Convocation, and fit with the-o-
other Prelates. And we find in the Tomes of the Councils, that not only
Abbots and Priors, but Deans and Arch-deacons were summoned to the
fourth Council in the Lateran, and to that at Vienna. Another Reason
is, that their sitting in two Houses (for in all other Nations they sit toge-
ther) looks as if it had been taken from the Constitution of our Parlia-
ment, in which all that have Writs personally sit in the Lords House 5 and
those who come upon an Election sit in the Lower House. So it is not
improbable, that all who were summoned personally to the Upper
House, and those who were returned with an Election, sit in the Lower
House of Convocation.

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

The Church of England having in her Representative made such a full
Decision, nothing remained but to give Judgment, and to declare the
Marriage Null. The thing was already determined, only the Formality
of a Sentence Declarative was wanting. But before they proceeded to
that, a new Message was sent to the Queen, to lay all that had passed be-
fore her, and to desire her to acquiesce in the Opinions of so many Un-
iversities and Learned Men. But she persisted in her Resolution to
own her Marriage, and to adhere to her Appeal till the Pope should
judge in it. And when it was told her, that the King would settle the
Joynture that she was to have by his Brother, and that the Honour of
Princes of Wales should still be paid her, she rejected it. But the new
Queen was now with child, and brought forth Queen Elizabeth the 7th
of September this year, from which looking backwards nine months, to
the beginning of December, it thows that the child must have been married at
or before that time: for all the Writers of both sides agree, that she was
married before the conceived with child. The King therefore thought
not fit to conceal it much longer, so on Easter Eve she was declared Queen
of England. It thows it was not thought needful at that time to proceed
to any further Sentence about the former Marriage, other wise I cannot
see what made it so long delayed, since the thing was in their power
now, as well as after. And it was certainly a preposterous Method to
g Judge the first Marriage Null, after the second was published. So that
it seems more probable, they did not intend any Sentence at all, till af-
terwards perhaps upon Advertisement from beyond Sea, they went on
to a formal Proceed. Nor is it unlikely that the King remembering the old
Advice that the Pope sent him, once to marry a second Wife, and then
to send for a Commission to try the matter, which the Pope was willing
to confirm, though he would not seem to allow it originally, resolved to
follow this Method; for the Pope was now closing with Francis, from
which Union the King had reason to expect great Advantages.

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

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

But the King little regarding the Censures of the Vulgar, sent Embassadors to all the Courts of Europe, to give notice of his new Marriage, and to justify it by some of those Reasons, which have been opened in the former parts of this History. He also fear the Lord Muntjoy to the Divorced Queen, to let her know what was done, and that she was no more to be treated as Queen, but as Princess Dowager. He was to mix Promises with Threatnings, particularly concerning her Daughters being put next the Queens Issue in the Succession. But the afflicted Queen would not yield, and said she would not damn her Soul, nor submit to such an Infamy: That she was his Wife, and would never call her self by any other Name, whatever might follow on it, since the Process still depended at Rome. That Lord having written a Relation of what had passed between him and her, shewed it to her; but she daubed with a Pen all those places in which she was called Princess Dowager; and would receive no Service at any ones hands, but of those who called her Queen; and she continued to be still served as Queenby all about her. Against which though the King used all the Endeavours he could, not without both threatening and violence to some of the Servants, yet he could never drive her from it; and what he did in that, was thought far below that Height of Mind which appeared in his other Actions; for since he had stript her of the real Great-
Greatness of a Queen, it seemed too much, to vex her for keeping up the Pageantry of it. But the news of this made great impressions elsewhere. The Emperor received the Kings justification very coldly, and said he would consider what he was to do upon it, which was looked on as a Declaration of War. The French King, though he expressed still great Friendship to the King, yet was now resolved to link himself to the Pope; for the crafty Pope apprehending that not hing made the King of England so confident, as that he knew his Friendship was necessary to the French King, and fearing they had resolved to proceed at once to the putting down the Papal Authority in their Kingdoms, (which it appears they had once agreed to do,) resolved by all means to make sure of the French King, which as it would prescribe that Kingdom in his obedience, so would perhaps frighten the King of England from proceeding to such extremities; since that Prince, in whose conjunction he trusted so much, had forsaken him: Therefore the Pope did so vigorously pursue the Treaty with Francis, that it was as good as ended at this time, and an Interview was projected between them at Marseilles. The Pope did also grant him so great Power over his own Clergy, that he could scarce have expected more, if he had set up a Patriarch in France; so that Francis did resolve to go on in the designs, which had been concerted between him and the King of England, no further; but still he considered his alliance so much, that he promised to use his most effectual intercession with the Pope to prevent all Censures and Bulls against the King; and if it were possible to bring the matter to an Amicable conclusion. And the Emperor was not ill pleased to see France and England divided. Therefore though he had at first opposed the Treaty between the Pope and Francis, yet afterwards he was not troubled that it took effect, hoping that it would difunite those two Kings, whose conjunction had been so troublesome to him.

But when the news was brought to Rome of what was done in England with which it was also related that Books were coming out against the Popes Supremacy, all the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction pressed the Pope to give a definitive Sentence, and to proceed to Censures against the King. But the more moderate Cardinals thought, England was not to be thrown away with such precipitation: And therefore a temper was found, that a Sentence should be given upon what had been attempted in England, by the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury (which in the Stile of the Canon-Law were called the Attenuates,) for it was pretended that the matter depending in the Court of Rome, by the Queens Appeal and the other steps that had been made, it was not in the Arch-Bishops Power to proceed to any Sentence. Therefore in general it was declared, that all that had been attempted or done in England about the Kings Suit of Divorce was null, and that the King by such attempts was liable to Excommunication, unless he put things again in the state they were in, and that before September next, and that then they would proceed further; and this Sentence was affixed in Dunkirk soon after.

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

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

The interview between the Pope and the French King was at Marsilles in October, where the Marriage was made up between the Duke of Orleans and Katharine de Medici; to whom behides 100000 Crowns Portion, the Principality of many Towns in Italy, as Milan, Reggio, Pisa, Legore, Parma, and Piacenza, and the Dutchy of Urbino were given. To the former, the Pope pretended in the Right of the Popedom, and to the last in the Right of the House of Medici. But the French King was to clear all those Titles by his Sword. As for the Kings busines the Pope referred it to the Consistory. But it seems there was a secret Transaction between him and Francis, that the King would in all other things return to his wonted obedience to the Apostolick See, and submit the matter to the judgment of the Consistory, (excepting only to the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction as partial and incompetent judges,) the Decision should be made to his hearts content. This I collect from what will afterwards appear. The King upon the Sentence that was passed against him, sent Bonner to Marsilles, who procuring an Audience of the Pope, delivered to him the Authentick Instrument of the Kings Appeal from him to the next general Council lawfully called. At this the Pope was much incensed, but said he would consider of it in Consistory; and having consulted about it there, he anfwered that the Appeal was unlawful, and therefore he rejected it; and for a general Council, the calling of it belonged to him, and not to the King. About the same time the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury being threatened with a Process from Rome, put in also his Appeal to the next general Council. Upon which Bonner delivered the threatenings that he was ordered to make, with so much vehemency and fury, that the Pope talked of throwing him in a Cauldron of melted Lead, or of Burning him alive; and apprehending some danger made his escape. About the middle of November the Interview ended, the Pope returning to Rome, and the French King to Paris, a firm Alliance being established between them. But upon the Duke of Orleans his Marrying the Pope's Niece, I shall add one observation, that will neither be unpleasant nor impertinent. The Duke of Orleans was then but Fourteen years and Nine Months old, being born on the 1st of March, 1518, and yet was believed to have consummated his Marriage the very first night after: so the Popes Historians tell us with much Triumph; though they represented that improbable, if not impossible in Prince Arthur, who was nine Months elder when he died.

Upon the French Kings return from Marsilles, the Bishop of Paris was
was sent over to the King; which (as may be reasonably collected,) followed upon some Agreement made at Marseilles, and he prevailed with the King to submit the whole matter to the Pope and the Conspiracy, on such terms that the Imperialists should not be allowed a Voice, because they were Parties, being in the Emperor's Power. None that has observed the genius of this King, can think that after he had proceeded so far, he would have made this Submission without very good assurances; and if there had not been great grounds to expect good effects from it, the Bishop of Paris would not in the middle of Winter have undertaken a Journey from England to Rome. But the King, it seems, would not abate himself so far as to fend any Submission in writing, till he had fuller assurances. The Lord Herbert has published a Letter (which he transcribed from the Original, written by the Arch-Bishop of York and the Bishop of Durefite, to the King the 15th of May, 1534.) giving an account of a Conference they had with Queen Katherine; in which, among other motives they used, this was one, to perfwade her to comply with what the King had done: That the Pope had fad at Marseilles, that if the King would send a Proxy to Rome, he would give the Cause for him against the Queen, because he knew his Cause was good and just. Which is a great prefunption, that the Pope did really give some engagements to the French King about the Kings busines.

When the Bishop of Paris came to Rome, the Motion was liked, and it was promised, that if the King fent a promife of that under his Hand, with an Order to his Proxies to appear in Court, there should be Judges fent to Cambrai to form the Procefs, and then the matter should be Determined for him at Rome. This was fent to the King, with the Notice of the day that was prefixed for the return of his Anfwcr, and with other Motives which must have been very great, since they prevailed so much. For in anfwcr there was a Courier dispatcht from the King, with a formal promife under his Hand. And now the matter feemed at a point, the French Intereft was great in the Court of Rome; four new Cardinals had been made at Marseilles, and there were fix of that Faction before, which with the Popes Creatures, and the indifferent or venal Voices, ballanced the Imperial Faction, fo that a wound that was looked on as fatal, was now almost healed. But God in his wife and unsearchable Providence had designed to draw other great ends out of this Ruption, and therefore suffered them that were the most concerned to hinder it, to be the chief instruments of driving it on. For the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction were now very active, they liked not the Precedent of excluding the Cardinals of the Nations concern'd, out of any busines. But above all things they were to hinder a Conjunction between the Pope and the King of England; for the Pope being then allied to France, there was nothing the Emperor feared more than the closing the Breach with England, which would make the union againft him fo much stronger. Therefore when the day that had been prefixed for the return of the Courier from England, was elapfed, they all prifed the Pope to proceed to a Sentence Definitive and to Cenfures. Bellay the Bishop of Paris represented the injustice of proceeding with so much Precipitation, since where there were Seas to crofs, in fuch a Season, many accidents might occasion the delay of the Express. The King of England had followed this Suit fix years, and had patience fo long; therefore he defired the delay of fix days,
days, and if in that time no return came, they might proceed. But the imperialists represented, that those were only delays to gain time; and that the king of England was still proceeding in his contempt of the Apostolic See, and of the Cardinals, and publishing Books and Labels against them. This so wrought on the angry Pope, that without confuting his ordinary prudence, he brought the busines into the Consistory, where the Plurality of voices carried it to proceed to a Sentence. And though the Process had been carried on all that winter in their usual Forms, yet it was not so ripe, but by the Rules of the Consistory, there ought to have been three Sessions before Sentence was given. But they concluded all in one day, and so on the 23d of March, the Marriage between the King and Queen Katherine was declared good, and the King required to take her as his wife; otherwise Censures were to be denounced against him.

Two days after that, the Courier arrived from England with the Kings Submission under his hand in due Form, and earnest Letters from the French King to have it accepted, that so the busines might be composed. When this was known at Rome, all the indifferent and wife Cardinals (among whom was Farnefe, that was afterwards Pope Paul the 3d.) came to the Pope, and declared that it might be again confidered before it went further. So it was brought again into the Consistory. But the secret reafon of the Imperialists opposing it, was now more pressing, since there was such an appearance of a settlement, if the former Sentence were once recalled. Therefore they so managed the matter, that it was confirmed a-new by the Pope and the Consistory, and they ordered the Emperor to execute the Sentence.

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

The Popes Power had been then for 4 years together much examined and disputed in England; in which they went by these steps, one leading to another. They first controverted his Power of Dispensing with the Law of God. From that they went to examine what Jurisdiction he had in England, upon which followed the Convicting the Clergy of a Premunire with their Submission to the King. And that led them to controvert the Popes right to Annates, and other Exactions, which they also condemned. The Condemning all appeals to Rome followed that naturally. And now so many branches of that Power were cut off, the Root was next struck at, and the Foundations
Foundations of the Papal Authority were examined. For near a year together there had been many publick debates about it; and both in the Parliament and Convocation the thing was long disputed, and all that could be alledged on both sides was Considered. The Reader will be best able to judge of their reasons, (and thereby of the ripeness of their judgments, when they Enacted the Laws that passed in this Parliament,) when he sees a full account of them; which I shall next set down, nor drawn from the Writings and Apologies that have been published since, but from these that came out about that time. For then were written the Institution for the Necessary Ex-
dition of a Christian man, Concluded in the Convocation, and published by Authority; and Another Book, De Differen
tia Regio & E
erita Petriatis. The former of these was called the Bishops, and the latter the Kings Book. Gardiner also wrote a Book, De vera Obe-
dientia, to which Burner prefixed a Preface upon the same Sub
d. Stok by Bishop of London, and Troubat Bishop of Daresfor, wrote a long Letter in defence of the Kings proceedings in this matter to Reginald,

1574. (soon after, Cardinal Pool: from these writings, and the Sermon preached by some Bishops at this time, with other Authentick pieces, I have Extracted the Substance of the Arguments upon which they grounded their Laws, which I shall divide in two heads. The one of the reasons for rejecting the Popes pretended Power. The other for setting up the Kings Supremacy with the Explanations and Limitations of it.

"First, of the Popes Power, they declared that they found no ground for it in the Scripture. All the Apostles were made equal by Christ,

when he committed the Church to their care in Common. And he did often declare, there was no Superiority of one above another.

St. Paul claimed an equality with the chief Apostles both Peter, James, and John; and when he thought St. Peter blameworthy,

he withdrew him to his face. But whatsoever Preheminence St. Peter might have, that was only Personal, and there was no reason to affix it to his Chair at Rome, more than at Antioch. But if any See be to be preferred before another, it should be Jerusalem where Christ died, and out of which the Faith was propagated over all Na
tions, Christ Commanding his Disciples to begin their Preaching in it;

so that it was truly the Mother Church, and is so called by St. Paul, whereas in the Scripture, Rome is called Babylon, according to Turra

and St. Jerome.

"For the places brought from Scripture in favor of the Papacy, they judged that they did not prove any thing for it. That Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, if it prove any thing in this matter, would prove too much; even that the Church was founded on St. Peter, as he was a private person, and so on the Popes in their personal Capacity. But both St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. An
tin, think, that by the Rock, the Confession he had made was only to be meant. Others of the Fathers thought by the Rock, Christ himself was meant, who is the only true Foun

dation of the Church; though in another sense the Apostles are also called Foundations by St. Paul. That, Tell the Church, is thought by Gerbon and Excess Silva, (afterwards Pope Pius the 2d.) ra-

" ther
"ther to make against the Pope and for a General Council. And
the Fathers have generally followed St. Chryfostome and St. Augi,
who thought that, the giving of the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven,
and the Charge, Feed my Sheep, were addreffed to St. Peter, in
behalf of all the rest of the Apostles. And that, I have prayed for
thee, that thy faith fail not, was only Perfonal, and related to his
Fall, which was then Imminent. It is alfo clear by St. Paul, that
every Apostle had his peculiar Province, beyond which he was
not to Stretch himself; and St. Peter's Province was the Circumci-
and his, the Uncircumciion, in which he plainly declares his Equal-
ity with him.

"This was alfo clear from the constant Tradition of the Church.
"St. Cyprian was againft Appeals to Rome, and would not submit to
"P. Stephens definition in the point of Re-baptizing of Heretics; and
"expressly fays, That all the Aposlhes were equal in Power, and that all
the Bifhops were also equal, since the whole Office and Epifcopate was
one entire thing, of which every Bifhop had a compleat and equal fhare.

"And though fome places are brought out of him concerning the
Unity of the Roman Church, and of other Churches with it; yet
thofe places have no relation to any Authority that the Roman
Church had over other Churches, but were occafioned by a Schifm
that Novatian had made there at Rome, being Elect in opponent
of the Bifhop that was rightly chosen; and of that unity only St.
Cyprian writes in thofe places. But from all his Epiftles to the Bif-
hops of Rome, it is visible he lookt on himfelf as their Equal,
fince he calls them Brother, Colleague, and Fellow-Bifhop. And what-
foever is faid by any Ancient Writer of St. Peters Chair, is to be
underftood of the pure Gofpel, which he delivered, as St. Auffin
observes, that by Mofes Chair, is to be underftood The delivering of
Mofes Law. But though St. Peter fate there, the fucceffing Popes
have no more right to pretend to fuch Authority, than the Kings
of Spain to claim the Roman Empire, becaufe he that is now their
King, is Emperor. When Conftantine turned Chriflian, the Digni-
ty of the chief City of the Empire made Rome to be accounted
the firft See, but by the General Council of Nice it was declared,
that the Patriarches of Alexandria and Antioch had the fame Author-
ity over the Countries round about them, that he of Rome had
over thofe that lay about that City. It is true, at that time the
Arian Herefie, having fpread Generally over the Eastern Churches,
from which the Western were free; the oppreffed Cathlick Bifhops
of the East made Appeals to Rome, and extolled that See by a na-
tural Maxime in all men, who magnifie that from which they have
Protection. But the Second General Council took care, that that
should not grow a President, for they Decreed that every Province
should be governed by its own Synod, and that Bifhops when they
were aucultur'd, must firft be judged by the Bifhops of their own Pro-
vince, and from them they might appeal to the Bifhops of the Dio-
cels but no higher appeal was allowed: and by that Council it ap-
ppears; what was the Foundation of the greatnefs of the Bifhop of
Rome, for when Conftantine was made the Seat of the Empire
and New Rome, it had the fame Privileges that Old Rome had, and
was
was set next to it in order and dignity. In a Council at Milevi, in which St. Austin sate, they appointed that every Clerk, that should appeal to any Bishop beyond the Sea, should be excommunicated.

And when Fanilium was sent by the Pope to the African Churches, to claim the Right of receiving Appeals, and pretended a Canon of the Council of Nice for it, the Pretension was rejected by the African Fathers, who acknowledged no such Right, and had never heard of that Canon. Upon which they sent to the Eastern Churches, and search was every where made for the Copies of the Canons of that Council, but it was found that it was a Forgery. From whence two things were observable: The one, that the Church in that Age had no Tradition of any Divine Institution for the Authority of that See, since as the Popes, who claimed it, never pretended to any such thing, as the African Bishops by their rejecting that Power, showed that they knew nothing of any Divine Warrant, all the Contet being only about a Canon of the Church. It also appeared how early the Church of Rome aspired to Power, and did not stick at making use of Forged Writings to support it. But Pope Agatho more modestly writing to the Emperor in his own Name, and in the Name of all the Synods that were Subject to his See, calls them a few Bishops in the Northern and Western Parts. When afterwards the Patriarch of Constantinople was declared by the Emperor Mauritius, The Universal Bishop, Gregory the Great did exclaim against the Ambition of that Title, as being equal to the Pride of Lucifer, and declared, that he who assumed it was the Fore-runner of Antichrist; saying, that none of his Predecessors had ever claimed such a Power. And this was the more observable, since the English were converted by those whom he sent over, so that this was the Doctrine of that See, when this Church received the Faith from it.

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

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

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

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

"As for the Kings Power over Spiritual Persons, and in Spiritual Cau-
"ses, they proved it from the Scriptures. In the old Testament they
"found the Kings of Israel intermeddled in all matters Ecclesiastical. Sa-
"muel, though he had been Judge, yet acknowledged Sauls Authority:
"So also did Abimelech the High-Priest, and appeared before him when
"cited to answer upon an Accusatian. And Samuel (1 Sam. 15. 18.)
"says, he was made the Head of all the Tribes. Aaron, in that, was an
"Example to all the following High-Priests who submitted to Moses.
"David made many Laws about Sacred things, such as, the Order of
"the Courses of the Priests and their Worshipp: and when he was dying,
"he declared to Solomon how far his Authority extended. He told him,
"1 Chron. 28. 21. That the Courses of the Priests and all the People were
"to be wholly at his commandment: pursuant to which Solomon, 2 Chron.
"8. 14, 15. did appoint them their charges in the Service of God, and
"both the Priests and Levites departed not from his commandment in any
"matter: and though he had turned Abiathar from the High-Priest-
"hood, yet they made no opposition. "Jeboisaphat, Hezekiah and Josiah
"made likewise Laws about Ecclesiastical Matters.
In the New Testament, Christ himself was obedient, he paided Taxes, he declared that he pretended to no earthly Kingdom, he charged the People to render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsars, and his Disciples not to affect temporal Dominion, as the Lords of the Nations did. And though the Magistrates were then Heathens, yet the Apostles wrote to the Churches to obey Magistrates, to submit to them, to pay Taxes, they call the King Supremus, and say he is Gods Minister to encourage them that do well, and to punish the evil doers, which is said of all persons without exception, and every Soul is charged to be subject to the Higher Power.

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

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

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

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

From that, they proceeded to shew, that in England, the Kings have
have always assumed a Supremacy in Ecclesiastical matters. They began with the most Ancient Writing that relates to the Christian Religion in England then extant, Pope Elenchorum's Letter to King Lucius, in which he is twice called by him Gods Vicar in his Kingdom, and he writ in it, that it belongeth to his Office, to bring his Subjects to the Holy Church, and to maintain, protect, and govern them in it. Many Laws were cited, which Cantus, Ethelred, Edgar, Edmund, Athelstan and Ina had Enacted concerning Church-men, many more Laws since the Conquest were also made, both against Appeals to Rome, and Bishops going out of the Kingdom without the Kings leave.

The whole business of the Articles of Clarendon, and the Contests that followed between King Henry the second, and Thomas Becket, were also opened. And though a Bishops Pastoral care be of Divine Institution, yet as the Kings of England had divided Bishops'pricks as they pleased, so they also converted Benefices from the Institution of the Founders, and gave them to Clitsters and Monasteries as King Edgar did, all which was done by the Consent of their Clergy and Nobility, without dependence on Rome; They had also granted these Houses Exemption from Episcopal Jurisdiction, to Ina exempted Glæsterly, and Ofa, St. Albans, from their Bishops Visitation: and this continued even till the days of William the Conqueror, for he to perpetuate the Memory of the Victory he obtained over Harold, and to endear himself to the Clergy, founded an Abbey in the Field where the Battel was fought, and called it Battel-Abbev, and in the Charter he granted them, these words are to be found. It shall be also see and quiet for ever, from all subjection to Bishops, or the Dominion of any other Persons, as Christ's Church in Canterbury is. Many other things were brought out of King Alfred's Laws, and a Speech of King Edgars, with several Letters written to the Popes from the Kings, the Parliaments, and the Clergy of England, to show, that their Kings did always make Laws about Sacred matters, and that their Power reach'd to that, and to the Persons of Church-men, as well as to their other Subjects.

But at the same time that they pleaded so much for the Kings Supremacy, and Power of making Laws for Restraining and Coercing his Subjects, it appeared that they were far from vetting him with such an absolute Power, as the Popes had pretended to, for they thus defined the extent of the Kings Power. To them specially and principally, it pertaineth to defend the Faith of Christ and his Religion, to conserve and maintain the true Doctrine of Christ, and all such as be true Preachers and teachers forth thereof; and to abolish Abuses, Heresies, and Idolatries, and to punish with corporal pains such as of malice be the occasion of the same. And finally to oversee and cause that the said Bishops and Priests do execute their Pastoral Office truly and faithfully, and specially in these Points, which by Christ and his Apostles was given and committed to them; and in case they shall be negligent in any part thereof, or would not diligently execute the same, to cause them to redouble and supply their lack; and if they obstinately withstand their Princes kind monitorion, and will not amend their faults, then and in such case to put others in their rooms and places. And God hath also commanded the said Bishops...
The Original
is in the cat.
Lib. Orig. C.1.

Book II. of the Church of England.

Flops and Priests to obey with all humility and Reverence, both Kings, and Princes, and Governors, and all their Laws; not being contrary to the Laws of God, whatsoever they be: and that not only propter Iram, but also propter Conscientiam, that is to say, not only for fear of punishment, but also for discharge of Conscience.

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

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

These were the Grounds of casting off the Popes Power, that had been for two or three years studied, and enquired into by all the Learned men in England; and had been debated both in Convocation and Parliament, and except Fisher Bishop of Rochester, I do not find that any Bishop appeared for the Popes Power; and for the Abbots and Priors, as they were generally very ignorant, so what the Cardinal had done in supplanting some Monasteries, and what they now heard, that the Court had an eye on their Lands, made them to be as complaisant as could be. But Fisher was a man of great reputation, and very ancient, so that much pains was taken to satisfy him. A week before the Parliament fate down, the Arch-bishop of Canterbury proposed to him, that he and any Five Doctors, such as he should choose, and the Bishop of London, and Five Doctors with him might confer about it, and examine the Authorities of both sides, that so there might be an Agreement among them, by which the scandal might be removed, which otherwise would be taken from their Jangling and Contests among themselves. Fisher accepted of this, and Stukeley wrote to him on the eighth of January, that he was ready whenever the other pleased, and defied him to name time and place, and if they could not agree the matter among themselves, he moved to refer it to two Learned men whom they should choose, in whose determination they would both acquiesce. How far this Overture went, I cannot discover, and perhaps Fishers sickness hindered the progress of it. But now on the 15th of January, the Parliament fate down: by the Journals I find
no other Bishops present but the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, Landaff and Carlifte. There were also twelve Abbots present, but upon what pretences the rest excused their attendance, I do not know; perhaps some made a difference between submitting to what was done, and being active and concurring to make the change. During the Session a BishoM preached every Sunday at Paul's-Cross, and declared to the People, That the Pope had no Authority at all in England. In the two former Sessions the Bishops had preached, that the General Council was above the Pope, but now they struck a Note higher. This was done to let the People see, what justice and reason was in the Acts that were then passing, to which I now turn, and shall next give an account of this great Session of Parliament, which I shall put rather in the natural Method according to the matter of the Acts, than in the order of time as they passed.

On the 9th of March a Bill came up from the Commons for discharging the Subjects of all dependence on the Court of Rome, it was read the first time in the House of Lords the 13th of March, and on the 14th was read the second time, and Committed. The Committee reported it on the 10th, by which it appears there was no stiff nor long opposition, and he that was least to make it, was both obnoxious and absent, as will afterwards appear. On the 15th it was read the third time, and on the 20th the fourth time, and then passed without any protestation. Some Privileges were added to it by the Lords, to which the Commons agreed, and so it was made ready for the Royal Assent.

"In the Preamble the intolerable exactions for Peter-pence, Provisions, Pensions, and Bulls of all sorts are complained of, which were contrary to all Laws, and grounded only on the Popes Power of Dispensation, which was usurped. But the King and the Lords and Commons within his own Realm had only power to consider, how any of the Laws were to be Dispens'd with or Abrogated; and since the King was acknowledged the Supream Head of the Church of England by the Prelates and Clergy, in their Convocations, Therefore it was Enacted that all Payments made to the Apostolick Chamber, and all Provisions, Bulls, or Dispensations should from thenceforth cease. But that all Dispensations or Licences for things that were not contrary to the Law of God, but only to the Law of the Land, should be granted within the Kingdom, by, and under the Seals of the two Archbishops in their several Provinces; who should not presume to grant any contrary to the Laws of Almighty God, and should only grant such Licences as had been formerly in use to be granted, but give no Licence for any new thing till it were first examined by the King and his Council whether such things might be dispens'd with; and that all Dispensations which were formerly taxed at, or above 4 l. should be also confirmed under the Great Seal. Then manyClauses follow about the Rates of Licences, and the ways of procuring them. It was also declared, That they did not hereby intend to vary from Christ's Church about the Articles of the Catholick Faith of Chriftendome, or in any other things declared by the Scriptures, and the Word of God necessary for their Salvation; confirming withal the exemptions of Monastries formerly granted by the Bishop of Rome, exempting them still from the Arch-bishops Visitations; declaring that such Abbeys whole
whose Elections were formerly confirmed by the Pope, shall be now confirmed by the King, who likewise shall give Commision under his Great Seal for vitiating them, providing also that Licences and other Writs obtained from Rome before the 12th of March in that year should be valid and in force, except they were contrary to the Laws of the Realm, giving also to the King and his Council power to order and reform all Indulgences and Privileges (or the abuses of them) which had been granted by the See of Rome. The offenders against this Act were to be punished according to the Statutes of Præcipitae and Premunire.

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

The Preamble of it was, "The distractions that had been in England about the Succession to the Crown, which had occasioned the effusion of much Blood, with many other mischiefs, all which flowed from the want of a clear Deception of the true Title, from which the Popes had usurped a Power of investing such as pleased them in other Princes Kingdoms, and Princes had often maintained such Donations for their other ends; therefore to avoid the like Inconveniences, the Kings former Marriage with the Princes Katherine, is judged contrary to the Laws of God, and void and of no effect; and the Sentence passed by the Arch-bishop of Canterbury annulling it, is confirmed, and the Lady Katherine is thenceforth to be reputed only Princes Dowager, and not Queen, and the Marriage with Queen Anne is establisht and confirmed; and Marriages within the degrees prohibited by Moses (which are enumerated in the Statute) are declared to be unlawful, according to the Judgment of the Convocations of this Realm, and of the most famous Universtitie and Learned men abroad, any Dispensations to the contrary notwithstanding, which are also declared null, since contrary to the Laws of God; and all that were Married within these degrees are appointed to be Divorced, and the Children begotten in such Marriages were declared Illegitimate: And all the Issue that should be between the King and the present Queen is declared Lawful, and the Crown was to descend on his Illegit Male by her, or any other Wife; or in default of Illegit Male, to the Illegit Female by the Queen; and in default of any such, to the right Heirs of the Kings
The Oath above the Succession.

"Kings Highness for ever: and any that after the first of May should maliciously divulge any thing to the hinder of the Kings Marriage, or of the like begotten issue, were to be adjudged for misprision of Treason, and to suffer Imprisonment at the Kings Will, and forfeit all their Goods and Chattels to him: And if the Queen out-lived the King, she is declared Regent till the issue by her were of Age, if a Son 16, and if a Daughter 16 years of Age, and all the Kings Subjects were to swear that they would maintain the Contents of this Act, and whoever being required, did refuse it, was to be judged guilty of misprision of Treason, and punished accordingly. The Oath it seems was likewise agreed on in the House of Lords, for the Form of it is set down in their Journal as follows.

"Ye shall Swear to bear Faith, Truth, and Obedience alone to the Kings Majesty, and to his Heirs of his Body of his most dear and entirely beloved lawful Wife Queen Anne, begotten and to be begotten. And further, to the Heirs of our said Sovereign Lord according to the limitation in the Statute made for surety of his Succession in the Crown of this Realm mentioned and contained, and not to any other within this Realm, nor Forreign Authority or Potentate. And in case any Oath be made, or hath been made, by you to any Person or Persons, that then ye to repute the same to vain and annihilate. And that to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your Power, without guile, fraud, or other undue means, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the said Act of Succession, and all the whole Effects and Contents thereof, and all other Acts and Statutes made in Confirmation, or for Execution of the same, or of any thing therein contained. And this ye shall do against all manner of Persons of what Estate, Dignity, Degree, or Condition soever they be; and in no wise to do or attempt, nor to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or openly, to the hurt, hindrance, damage, or derogation thereof, or of any part of the same, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence. So help you God, and all Saints, and the holy Evangelists.

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

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“... The Act was a Repeal of the Statute of the 2d of Henry the 4th by which Bishops upon fulfillment of Heresy might commit any to Prison, as was before told, but in that Act there was no Declaration made, what was Heresy, except in the general words of what was contrary to Scriptures, or Canonical Sanctions. This was liable to great Ambiguity, by which men were in much danger, and not sufficiently instructed what was Heresy. They also complained of their proceedings without Prefentment or Accusation, contrary to what was practised in all other Cases, even of Treason it self; and many Canonical Sanctions had been established only by Popes without any Divine Precept, therefore they repealed the Act of Henry the 4th, but left the Statutes of Richard the 2d and Henry the 5th still in force, with the following Regulation: That Heretics should be proceeded against upon Prefentments, by two Witnesses at least, and then be Committed, but brought to answer to their Endiments in open Court, and if they were found guilty, and would not abjure, or were relapsed, to be adjudged to death; the Kings Writ De Haretrno confondendo being first obtained. It was also declared, that none should be troubled upon any of the Popes Canons or Laws, or for speaking or doing against them. It was likewise provided, that men Committed for Heresy might be Bailed.

It may easily be imagined how acceptable this Act was to the whole Nation, since it was such an effectual limitation of the Ecclesiastical Power, in one of the unalienable parts of it; and this Regulation of the Arbitrary proceedings of the Spiritual Courts, was a particular blessing to all that favoured Reformation. But as the Parliament was going on with these good Laws, there came a Submissiion from the Clergy then sitting in Convocation, to be palled in Parliament. With what opposition it went through the two Houses of Convocation, and the House of Commons, is not known; for as the Register of the Convocation are burnt, so it does not appear that there were any Journals kept in the House of Commons at that time. On the 27th of May it was sent up to the Lords, and since the Spiritual Lords had already consented to it, there was no reason to apprehend any opposition from the Temporal Lords. The Seffion was now near an end, so they made haste and read it twice that day, and the third time the next day, and palled it. The Contents of it were: “The Clergy acknowledged that all Convocation orders had been and ought to be abjured by the Kings Writ; and pronounced in verbo Sacerdotii, that they would never make nor execute any new Canons or Constitutions, without the Royal Assent to them, and since many Canons had been received that were found prejudicial to the Kings Prerogative, contrary to the Laws of the Land, and heavy to the Subjects, That therefore there should be a Committee of thirty two Persons, sixteen of the two Houks of Parliament, and as many of the Clergy to be named by the King, who should have full power to abrogate or confirm Canons as they found it expedient; the Kings Assent being obtained. This was confirmed by Act of Parliament, and by the same Act all Appeals to Rome were again condemned. If any party found themselves aggrieved in the Arch-bishops Courts, an Appeal might be made to the King in the Court of Chancery; and the Lord Chancellor was to grant a Commission under the Great Seal..."
1534.

1534.

Seal for some Delegates, in whose determination all must acquiesce.

All exempted Abbots were also to appeal to the King; and it con- cluded with a Provilic, that till such Correction of the Canons was made,

all those which were then received should still remain in force, except

such as were contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Realms, or were

to the damage or hurt of the Kings Prerogative.

This Provilo seemed to have a fair colour, that there might still be
some Canons in force to govern the Church; but since there was no
day prefixed to the Determination of the Commission, this Provilo
made that the Act never took effect; for now it lay in the Preroga-
tive, and in the Judges breast, to declare what Canons were contrary
to the Laws, or the Rights of the Crown; and it was judged more for
the Kings Greatness to keep the matter undetermined, than to make
such a Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws as should be fixed and unmove-
able. The laft of the publick Acts of this Session that related to the
Church, was about the Election and Confecration of Bishops. On the
fourth of February the Commons sent up a Bill to the Lords about the
Confecration of Bishops; it lay on the Table till the 25th of February,
and was then cast out, and a new one drawn. On what reason it was
cast out, is not mentioned, and the Journal does not so much as say that
it was once read. The new Bill had its second reading the third of March,
and on the fifth it was ordered to be engrossed; and on the ninth it was
read the third time, and agreed to, and sent down to the Commons, who
returned it to the Lords on the 16th of March. "The first part of it is
"a confirmation of their former Act against Annuities, to which they ad-
ded, that Bishops should not be any more preferred to the Bishop of
"Rome, or sue out any Bills there, but that all Bishops should be pre-
fected to the Arch-bishop, and Arch-bishops to any Arch-bishop in
"the Kings Dominions, or to any four Bishops whom the King should
"name; and that when any See was vacant, the King was to grant a
"Licence for a new Election, with a Letter missive, bearing the name
"of the Person that was to be chosen; and twelve days after thefere were
delivered, an Election was to be returned by the Dean and Chapter,
or Prior and Convent, under their Seals. Then the Person Electe-
d was to swear Fealty to the King, upon which a Commission was to
be issued out, for Confecrating and Investing him with the usual Ce-
"monies; after which he was to do Homage to the King, and be re-
"stored both to the Spiritualities and Temporalities of his See, for
"which the King granted Commissions during the vacancy: and whofo-
ever refused to obey the Contents of the Act, or acted contrary to it,
"were declared within the Statute of Prenunire. There passed a pri-
"vate Act for depriving the Bishops of Salisbury and Worcester, who were
"Cardinal Campegio and Jerome de Ghimmecis, the former deferred greater
severitys at the Kings hand, but the latter seems to have served him
faithfully, and was recommended both by the King and the French
King about a year before to a Cardinals Hat. "The Preamble of the Act
"bears, That Persons promoted to Ecclesiastical Benefices ought to re-
"side within the Kingdom for preaching the Laws of Almighty God,
"and for keeping Hospitality; and since these Prelates did not that, but
"lived at the Court of Rome, and neglected their Diocesies, and made
"the Revenues of them be carried out of the Kingdoms, contrary to the
whether or "being at least carried yearly out of the Kingdom; therefore their Dio-

cesses were declared vacant.

But now I come to the Act of the Attainder of Elizabeth Burton, and her Complices, which I shall open fully, since it was the first step that was made to Rebellion, and the first occasion of putting any to death upon this Quarrel; and from it one will clearly see, the genius of that part of the Clergy that adhered to the Interests of the Court of Rome. On the 21st of February the Bill was sent up to the Lords, and read the first time; on the 26th it was read the second time, and committed; then the Witnesses and other Evidences were brought before them, but chiefly she with all her Complices, who confessed the Crimes charged on her. It was reported and read the sixth of March the third time, and then the Lords addressed to the King to know his pleasure, whether Sir Thomas More, and others mentioned in the Act as Complices, or at least Conceders, might not be heard to speak for themselves in the Star-Chamber: As for the Bishop of Rochester he was sick, but he had written to the House all that he had to say for his own excuse. What presumptions lay against Sir Thomas More, I have not been able to find out, only that he wrote a Letter to the Nun, at which the King took great exceptions; yet it appears he had a mean opinion of her, for in discourse with his beloved Daughter Mistress Roper, he called her commonly the silly Nun. But for justifying himself, he wrote a full account of all the encounter he had with the Nun and her Complices to Cromwell; but though by his other printed Letters, both to Cromwell and the King, it seems some ill impressions remained in the King's mind about it, he still continued to justify not only his intentions, but his actions in that particular. One thing is not unworthy of observation, that Rastall, who published his Works in Queen Mary's time, printed the second Letter he wrote to Cromwell, yet did not publish that account which he sent first to him concerning it, to which More refers himself in all his following Letters; though it is more like a Copy of that which would have been preferred, than of those other Letters that refer to it. But perhaps it was kept up on design; for in Queen Mary's time they had a mind to magnify that story of the Nuns, since she was thought to have suffered on her Mothers account: and among the other things she talked, one was that the Lady Mary should one day Reign in England, for which Sanders has since thought fit to make a Prophete$ of her. And it is certain, More had a low opinion of her, which appears in many places of his printed Letters; but that would have been much plainer, if that full account he wrote of that Affair had been published; and therefore that one of their Martyrs might not lessen the effect of another, it was fit to suppress it. Whether my conjectures in this be well grounded, or not, is left to the Readers judgment. In conclusion, More's Justifications seconded with the good Offices that the Lord Chancellor Audley, and Cromwell did him, (who, as appears by his Letters, flood his Friends in that matter,) did so work on the King, that his Name was put out of the Bill, and so the Act was agreed on by both Houses, and the Royal Assent followed. The matter was this, "Elizabeth Burton of Kent, in the Parish of Aldington, being sick and distempered in her brain, fell in some Trances, (it
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"(rems by the Symptoms they were Hysterical fits) and spoke many
words that made great impressions on some about her, who thought
her Inspired of God, and Richard Mofier, Parson of the Parili,
hoping to draw great advantages from this, went to Wifhite
Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and gave him a large account of her
Speeches, who ordered him to attend her carefully, and bring
him a further report of any new Trances, the might afterwards fall in.
But the had forgot all she had said in her Fits, yet the crafty Prieft
would not let it go so, but perfwaded her, that what she had said,
was by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and that the ought to
own that it was so. Upon which he taught her to counterfeit such
Trances, and to utter such Speeches as she had done before; so
that after a while Pratice, she became very ready at it. The
thing was much noised abroad, and many came to see her, but the
Prieft had a mind to raise the reputation of an Image of the Blessed
Virgin, that was in a Chappell within his Parish, that fo Piligrina-
ges being made to it, he might draw these advantages from it, that
others made from their famed Images, but chose for his Affici-
ate one Doctor Bocking, a Canon of Christ-Church in Canterbury:
Upon which they instructed her to say in her Counterfeited Tran-
ces, that the Blessed Virgin had appeared to her, and told her she
could never recover, till she went and visited that Image in that
Chappell. They had also taught her in her Fits to make strange
motions with her body, by which she was much disfigured, and
to speak many Godly words against Sin, and the new Doctrines,
which were called Herefies, as alfo against the Kings Suit of Divorce.
It was alfo noised abroad, on what day she intended to go and visit
the Image of the Virgin, fo that about 2000 people were gather-
ed together, and the being brought to the Chappell, fell into her
Fits, and made many strange Grimaces and alterations of her body,
and spoke many words of great piety, faying, that by the Inspi-
ratation of God, she was called to be a Religious Woman, and that
Bocking was to be her Ghostly Father. And within a little while
she seemed by the interceffion of our Lady, to be perfectly recover-
ed of her former diftempers, and the afterwards profcribed a Religi-
ous Life. There were also violent fufpicion of her incontinency,
and that Bocking was a Carnal, as well as a Spiritual Father. She
fell in many raptures, and pretended the faw strange Vifions, heard
Heavenly Melody, and had the Revelation of many things that
were to come, fo that great credit was given to what she said, and
people generally looked on her as a Prophetes, and among those
the late Arch-bishop of Canterbury was led away with the rest.
A Book was writ of her Revelations and Prophecies by one De-
ning another Monk, who was taken in to the Conspiracy with many
others. It was also given out that Mary Magdalen gave her a Let-
ter that was writ in Heaven, which was shewed to many, being all
writ in Golden Letters. She pretended when the King was left at
Calais, that he being at Maa, an Angel brought away the Sacra-
ment and gave it to her, being then invisibly present, and that she
was presently brought over the Sea to her Monastery again. But
the design of all these Trances was to alienate the People from their
obligation.
"duty to the King, for the Maid gave it out, that God revealed to her, that if the King went on in the Divorce and married another Wife, he should not be King a Month longer, and in the reputation of Almighty God not one hour longer, but should die a Villains Death. This, the said was revealed to her in answer to the Prayers she had put up to God, to know whether he approved of the Kings proceedings or not? Which coming to the knowledge of the Bishop of Rockefifer and some others, who adhered to the Queens Interests, they had frequent meetings with the Maid, and concealed what she spake concerning the King, and some of them gave such credit to what she said, that they practised on many others to draw them from their allegiance, and prevailed with several of the Fathers and Nuns of Sion, of the Charter-House in London and Shene, and of the Observants of Richmond, Greenwich and Canterbury, with a great many other Persons.

This appeared most signally at Greenwich, where the King lived most in Summer, for one Peto being to preach in the Kings Chappel, denounced heavy Judgments upon him to his face, and told him, that many lying Prophets had deceived him, but he as a true Michajah warned him that the Dogs should lick his Blood as they had done Ahabs (for that Prophecy about Ahab was his Text) with many other bitter words, and Concluded, that it was the greatest misery of Princes, to be daily so abused by flatterers as they were. The King bore it patiently, and expressed no signs of any commotion, but to undeceive the People, he took care that Doctor Corren or Curwin should preach next Sunday, who justified the Kings proceedings, and condemned Peto as a Rebel, a Slanderer, a Dog, and a Traytor. Peto was gone to Canterbury, but another obseruant Frier of the same Houfe, Elston interrupted him: and said he was one of the lying Prophets, that sought by Adultery to establish the Succession to the Crown, and that he would justify all that Peto had said, and spake many other things with great vehemency, nor could they silence him, till the King himself commanded him to hold his peace. And yet all that was done either to him, or Peto, was, that being called before the Privy Council, they were rebuked for their intolence, by which it appears, that King Henry was not very easily inflamed against them, when a Crime of so high a Nature was so lightly passed over.

Nor was this all, but the Fathers that were in the Conspiracy, had confederated to publish these Revelations in their Sermons, up and down the Kingdom. They had also given notice of them to the Popes Ambassadors, and had brought the Maid to declare her Revelations to them, they had also sent an account to Queen Katharine for encouraging her to stand out and not submit to the Laws, of which Confederacy Thomas Abel was likewise one. The thing that was in so many hands could not be a Secret, therefore the King who had despised it long, ordered that in November the former year the Maid and her Complices, Richard Maser, Doctor Bocking, Richard Dearing, Henry Gold, a Parson in London, Hugh Rich an obseruant Frier, Richard Risby, Thomas Gold and Edward Twittees Gentlemen, and Thomas Laurence should be brought into the Star-Chamber, where there was a great appearance of many Lords, they were examined upon the
the premises, and did all without any rack or torture confess the whole Conspiracy, and were adjudged to stand in Pauls all the Sermon time; and after Sermon, the Kings Officers were to give every one of them his Bill of Confeffion to be openly read before the People, which was done next Sunday, the Bishop of Bangor preaching, they being all fet in a Scaffold before him. This publick manner was thought upon good grounds, to be the best way to satisfy the People of the Imputation of the whole matter, and it did very much convince them, that the cause must needs be bad, where such methods were used to support it. From thence they were carried to the Tower, where they lay till the Session of Parliament, but when they lay there, some of their Complices sent Messages to the Nun, to encourage her to deny all that she had said; and it is very probable, that the reports that went abroad of her being forced or cheated into a Confeffion, made the King think it necessary to proceed more severely against her. The thing being considered in Parliament, it was judged a Conspiracy against the Kings Life and Crown. So the Nun and Master, Bocking, Deering, Risky, Risky, and Henry Gold, were Attainted of High Treason. And the Bishop of Rochester, Thomas Gold, Thomas Laurence, Edward Tivax, John Adfon, and Thomas Abell, were judged guilty of Mifprision of Treason, and to forfeit their Goods and Chattels to the King, and to be imprisoned during his pleasure, and all the Books that were written of her Revelations, were ordered to be sent in, to some of the chief Officers of State, under the pains of Fine and Imprisonment. It had been also found, that the Letter which she pretended to have got from Mary Magdalen, was written by one Hankerst of Canterbury, and that the Door of the Dormitorie, which was given out to be made open by Miracle, that she might go into the Chappel for Conversation with God, was opened by some of her Complices, for beastly and carnal ends. But in the Conclusion of the Act, all others who had been corrupted in their Allegiance by these Impostures, except the persons before named, were at the earnest intercession of Queen Anne pardoned.

The two Houfes of Parliament (having ended their busines) were prorogued on the 29th of March, to the third of November, and before they broke up, all the Members of both Houfes, that they might give a good example to the Kings other Subjects, swore the Oath of Succelion, as appears from the Act made about it in the next Session of Parliament. The Execution of these persons was delayed for some time, it is like, till the King had a return from Rowe, of the Messenger he had sent thither with his Submissiun.

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

On all this I have dwelt the longer, both because there are all called Martyrs by Sanders, and that this did first provoke the King against the Regular Clergy, and drew after it all the severities that were done in the reft of his Reign. The foulness and the wicked design of this Imputation, did much alienate People from the interest of Rome, and made the other Acts both pass more easily, and be better received by the People. It was also generally believed, that what was now discovered was no new practice, but that many of the Villains and Miracles, by which Religious Orders had raised their Credit so high, were of the fame Nature: and it made way for the destroying of all the Monasteries in England, though all the severity which at this time followed on it, was, that the Obser vant Friers of Rich mond, Green wich, Canterbury, Newark, and Newcastle, were removed out of their Houfes, and put with the other Gray-Friers, and Augustin-Friers were put in their Houfes.

But because of the great name of Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and since this was the firft step to his ruin, it is necessary to give a fuller account of his carriage in this matter. When the cheat was first discovered, Cromwell, then Secretary of State, sent the Bishops Brother to him, with a sharp reproof for his carriage in that business; but withheld him to write to the King, and acknowledge his offence, and defire his pardon, which he knew the King, considering his Age and fickness, would grant. But he wrote back, excusing himself, that all he did, was only to try, whether her Revelations were true? He confessed, he conceived a great opinion of her Holiness, both from common Fame, and her enfring into Religion; from the report of her Ghostly Father, whom he esteemed Learned and Religious, and of many other Learned and Vertuous Priests; from the good opinion the late Arch-bishop of Canterbury had of her, and from what is in the Prophet Amos, That God will do nothing without revealing it to his Servants. That upon these grounds, he was induced to have a good opinion of her; and that to try the truth about her, he had sometimes spoken with her, and sent his Chaplains to her, but never discovered any fallhood in her. And for his concealing what she had told him about the King, which was laid to his charge, he thought it needless for him to speak of it to the King, since she had said to him, that she had told it to the King her self: She had named no person who should kill the King, which by being known, might have been prevented. And as in Spiritual things, every Church-man was not bound to denounce Judgments against those that could not bear it; so in Temporal things, the Cate might be the name; and the King had on other occasions spoken so sharply to him, that
that he had reason to think, the King would have been offended with him for speaking of it, and would have suspected that he had a hand in it; therefore he desired for the patience of Christ to be no more troubled about that matter, otherwise he would speak his Confidence freely. To all which, Cromwell wrote a long Letter, which the Reader will find in the Collection, copied from the rude draught of it, written with his own hand. In which he charges the Matter upon him heavily, and shews him, that he had not proceeded, as a grave Prelate ought to have done; for he had taken all that he had heard of her upon trust, and had examined nothing; that if every person that pretends to Revelations were believed on their own words, all Government would be thereby destroyed. He had no reason to conclude from the Prophecies of Amos, that every thing that is to fall out, must be revealed to some Prophet, since many notable things had fallen out, of which there was no Revelation made before-hand. But he told him the true reason that made him give credit to her, was, the matter of her Prophecies: to which he was so addicted, as he was to every other thing in which he once entred, that nothing could come amiss that served to that end. And he appealed to his Confidence, whether if she had prophesied for the King, he would have given such casual credit to her, and not have examined the matter further. Then he shews how guilty he was, in not revealing what concerned the Kings Life, and how frivolous all his excuses were. And after all, tells him, that though his excusing the matter had provoked the King, and that if it came to a Tryal, he would certainly be found guilty; yet again he advises him to beg the Kings pardon for his Negligence, and offence in that matter; and undertakes that the King would receive him into his favour, and that all matters of displeasure pass'd before that time, should be forgiven and forgotten. This shews that though Fijher had in the progress of the Kings Cause, given him great offence, yet he was ready to pass it all over, and not to take the advantage, which he now had against him. But Fijher was still obstinate, and made no submission, and so was included within the Act for misprision of Treason; and yet I do not find, that the King proceeded against him upon this Act, till by new provocations he drew a heavier storm of indignation upon himself.

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

"In these, besides the renewing their allegiance to the King, they "sware the Lawfulness of his Marriage with Queen Anne, and that "they shall be true to the Issue begotten in it, that they shall all "ways acknowledge the King, Head of the Church of England: "and that the Bishop of Rome has no more Power, than any other "Bishop has in his own Dioces, and that they should submit to all "the Kings Laws, notwithstanding the Popes censures to the con "trary. That in their Sermons they should not pervert the Scrip "tures, but preach Christ and his Gospel sincerely according to the "Scriptures, and the Tradition of Orthodox and Catholic Doctors, "and in their Prayers that they should pray first for the King, as Supreme "Head of the Church of England, then for the Queen and her issue, "and then for the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury and the other ranks of "the Clergy. To this these six Priors set their hands with the Seals of "their Convents, and in their Subscriptions declared, that they did it freely and un compelled, and in the name of all the Brethren in the Convent.

But Sir Thomas More and the Bishop of Rochester refused to take the Oath as it was conceived: Whole Fall being so remarkable, I shall shew the steps of it. There was a meeting of the Privy Council at Lambeth, to which many were cited to appear, and take the Oath. Sir Thomas See his works; More was first called, and the Oath was tendered to him under the great Seal, then he called for the Act of Succession, to which it related, which was also shewed him: having considered of them, he said he would neither blame those that made the Act, nor those that swore the Oath, but for his part, though he was willing to Swear to the Succession, if he might be suffered to draw an Oath concerning it, yet for the Oath that was offered him, his Conscience so moved him, that he could not without hazarding his Soul take it. Upon this, the Lord Chancellor told him, that he was the first who had refused to swear it, and that the King would be highly offended with him for denying it, and so he was desirous to withdraw and consider better of it. Several others were called upon, and did all take the Oath, except the Bishop of Rochester, who answered upon the matter as More had done. When the Lords had dispatched all the rest, More was again brought before them: they shewed him how many had taken it, he answered, he judged no man for doing it, only he could not do it himself. Then they asked the reasons why he refused it? He answered, he feared it might provoke the King more against him, if he should offer reasons which would be called a disputing against Law: but when he was further pressed to give his rea sons
fons, he said it the King would command him to do it, he would put them in Writing.

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

The King was much irritated against them, and resolvd to proceed with them according to Law, and therefore they were both indicted upon the Statute, and Committed Prisoners to the Tower. And it being apprehended, that if they had Books and Paper given them, they would write against the Kings Marriage or his Supremacy, these were denied them. The Old Bishop was hardly ufed, his Bishopruck was seized on; and all his goods taken from him, only some old rags were left to cover him; and he was neither supplied well in diet nor other necessaries, of which he made sad complaints to Cromwell. But the remainder of this Tragical busines, which left one of the greatest blots on this Kings proceedings, falling within the limits of the next Book, I hast on to the Conclusion of this.
The Separation from Rome was made in the former Session of Parliament, but the Kings Supremacy was not yet fully settled. This was reserved for the next Session that was in November from the 3d of that month, to the 18th of December, about which we can have no light from the Journals, they being lost. The first Act confirmed what had been already acknowledged by the Clergy, that the King was the Supreme Head in Earth, of the Church of England, which was to be annexed to his other Titles: it was also enacted that the King and his heirs and Successors should have Power to visit and reform all Relics, Errors, and other Abuses, which in the Spiritual jurisdiction, ought to be reform'd.

By the Second Act they confirmed the Oath about the Succession, concerning which some doubts had been made, because there was no Oath specified in the former Act: though both Houses had taken it: it was now Enacted, that all the Subjects were obliged to take it, when offered to them, under the pains contained in the Act passed in the former Session. By the Third Act, the first Fruits and Tenths of all Ecclesiastical Benefices were given to the King, as the Suprem Head of the Church. The Clergy were easily prevailed on, to consent to the putting down of the Annuities, pay'd to the Court of Rome, for all men readily concur to take off any imposition; but at that time it had perhaps abated much of their heartickness, if they had imagined that these duties should have been still payed, therefore that was kept up till they had done all that was to be done against Rome. And now as the Commons and the secular Lords would no doubt easily agree to lay a taxe on the Clergy, so the others having no foreign support, were not in a condition to wrestle against it.

In the Thirteenth Act, among other things that were made Treason, one was the denying the King the Dignity, Title or name, of his Effate Royal: or the calling the King Heretick, chilinatich, Tyrant, Infidel, or Usurper of the Crown. This was done to restrain the Infidelities of some Friars, and all such offenders were to be denied the Privilege of Sanctuaries. By the Fourteenth Act, provision was made for Suffragan Bishops, which as is said, had been accustomed to be had within this Realm, for the more speedy administration of the Sacraments, and other good wholesome and decent things, and laudable ceremonies, to the increase of Gods honour, and for the commodity of good and decent people, therefore they appointed for Suffragans Sees, the Towns of Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester, Dover, Gilford, Southampton, Taviston, Shaftsbury, Melton, Marlborough, Bedford, Leicester, Gloucester, Shrewbury, Bristol, Penrith, Bridgewater, Nottingham, Grantham, Hull, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and the Towns of Feth and Barwick, St. Germans in Cornwall, and the Isle of Wight. For these See's the Bishop of the Diocels was to present two to the King, who might choose either of them, and present the person so named, to the Arch-Bishop of the Province, to be Consecrated; after which, they might exercise such jurisdiction as the Bishop of the Diocels should give to them, or as Suffragans had been formerly used to do, but their Authority was to last no longer than the Bishop continued his Commission to them. But that the Reader may more clearly see how this Act was executed, he shall find in the Collection, a Writ for making...
1534. a Suffragan Bishop. These were believed to be the same with the
Choripont in the Primitive Church, which as they were begun
before the first Council of Nice, so they continued in the Western
Church till the Ninth Century, and then a Decretal of Damasus be-
ing forged, that condemned them, they were put down every-where
by degrees, and now revived in England. Then followed the grant
of a Subsidy to the King: it was now twelve years since there was
any Subsidy granted. A Fifteenth and a Tenth were given, to be
paid in Three years, the final payment being to be at Allhallon-
tide, in the year 1537. The Bill began with a most Glorious Pream-
ble "of the Kings high Wildom and Policy in the Government of
* the Kingdom these Twenty Four years in great wealth and quiet-
nes, and the great charges he had been at in the last War with
" Scotland, in fortifying Calais, and in the War of Ireland, and that
* he intended to bring the wilful, wild, and unreasonable, and savage
* people of Ireland, to Order and Obedience, and intended to build
* Forts on the Marches of Scotland, for the security of the Nation, to
* amend the Haven of Calais, and make a new one at Dover. By all
* which they did perceive the entire love and zeal which the King bore
* to his People, and that he fought not their wealth and quietness, only
* for his own time, being a Mortal Man, but did provide for it in
* all time coming, therefore they thought that of very equity, rea-
* lson, and good Conscience, they were bound to show like corre-
* spondence of zeal, gratitude and kindnefs. Upon this the King lent
* a general pardon with some exceptions, ordinary in such cafes. But
* Fisher and More, were not only excluded from this pardon by general
Clauses, but by two particular Acts they were attained of misprision
of Treafon. By the Third Act according to the Record, John Bishop
of Rocheffer, Christopher Plummer, Nicholas Wilson, Edward Powel,
Richard Fisherstone, and Miles Willyr Clerks, were attained for ref-
ufing the Oath of Succession, and the Bishoprick of Rochfe, with the
Benefits of the other Clerks were declared void from the 2d. of Ja-

May next, yet it feems few were fond of succeeding him in that
See, for John Hilfey the next Bishop of Rochefper was not Confecrated
before the year 1537. By the Fourth Act Sir Thomas More is by an In-
vividus Preamble charged with ingratitude, for the great favours he
had received from the King, and for studying to low and make fedition
* among the Kings Subjects, and refusing to take the Oath of Succession,
* therefore they declared the Kings Grants to him to be void, and at-
* tain him of misprision of Treafon.

This fervility though it was blamed by many, yet others thought
it was necessary in so great a Change; since the Authority of these
two men was such, that if some signal notice had not been taken of
them, many might by their endeavor, especially encouraged by that
Impunity, have been corrupted in their affections to the King. Others
thought the prosecuting them in that manner, did rather raise their
reputation higher, and give them more credit with the people, who
are naturally inclined to pity those that suffer, and to think well of
those opinions, for which they see men resolved, to endure all extre-
mities. But others observed the justice of God, in retaliating thus up-
on them their own fervorities to others, for as Fisher did grievously
prosecute

The Proceedings against them variously cenfured.
prosecute the preachers of Luther's Doctrine, so More's hand had been very heavy on them as long as he had Power, and he had shewed them no mercy, but the extremity of the Law, which himself now felt to be very heavy. Thus ended the Session of Parliament, with which this Book is also to conclude, for now I come to a Third period of the Kings Reign, in which he did Govern his Subjects without any Competitor, but I am to stop a little, and give an account of the Progress of the Reformation in these years that I have past through.

The Cardinal was no great persecutor of Hereticks, which was generally thought to flow from his hatred of the Clergy, and that he was not ill pleased to have them depressed. During the agitation of the Kings process, there was no prosecution of the Preachers of Luther's Doctrine, whether this flowed from any Intimation of the Kings pleasure to the Bishops or not, I cannot tell, but it is very probable it must have been so, for these opinions were receiv'd by many, and the Popish Clergy were so inclined to severity, that as they wanted not Occasions, so they had a good mind to use those Preachers cruelly, so that it is likely the King refrained them, and that was always mixed with the other threatnings to work upon the Pope, that Herefie would prevail in England, if the King got no justice done him, so that till the Cardinal fell, they were put to no further trouble.

But as soon as More came into favour, he pressed the King much, to put the Laws against Hereticks in execution, and suggested that the Court of Rome would be more wrung upon, by the Kings supporting the Church, and defending the Faith vigorously, than by threatnings: and therefore a long Proclamation was issu'd out against the Heretick, many of their Books were prohibited, and all the Laws against them were appointed to be put in execution, and great care was taken to seize them as they came into England, but many escaped their diligence.

There were some at Antwerp, Tindal, Jove, Constantine, with a few more, that were every year writing and printing new Books chiefly against the corruptions of the Clergy, the Superfition of pilgrimages, of worshipping Images, Saints, and Relicks, and against relying on these things, which were then called in the common style, 

_Good works_, in opposition to which they wrote much about Faith in Christ with a true Evangelical obedience, as the only mean by which men could be faved. The Book that had the greatest Authority and influence, was Tindals Translatation of the new Testament, of which the Bishops made great complaints, and said, it was full of errors. But Tonfall then Bishop of London, being a man of invincible moderation, would do no body hurt, yet endeavoured as he could, to get their Books into his hands: So being at Antwerp in the year 1529, as he returned from his Embassie at the Treaty of Cambray, he sent for one Packington an English Merchant there, and desired him to see how many New Testaments of Tindals Translatation he might have for Money, Packington, who was a secrect favourer of Tindal, told him, what the Bishop propos'd. Tindal was very glad of it, for being convinced of some faults in his work,
work, he was designing a new and more correct Edition; but he was poor, and the former Impression not being sold off, he could not go about it: so he gave Packington all the Copies that lay in his hands, for which the Bishop payed the price, and brought them over, and burnt them publicly in Chapside. This had such a hateful appearance in it, being generally called a burning of the Word of God, that people from thence concluded there must be a visible contrariety, between that book and the Doctrines of those who so handled it: by which both their prejudice against the Clergy, and their desire of reading the New Testament was increas'd. So that next year when the Second Edition was finisht, many more were brought over, and Constantine being taken in England, the Lord Chancellor in a private examination, promised him that no hurt should be done him if he would reveal who encouraged and supported them at Antwerp; which he accepted of, and told that the greatest encouragement they had, was from the Bishop of London, who had bought up half the Impression. This made all that heard of it laugh heartily, though more judicious persons discern'd the great temper of that Learned Bishop in it. When the Clergy condemned Tindal's Translation of the New Testament, they declared they intended to let out a true Translation of it; which many thought was never truly designed by them, but only pretended, that they might restrain the Curiosity of seeing Tindal's work, with the hopes of one that should be Authoriz'd: and as they made no progress in it, fo at length on the 24th of May, Anno 1530, there was a Paper drawn and agreed to by Arch-Bishop Warham, Chancellor More, Bishop Tongstal, and many Canonists and Divines, which every Incumbent was commanded to read to his Parish, as a warning to prevent the Contagion of Heresie. The Contents of which were, that the King having called together many of the Prelates, with other Learned men out of both Universities, to examine some Books lately set out in the English tongue, they had agreed to condemn them, as containing several points of Heresie in them; and it being proposed to them, whether it was necessary to set forth the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, they were of opinion, that though it had been sometimes done, yet it was not necessary, and that the King did well, not to set it out at that time in the English tongue. So by this all the hopes of a Translation of the Scriptures vanished.

There came out another Book which took mightily, it was entitled The Supplication of the Beggars, written by one Simon Fis of Grayes-Inn. In it the Beggars complained to the King, that they were reduced to great misery, the Alms of the people being intercepted by companies of strong and idle Friars; for supposing that each of the Five Mendicant Orders, had but a Peny a quarter from every household, it did rise to a vast Sum, of which the Indigent and truly Necesseitous Beggars were defrauded. Their being unprofitable to the Common-wealth, with several other things, were also complained of. He also taxed the Pope for Cruelty and Covetousnes, that did not deliver all persons out of Purgatory, and that none but the Rich who payed well for it, could be discharged out of that Prison. This was written in a witty and taking Style, and the King had it put in his
Chancellor 

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

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

But it discovered to others what was the Foundation of those Religious Orders, and that if the belief of Purgatory were once rooted out, all that was built on that Foundation must needs fall with it. So 

wrote an answer to 

Supplication, to shew, that there was no ground for Purgatory in Scripture; and that it was not believed in the Primitive Church. He also answered the Bishop of 

Book, and some Dialogues that were written on the same Subject, by 

Printer, and Kinfman of 

He discovered the fallacy of their reafonings, which were built on the weakness, or defects of our Repentance in this Life; and that therefore there must be another state in which we must be further purified. To this he answered, That our sins were not pardoned for our Repentance, or the Perfeftion of it, but only for the Merits and Sufferings of Christ; and that if our Repentance is sincere, God accepts of it; and fin being once pardoned, it could not be further punished. He shewed the difference between the punishments we may suffer in this Life, and those in Purgatory; the one are either Medicinal Corrections for Reforming us more and more, or for giving Warning to others: The other are terrible Punishments without any of these ends in them: therefore the one might well confift with the free pardon of fin, the other could not. So he argued from all these places of Scripture, in which we are laid to be freely pardoned our fins by the Blood of Christ, that no punishment in another state could confift with it: He also argued from all those places in which it is said, that we shall at the day of Judgment receive according to what we have done in the body, that there was no State of Purgatory beyond this life. For the places brought out of the Old Testament, he shewed they could not be meant of Purgatory since according to the Doctrine of the School-men there was no going to Purgatory before Christ. For the places in the New Testament he appealed to 

great Friend, 

whole Exposition of these places differed much from his Glosses. That place in the Epifile to the 

to try every mans work, he said, was plainly Allegorical; and since the Foundation, the building of Gold, Silver and precious Stones; of Wood, Hay

his hands by 

Anne Boleyn, and lik'd it well, and would not suffer any thing to be done to the Author.
Hay and Stubble, were Figuratively taken, there was no reason to take the fire in a literal sense: therefore by fire was to be understood the Persecution then near at hand; called in other places, the fiery trial.

For the Ancient Doctors, he showed, that in the fourth Century, St. Ambrose, Jerome, and St. Austin, the three great Doctors of that Age did not believe it, and cited several passages out of their Writings. It is true, St. Austin went further than the rest, for though in some passages he delivered his Opinion against it, yet in other places he spake of it more doubtfully as a thing that might be enquired into, but that it could not be certainly known; and indeed before Gregory the Great’s time, it was not received in the Church, and then the Benedictine Monks were beginning to spread and grow numerous, and they to draw advantages from it, told many stories of Visions and Dreams, to possess the world with the belief of it; then the trade grew so profitable, that ever since it was kept up, and improved: and what succeeded so well with one Society and Order, to enrich themselves much by it, was an encouragement to others to follow their tract in the same way of traffic. This Book was generally well received, and the Clergy were so offended at the Author, that they resolved to make him feel a real fire whenever he was caught, for endeavoring to put out their imaginary one.

That from which More and others took greatest advantage, was, that the new preachers prevailed only on simple Tradesmen, and women, and other illiterate persons: but to this the others answered, That the Pharisées made the same objection to the followers of Christ, who were either men, women, and rude Mechanicks; but Christ told them, that to the poor the Gospel was preached; and when the Philosophers and Jews objected that to the Apostles: They said God’s glory did the more appear, since not many rich, wise, or noble, were called, but the poor and despised were chosen: that men who had much to lose, had not that simplicity of mind, or that disengagement from worldly things, that was a necessary disposition to fit them for a Doctrine, which was like to bring much trouble and persecution on them.

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

The
The most eminent person that suffered about this time, was Thomas Bilney, of whose Abjuration an account was given in the first Book; he after that, went to Cambridge, and was much troubled in his Conference for what he had done, so that the rest of that Society at Cambridge, were in great apprehensions of some violent effect, which that desperation might produce, and sometimes watched him whole nights. This continued about a year, but at length his mind was more quieted, and he resolved to expiate his Abjuration, by as publick and solemn a Confession of the Truth: and to prepare himself the better both to defend and suffer for the Doctrines, which he had formerly through fear denied; he followed his Studies for two years. And when he found himself well fortified in this resolution, he took leave of his Friends at Cambridge, and went to his own Country of Norfolk, to whom he thought he owed his first endeavours.

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

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

When the day of Execution came, being the 10th of November, as he was led out, he said to one that exhorted him to be patient and constant, that as the Mariners endured the tooting of the Waves, hoping to arrive at their desired Port, so though he was now entering into a Storm, yet he hoped he should soon arrive at the Haven, and desire their Prayers. When he came to the Stake, he repeated the Creed, to show the People that he dyed in the Faith of the Apostles, then he put up his Prayers to God with great shows of inward devotion; which ended, he repeated the 143 Psalm, and paus'd on these words of it, Enter not into Judgment with thy Servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified, with deep recollection: and when Doctor Warner, that accompanied him to the Stake, took leave of him with many tears, Bilsley with a cheerful countenance exhorted him, to feed his flock, that at his Lords coming he might find him so doing. Many of the begging Friars desired him to declare to the People, that they had not procured his death; for that was got among them, and they feared the People would give them no more Alms: so he desired the Spectators not to be the worse to these men for his sake, for they had not procured his death. Then the fire was set to, and his Body consum'd to ashes.

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

In December, one John Tawkesbury a Shop-keeper in London, who had formerly abjured, was also taken and tried in Sir ThomasMores House at Chelsea, where Sentence was given against him by Stokesley Bishop of London, (for Tawkesbury translated the former year to Duresme) and was burnt in Smithfield. There were also three burnt at York this year two men and one woman.

These proceedings were complain'd of in the following Session of Parliament, as was formerly told, and the Ecclesiastical Courts being found both Arbitrary and Cruel, the House of Commons desired a Redress of that from the King; but nothing was done about it till Three
Three years after that, the new Act against Hereticks was made, as was already told. The Clergy were not much moved at the Address which the House of Commons made, and therefore went on in their extremest Courtes, and to strike a Terror in the Gentry, they resolved to make an example of one James Bainham a Gentleman of the Temple: he was carried to the Lord Chancellors House, where much pains was taken to persuade him to discover such as he knew in the Temple, who favoured the new Opinions; but fair means not prevailing, More made him be whipt in his own presence, and after that, sent him to the Tower, where he look’d on, and saw him put to the Rack. Yet it seems nothing could be drawn from him, that might be made use of, to any other persons hurt: yet he himself afterwards overcame with fear, abjured and did penance, but had no quiet in his Conscience, till he went publickly to Church, with a New Testament in his hand, and confessed with many tears, that he had denied God, and prayed the People not to do as he had done, and said, that he felt an Hell in his own Conscience, for what he had done. So he was soon after carried to the Tower, (for now the Bishops, to avoid the Imputation of using men cruelly in their Prisons did put Hereticks in the Kings Prisons) he was charged for having said, That Thomas Becket was a Murderer, and damned in Hell if he did not repent, and for speaking contemptuously of praying to Saints, and saying that the Sacrament of the Altar was only Christ’s Mystical Body, and that his Body was not chew’d with the Teeth, but received by Faith. So he was judged an obstinate and relapsed Heretick, and was burnt in Smithfield about the end of April 1532. There were also some others burnt a little before this time, of whom a particular account could not be recovered by Fox with all his Industry. But with Bainham, More’s perfection ended, for soon after he laid down the Great Seal, which set the poor Preachers at ease.

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

But in the year 1532, there was another memorable instance of the Clergy's cruelty against the dead bodies of those whom they suspected of Heretic: The common stile of all Wills and Testaments at that time was, First, "I bequeath my Soul to Almighty God, and to our Lady St. Mary, and to all the Saints in Heaven: but one William Tracy of Worcestershire dying, left a Will of a far different strain, for he bequeathed his Soul only to God through Jesus Christ, to whole intercession alone he trusted, without the help of any other Saint, therefore he left no part of his Goods to have any pray for his Soul. This being brought to the Bishop of London Court, he was condemned as an Heretick, and an Order was sent to Parker Chancellor of Worcester to raise his Body. The Officious Chancellor went beyond his Order, and burnt the Body: but the Record bears, that though he might by the Warrant he had, raise the Body according to the Law of the Church, yet he had no Authority to burn it. So two years after Tracy's Heirs sued him for it, and he was turn'd out of his Office of Chancellor, and fined in 400 Pound.

There is another Instance of the Cruelty of the Clergy this year. One Thomas Harding of Buckingham-shire, an Ancient man, who had abjured in the year 1506. was now observed to go often into Woods, and was seen sometimes reading. Upon which his Houfe was search'd, and some parcels of the New Testament in English were found in it. So he was carried before Longland Bishop of Lincoln, who as he was a cruel Persecutor, so being the Kings Confeffor, acted with the more Authority. This Aged man was judged a Relapfe, and sent to Chester, where he lived, to be burnt, which was Executed on Corpus Christi Eve. At this time there was an Indulgence of 40 days pardon proclaimed to all that carried a Faggot to the Burning of an Heretick: So dextrously did the Clergy endeavour to infect the Laity with their own cruel Spirit; and that wrought upon this occasion a signal effect, for as the fire was kindled, one flung a Faggot at the old man head, which daft not his Brains.

In the year 1533. it was thought fit by some signal evidence to convince the World, that the King did not design to change the established Religion, though he had then proceeded far in his breach with Rome, and the crafty Bishop of Winchester, Gardiner, as he complied with the King in his second Marriage and separation from Rome, so being an inveterate Enemy to the Reformation, and in his heart addicted to the Court of Rome, did by this Argument often prevail with the King, to punish the Hereticks, That it would most effectually justify his other proceedings, and convince the World that he was still a good Catholic King; which at several times drew the King to what he desired. And at this time, the steps the King had made in his Separation from the Pope, had given such heart to the new Preachers, that they grew bolder and more publick in their Assemblies. John Frith, as he was an excellent Scholar, which was so taken notice of, some years before, that he was put in the Lift of those whom the Cardinal intended to bring from Cambridge, and put in his College
ledge at Oxford, so he had offended them by several writings, and by a Discourse which he wrote against the Corporal presence of Christ, in the Sacrament, had provoked the King, who continued to his death to believe that firmly. "The substance of his Arguments was, "That Christ in the Sacrament gave Eternal Life, but the receiving the bare Sacrament did not give Eternal Life, since many took it to their damnation; therefore Christ's Presence there, was only felt by Faith. This he further proved by the Fathers before Christ, who did eat the same Spiritual Food, and drink of the Rock, which was Christ, according to St. Paul; since then, they and we communicate in the same thing, and it was certain that they did not eat Christ's Flesh Corporally, but fed by Faith on a Mosis, as Christians do on a Mosis already come: therefore we now do only communicate by Faith. He also insisted much on the Signification of the word Sacrament, from whence he concluded, that the Elements must be the Mystical Signs of Christ's Body and Blood; for if they were truly the Flesh and Blood of Christ, they should not be Sacraments: he concluded, that the ends of the Sacrament were these three, "by a visible action to knit the Society of Christians together in one body, to be a means of conveying Grace upon our due participation of them, and to be Remembrances to stir up men to bless God for that unspeakable love, which in the death of Christ appeared to mankind. To all these ends the Corporal Presence of Christ availed nothing, they being sufficiently answered by a Mystical Presence: yet he drew no other Conclusion from these Premises, but that the belief of the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament, was no necessary Article of our Faith. This either flowed from his not having yet arrived at a sure perversion in the matter, or that he chose in that modest style, to encounter an Opinion of which the World was so fond, that to have opposed it in down-right words, would have given prejudices against all that he could say.

Fritb upon a long conversation with one upon this Subject, was desired to set down the Heads of it in writing, which he did. The Paper went about, and was by a false Brother conveyed to Sir Thomas More's hands, who set himself to answer it in his ordinary style, treating Fritb with great contempt, calling him always the young man. Fritb was in Prison before he saw More's Book, yet he wrote a Reply to it, which I do not find was then published; but a Copy of it was brought afterwards to Cranmer, who acknowledged when he wrote his Apology against Gardiner, that he had received great light in that matter from Fritb's Books, and drew most of his Arguments out of it. It was afterwards printed with his Works Anno 1573, and by it may appear, how much Truth is stronger than Error. For though More wrote with as much Wit and Eloquence as any man in that Age did, and Fritb wrote plainly without any Art; yet there is so great a difference between their Books, that whoever compares them, will clearly perceive the one to be the Ingenious defender of an ill cause, and the other a simple affirter of Truth. Fritb wrote with all the disadvantage that was possible, being then in the Jayl, where he could have no Books, but some Notes he might have collected formerly: he was also so loaded with Irons, that he could scarce
scarcely fit with any case. He began with confirming what he had delivered about the Fathers before Christ, their feeding on his Body in the same manner that Christians do since his death: This he proved from Scripture, and several places of St. *Athenius* Works; he proved also from Scripture, that after the Consecration, the Elements were still *Bread* and *Wine*, and were so called both by our Saviour and his Apostles; that our Selves shew they are not changed in their Nature, and that they are still subject to Corruption, which can no way be said of the Body of Christ. He proved that the eating of Christ's Flesh in the sixth *of St. John*, cannot be applied to the Sacrament; since the wicked receive it, who yet do not eat the Flesh of Christ, otherwise they should have Eternal Life. He shewed also, that the Sacrament coming in the room of the Jewish Paschal Lamb, we must understand Christ's words, *This is my Body*, in the same sense in which it was said, that the Lamb was the *Lamb Pashover*. He confirmed this by many passages, cited out of Tertullian, *Athenius*, *Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*, *Jerome*, *Auffin*, *Fulgentius*, *Esubius*, and some later Writers, as *Bedes*, *Bertram* and *Duthsenn*, who did all assert that the Elements retained their former Nature, and were only the Mysteries, Signs, and Figures of the Body and Blood of Christ. But *Ge- lafinus*'s words seemed so remarkable, that they could not but determine the Controversie, especially considering he was Bishop of *Rome*: he therefore writing against the *Entabians*, who thought the humane nature of Christ was changed into the Divine, says, *That as the Elements of Bread and Wine being Consecrated to be the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Christ, did not cease to be Bread and Wine in Substance, but continued in their own proper Nature; so the Humane Nature of Christ continued still, though it was united to the Divine Nature: this was a manifest Indication of the belief of the Church in that Age, and ought to weigh more than a hundred high Rhetorical Expressions*. He brought likewise several Testimonies out of the Fathers to shew that they knew nothing of the Consequences that follow Transubstantiation; of a Body being in more places at once, or being in a place after the manner of a Spirit, or of the Worship to be given to the Sacrament. Upon this he digresses, and says, *that the German Divines believed a Corporal Presence; yet since that was only an Opinion that rested in their minds, and did not carry along with it any Corruption of the Worship, or Idolatrous practice, it was to be born with, and the peace of the Church was not to be broken for it; but the case of the Church of *Rome* was very different, which had set up gros Idolatry, building it upon this Doctrine.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Most earnestly requiring in the Bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this Execution and Punishment worthy to be done upon thee, may be so moderate, that the rigor thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the Salvation of thy Soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of Heretics, and to the Unity of the Catholick Faith. This was thought a scorning of God and Men, when those, who knew
that he was to be burnt, and intended it should be so, yet used such an
Obstipation by the Bowels of Jesus Christ, that the rigor might not be
extreme. This being certified, the Writ was issued out, and as the Re-
gister bears, he was burnt in Smithfield the fourth of July, and one An-
drew Hewet with him, who also denied the Presence of Christ in the Sa-
crament of the Altar. This Hewet was an Apprentice, and went to the
Meetings of these Preachers, and was twice betrayed by some Spies whom
the Bishops Officers had among them, who discovered many. When he
was examined, he would not acknowledge the Corporal Presence, but
was illiterate, and resolved to do as Frib did, so he was also condemned
and burnt with him.

When they were brought to the Stake, Frib expressed great joy at
his approaching Martyrdom, and in a Transport of it, hugged the Fagg-
gots in his Arms, as the Instruements that were to send him to his Eternal
Relf. One Doctor Cook a Parson of London called to the People, that
they should not pray for them any more than they would do for a Dog.
At which Frib smiled, and prayed God to forgive him; so the fire was
set to, and they were confirmed to Athe.

This was the last Act of the Clergics Cruelty against mens lives, and
was much condemned; it was thought an unheard-of barbarity, thus
to burn a moderate and learned young man, only because he would
not acknowledge some of their Doctrines to be Articles of Faith; and
though his private judgment was against their tenet, yet he was not po-
itive in it, any further, than that he could not believe the contrary
to be necessary to Salvation. But the Clergy were now so bathed in
blood, that they seemed to have strippt themselves of those impressions
of pity and compassion, which are natural to mankind; they therefore
held on in their severe courses, till the Act of Parliament did effectually
refrain them.

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

And now that Act being passed, together with the extirpation of the
Popes Authority, and the Power being lodged in the King to correct and
reform Heresies, Idolatries, and Abuses, the Standard of the Catholick
Faith being also declared to be the Scriptures, the Persecuted Preachers
had ease and encouragement every where. They also saw that the ne-
cessity of the Kings Affairs would constrain him to be gentle to them, for
the Sentence which the Pope gave against the King, was committed to
the Emperor to be executed by him, who was then aspiring to an un-
iversal Monarchy; and therefore as soon as his other Wars gave him leis-
ure to look over to England and Ireland, he had now a good colour to
justify an Invasion both from the Popes Sentence, and the Interests and
Honour of his Family in protecting his Aunt and her Daughter: There-
fore the King was to give him work elsewhere, in order to which his In-
terest obliged him to join himself to the Princes of Germany, who had at
Smalcald entered into a League offensive and defensive, for the liberty of
Religion, and the Rights of the Empire. This was a Thorn in the Em-
perors side, which the Kings Interest would oblige him by all means to
maintain. Upon which the Reformers in England concluded, that either
the King, to recommend himself to these Princes, would relax the sever-
rities of the Law against them; or otherwise, that their Friends in Ger-
many would see to it: for in these first fervours of Reformations, the
Princes made that always a condition in their Treaties, that those who
favoured their Doctrine, might be no more persecuted.

But their chief encouragement was from the Queen, who Reigned in
the Kings Heart, as absolutely as he did over his Subjects; and was a
known favourer of them. She took Shaxton and Latimer to be her
Chaplains, and soon after promoted them to the Bishoprics of Salisbury
and Worcester, then vacant by the deprivation of Campesio and Ghinuccii,
and in all other things cherisht and protected them, and used her most
effectual endeavours with the King to promote the Reformation. Next
to her, Cranmer Arch-bishop of Canterbury was a professed favourer of
it, who besides the Authority of his Character and See, was well fit-
ted for carrying it on, being a very Learned and Industrious man. He
was at great pains to collect the sense of Ancient Writers, upon all the
Heads of Religion, by which he might be well directed in such an Im-
portant matter. I have seen two Volumes in Folio written with his
own Hand, containing upon all the Heads of Religion, a vast heap both
of places of Scripture, and Quotations out of Ancient Fathers, and
later Doctors, and School-men; by which he governed himself in
that Work. There is also an Original Letter of the Lord Burghly's ex-
tant, which I have seen, in which he writes that he had six or seven
Volumes of his Writings, all which, except two other, that I have seen,
are lost; for ought I can understand. From which it will appear in the Se-
quel of this Work, that he neither Copied from Forreign Writers, nor
proceeded rashly in the Reformation. He was a man of great temper,
and as I have seen in some of his Letters to Oftander, and some of Oftan-
der's
der's answers to him, he very much disliked the violence of the German Divines. He was gentle in his whole behaviour, and though he was a man of too great candour and simplicity to be refined in the Arts of Policy, yet he managed his Affairs with great prudence; which did so much recommend him to the King, that no ill Offices were ever able to hurt him. It is true, he had some singular opinions about Ecclesiastical Functions and Offices, which he seemed to make wholly dependent on the Magistrate, as much as the Civil were; but as he never studied to get his opinion in that made a part of the Doctrine of the Church, referring only to himself the freedom of his own thoughts, which I have reason to think he did afterwards, either change, or at least was content to be over-ruled in it: So it is clear that he held not that opinion, to get the Kings favour by it, for in many other things, as in the busines of the six Articles, he boldly and freely argued, both in the Convocation and the House of Peers, against that which he knew was the Kings mind, and took his life in his hands, which had certainly been offered at a stake, if the Kings esteem of him had not been proof against all attempts.

Next him, or rather above him, was Cromwell, who was made the Kings Vice-gerent in Ecclesiastical matters. A man of mean Birth, but Noble Qualities, as appeared in two signal Instances, the one being his Pleading in Parliament fo zealously and successfull for the fallen and disgrac'd Cardinal, whose Secretary he was, when Gardiner, though more obliaged by him, had basely forfaken him. This was thought fo just and generous in him, that it did not at all hinder his Preferment, but raised his Credit higher: Such a Demonstration of gratitude and friendship, in misfortune, being fo rare a thing in a Court. The other was his remembering the Merchant of Luca, that had pitied and relieved him, when he was a poor stranger there, and expressing most extraordinary acknowledgements and gratitude, when he was afterwards in the top of his Greatness, and the other did not so much as know him, much less pretend to any return for paffed favours, which shew'd that he had a noble and generous temper; only he made too much haste to be great and rich. He joyed himself in a firm friendship to Cranmer, and did promote the Reformation very vigorously.

But there was another Party in the Court, that wrestled much against it; the head of it was the Duke of Norfolk, who though he was the Queens Uncle, yet was her mortal Enemy. He was a dextrous Courtier, and complied with the King, both in his Divorce and Separation from Rome, yet did upon all occasions perfwade the King to innovate nothing in Religion: His great Friend that joyed all along with him in those Councils, was Gardiner Bishop of Winchesfter, who was a crafty and politic man, and understood the King well, and complied with his temper in every thing; he defpifed Cranmer, and hated all Reformation. Longland, that had been the Kings Confellor, was also managed by them, and they had a great Party in the Court, and almost all the Church-men were on their side.

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

But on the other side Cranmer represented to him, that since he had Reasons for it, put down the Popes Authority, it was not fit to let those Doctrines be still taught, which had no other Foundation, but the Decrees of Popes: And he offered upon the greatest hazard to prove, that many things, then received as Articles of Faith, were no better grounded; therefore he pressed the King to give order, to hear and examine things freely, that when the Popes Power was rejected, the People might not be obliged to believe Doctrines, which had no better warrant. And for Political Counsels, he was to do the duty of a good Christian Prince, and leave the event to God; and things might be carried on with that ducare, that the justice and reasonableness of the Kings proceedings should appear to all the World. And whereas it was objected, that the Doctrines of the Catholick Church ought not to be examined by any particular Church; It was answered, that when all Christendome were under one Emperor, it was easy for him to call General Councils, and in such circumstances it was fit to stay for one; and yet even then, particular Churches did in their National Synods condemn Heresies, and reform Abuses. But the State of Christendome was now altered, it was under many Princes, who had different Interests, and therefore they thought it a vain expectation to look for any such Council. The Protestants of Germany had now for above ten years desired the Emperor to procure one, but to no effect; for sometimes the Pope would not grant it, and at other times the French King protested against it. The former year the Pope had sent to the King to offer a General Council, to be held at Mantua this year, but the King found that was but an illusion; for the Marques of Mantua protested, he would not admit such a number of strangers, as a Council would draw together into his Town; yet the King promised to send his Ambassadors thither, when the Council met. But now the King consulting his Prelates, whether the Emperor might by his Authority summon a General Council, as the Roman Emperors had done: some of them gave the following answer, Copied from the Original that is yet extant, which might have been written any time between the year 1534, in which Thomas Goodrick was made Bishop of Ely, and the year 1540, in which John Clark, Bishop of Bath and Wells, a General Council died: but I incline to think from other circumstances, that it was written about the end of the year 1534.
Though that in the Old time, when the Empire of Rome had its ample dominion over the most part of the World, the First Four General Councils (the which at all times have been of most estimation in the Church of Christ) were called and gathered by the Emperors Commandment, and for a Godly intent: That Heresies might be extingtn; Schisms put away, good Order and Manners in the Miniisters of the Church and the People of the same established. Like as many Councils more were called: till now of late by the negligence, as well of the Emperor, as other Princes, the Bishop of Rome hath been suffered to usurp this Power; yet now, for so much that the Empire of Rome, and the Monarchy of the same, hath no such general Dominion; but many Princes have absolute Power in their own Realms, and a whole and entire Monarchy, no one Prince may by his Authority call any General Council, but if that any one or more of these Princes for the establishing of the Faith, for the extirpation of Schisms, &c. Lovingly, Charitably, with a good sincere Intent, to a sure place, require any other Prince, or the rest of the great Princes, to be content to agree, that for the Wealth, Quietness, and Tranquillity of all Christian People, by his or their free consent, a General Council might be assembled: that Prince, or those Princes so required, are bound by the Order of Charity, for the good Fruit that may come of it, to condescend and agree thereunto, having no lawful Impediment, nor just Cause moving to the contrary. The chief Causes of the General Councils are before expressed.

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

T: Cantuarien.

Cuthbertus Dunelmwm.


Tho. Elien.

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

A Speech of Cranmurf, about a General Council.
Speech runs upon this conceit. "That as Rich men flying from their "Enemies, carry away all they can with them, and what they cannot "take away, they either hide or destroy it; so the Court of Rome had "destroyed so many Ancient Writings, and hid the rest, having carefully "preferred every thing that was of advantage to them, that it was not "eafe to discover what they had so artificially concealed: Therefore in "the Canon Law, some honest Truths were yet to be found, but so mift "layed that they are not placed where one might expect them, but are "to be met with in some other Chapters, where one would least look for "them. And many many things said by the Ancients of the See of Rome, "and against their Authority, were lost, as appears by the Fragments yet "remaining. He shewed that many of the Ancients called every thing "which they thought well done, of Divine Institution, by a large ex- "tent of the Phrase, in which sense the passages of many Fathers that "magnified the See of Rome, were to be understood.

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

As for the Head of the Council. St. Peter and St. James had the "chief direction of the Council of the Apostles, but there were no Con-
"tefts then about Headship. Christ named no Head, which could be "no more called a defect in him, than it was one in God, that had named "no Head to Govern the World. Yet the Church found it convenient "to have one over them, so Arch-bishops were set over Provinces. And "though St. Peter had been Head of the Apostles, yet as it is not certain "that he was ever in Rome, so it does not appear, that he had his Head-
ship for Rome's sake, or that he left it there; but he was made Head for "his Faith, and not for the Dignity of any See: Therefore the Bishops "of Rome could pretend to nothing from him, but as they followed his "Faith; and Liberius and some other Bishops there, had been condemn-
"ed for Herefie; and if according to St. James, Faith be to be tryed "by Works, the Lives of the Popes for several Ages gave shewed pre-
"sumptions, that their Faith was not good. And though it were grant-
"ed, that such a Power was given to the See of Rome, yet by many in-
"stances, he shew'd that positive precepts in a matter of that nature, "were not for ever Obligatory. And therefore Gerfin wrote a Book, "De Ascribibilitate Pape. So that if a Pope with the Cardinals be cor-
"rupted, they ought to be tryed by a General Council, and submit to "it. St. Peter gave an account of his Baptizing Cornelius, when he was "questioned about it. So Damasus, Sixtinus, and Leo, purged them-
"selves of some scandals.

Then he shewed how Corrupt the present Pope was, both in his "Person and Government, for which he was abhorred, even by some of}
his Cardinals, as himself had heard and seen at Rome. It is true there
was no Law to proceed against a vicious Pope, for it was a thing not
foreseen, and thought scarcely possible, but new decepts required new
remedies, and if a Pope that is an Heretick may be judged in a Coun-
cel, the same reason would hold against a Synonialcal, Covetous and
Impious Pope, who was Salt that had lost its savour. And by several
Authorities, he proved, that every man who lives fo, is thereby out of
the Communion of the Church, and that as the Preheminence of the
See of Rome flowed only from the Laws of men, so there was now
good caufe to repeal thefe, for the Pope, as was said in the Council of
Biffl, was only Vicar of the Church, and not of Chrift, fo he was ac-
countable to the Church. The Council of Conftance and the Divines
of Paris had, according to the Doctrine of the Ancient Church, de-
clared the Pope to be subject to a General Council, which many Popes
in former Ages had confessed. And all that the Pope can claim even
by the Canon Law, is only to call and preside in a General Council,
but not to over-rule it, or have a Negative Vote in it.

The Power of Councils did not extend to Princes, Dominions, or
Secular Matters, but only to Points of Faith, which they were to de-
clare, and to condemn Hereticks: nor were their Decrees Laws, till
they were Enacted by Princes. Upon this, he enlarged much to fhew,
that though a Council did proceed against a King (with which they
then threatened the King) that their Sentence was of no force, as being
without their Sphere. The determination of Councils ought to be
well considered and examined by the Scriptures, and in matters indif-
erent, men ought to be left to their freedom, he taxed the severity of
Bifflors, Proceedings against the Churches of the East, about the day
of Easter. And concluded, that as a Member of the Body is not cut
off, except a Gangrene comes in it, so no part of the Church ought to
be cut off, but upon a great and inevitable caufe. And he very large-
ly fhewed, with what Moderation and Charity the Church should pro-
ceed even against thofe that held errors. And the Standard of the
Councils definitions, should only be taken from the Scriptures, and not
from mens Traditions.

He said, some General Councils had been rejected by others, and it
was a tender Point, how much ought to be deferred to a Council;
some Decrees of Councils were not at all obeyed. The Divines of
Paris held, that a Council could not make a new Article of Faith, that
was not in the Scriptures. And as all Gods promises to the People of
Israel, had this condition implied within them, If they kept his Com-
mandments; fo he thought the Promifes to the Christian Church, had
this condition in them, If they kept the Faith. Therefore he had much
doubting in himself as to General Councils, and he thought that only
the Word of God was the Rule of Faith, which ought to take place
in all Controversies of Religion. The Scriptures were called Canonical,
as being the only Rules of the Faith of Chriftians; and these by ap-
pointment of the Ancient Council, were only to be read in the Chur-
ces. The Fathers SS. Ambrofe, Jerome, and Auflin, did in many
ts things differ from one another, but always appealed to the Scriptures,
as the common and certain Standard. And he cited some remarkable
passage out of St. Auflin, to shew, what difference he put between the

"Scriptures,
and the Principles that the General Parties in it were upon, when the Reformation was first brought under Consideration, in the third Period of this Kingdom, to which I am now advanced.

All the I thought necessary to open to the State of the Court, and the Principles that the General Parties in it were upon, when the Reformation was first brought under Consideration, in the third Period of this Kingdom, to which I am now advanced.

The End of the Second Book.

Of the Church of England.
Natus 1489
July 2
Consecratus 1533 Mar 30
Martyrdoc Coronatus 1556 Mar 21

Printed for Riz: Chipmoll, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church yard
He King having passed through the Traveries and toffings of his Suit of Divorce, and having with the concurrence, both of his Clergy and Parliament, brought about what he had project'd, seem'd now at ease in his own Dominions. But though matters were carry'd in Publick Assemblies smoothely and successfull'y, yet there were many secret difcontents, which being fomented, both by the Pope, and the Emperors Agents, wrought him great trouble; so that the rest of his life, was full of vexation and difquiet.

All that were zealously addicted to that which they called the Old Religion, did conclude, that whatever firmnes the King expres'd to it now, was either pretended out of Policy, for avoiding the Inconveniences, which the fears of a Change might produce: or though he really intended to perform what he profell'd; yet the Interests in which he must embarque, with the Princes of Germany against the Pope and the Emperor, together with the Power that the Queen had over him, and the credit Cranmer and Cromwell had with him, would prevail on him to change some things in Religion. And they look'd on these things, as so complicated together, that the change of any one must needs make way for change in more, since that struck at the Authority of the Church, and left people at liberty to dispute the Articles of Faith. This they thought was a Gate opened...
1535. to Herefie. And therefore they were every-where meeting together, and confiding, what should be done for suppressing Herefie, and pre-

erving the Catholick Faith.

That zeal was much inflamed by the Monks and Friars, who clear-

by law the Acts of Parliament, were so levelled at their Exemptions

and Immunities, that they were now like to be at the Kings mercy.
They were no more to plead their Bulls, nor claim any Priviledges,

further than it pleased the King to allow them. No new Saints from

Rome could draw more Riches or Honour to their Orders. Priviledges

and Indulgences were out of doors; so that the Arts of drawing

in the People, to enrich their Churches and Houfes, were at an end.
And they had also secret Intimations, that the King and the Courri-

ers, had an eye on their Lands, and they gave themselves for lost,
if they could not to embroyl the Kings Affairs, that he shoul not

adventure on fo invidious a thing: Therefore both in Confessions and

Conferences they infufed into the people a diflike of the Kings Pro-

ceedings; which though for some time it did not break out into

an open Rebellion, yet the humor still fermented, and people only

waited for an opportunity; So that if the Emperor had not been o-

therwise distracted, he might have made War upon the King, with

great advantages. For many of his difcontented Subjects, would

have joyned with the Enemy. But the King did fo dextroufly ma-

nage his Leagues with the French King, and the Princes of the

Empire, that the Emperor could never make any impressions on his

Dominions.

But thofe fatical Spirits, feeing nothing was to be expected from

any foreign Power, could not contain themselves, but broke out in-

to open Rebellion. And this provoked the King to great fervencies:

His Spirit was fo fretted, by the tricks the Court of Rome had put

on him, and by the Ingratitude and feditious prætëfes of Reginald

Pool; that he thereby loft much of his former temper and patience,
and was too ready upon flight grounds, to bring his Subjects to the

Bar. Where though the matter was always fo ordered, that accord-

ing to Law they were Endicted and judged; yet the fervency of the

Law bordering sometimes on rigor and cruelty, he came to be ca-

led a cruel Tyrant. Nor did his fervency lie only on one fide: but be-

ing addicted to fome Tenets of the Old Religion; and impatient of

Contradiction, or perhaps blown up, either with the vanity of his

new Title, of Head of the Church, or with the præfes which Flatter-

ers befrowed on him; he thought all perffons were bound, to regulate

their Belief by his Dïëtates, which made him prosecute Protestants,
as well as proceed againft Papsifts. Yet it does not appear, that Cru-

cry was Natural to him. For in twenty five years Reign, none had

suffered for any Crime against the State; but Pool Earl of Suffolk,
and Stafford Duke of Buckingham. The former he prosecuted in O-

bedience to his Fathers laft Commands at his death. His fervency to

the other was imputed to the Cardinals Malice. The Proceedings were

also legal. And the Duke of Buckingham, had by the knavery of a

Prieft, to whom he gave great credit, been made believe he had a

Right to the Crown; and prætëfes of that nature, touch Princes so

nearly, that no wonder the Law was executed in fuch a cafe. This

shows
Book III. of the Church of England.

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

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

After the Parliament had ended their Business, the Bishops did all renew their Alliance to the King, and swore also to maintain his Supremacy in Ecclefaftical Matters; acknowledging that he was the Supreme Head of the Church of England, though there was yet no Law for the requiring of any such Oath. The first act of the Kings Supremacy was, his naming Cromwell Vicar-General, and General Visitor of all the Monatories and other Priviledged places. This is commonly confounded with his following Dignity of LordVice-Gerent in Ecclefaftical matters; but they were two different Places, and held by different Commissions. By the one he had no Authority over the Bishops, nor had he any Precedence; but the other, as it gave him the Precedence next the Royal Family, so it cloathed him with a compleat Delegation of the Kings whole Power in Ecclefaftical Affairs. For Two years he was only Vicar-General; but the tenour of his Commissions, and the nature of the Power devolved on him by them, cannot be fully known: For neither the one, nor the other are in the Rolls, though there can be no doubt made, but Commissions of such Importance were enrolled; therefore the loss of them can only be charged on that search and rafure of Records made by Bonner, upon the Commission granted to him by Queen Mary, of which I have spoken in the Preface of this work. In the Prerogative-Office there is a subaltern Commission granted to Doctor (afterwards Secretary) Petre, on Jan. 13, in the Twenty Seventh year of the Kings Reign, by which it appears, that Cromwells Commission was at first conceived in very General words, for he is called the Kings Vice-Gerent, in Ecclefaftical caufes, his Vicar-General, and Official-Principa!. But because he could not himself attend upon all these affairs, therefore Doctor Petre is deputed under him, for receiving the Probates of Wills; from thence likewise it appears, that all Wills, where the Estate was 200 lib. or above, were no more to be tried or proved in the Bishops Courts, but in the Vicar-Generals Court. Yet though he was called Vice-Gerent in that Commission, he was spoken of, and wrote to, by the name of Vicar-General; but
after the second Communion, seen and mentioned by the Lord Herbert, in July 1535, he was always设计 Lord Viscount.

The next thing that was every-where laboured with great industry, was, to engage all the rest of the Clergy, chiefly the Regulars, to own the Kings Supremacy; To which they generally submitted. In Oxford the question being put whether the Pope had any other Jurisdiction in England, than any other foreign Bishop, it was referred to Thirty Doctors and Bachelors, who were empowered to set the Univeristy-Seat to their Conclusion, they all agreed in the Negative, and the whole University being examined about it man by man, allentred to their determination. All the difficulty that I find made, was at Richmond, by the Francisian Friars, where the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (Rowland Lee) and Thomas Bedell, tendered some Conclusions to them, among which, this was one. That the Pope of Rome has no greater Jurisdiction in this Kingdom of England, by the Law of God, than any other Foreign Bishop. This they told them was already subscribed by the two Arch-Bishops, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Durham, Bath, and all the other Prelates, and Heads of Houses, and all the famous Clerks of the Realm. And therefore they desired that the Friars, would refer the matter to the Four Seniors of the House, and acquiesce in what they should do. But the Friars said, it concerned their Consciences, and therefore they would not submit it to a small part of their House, they added, that they had sworn to follow the Rule of St. Francis, and in that, they would live and die; and cited a Chapter of their Rule, “That their Order should have a Cardinal for their Protector, by whole directions, they might be governed in their obedience to the Holy See. But to this the Bishop answered, That St. Francis lived in Italy, where the Monks and other Regulars that had Exemptions, were subject to the Pope, as they were in England, to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury. And for the Chapter which they cited, it was showed them, that it was not written by St. Francis, but made since his time; and though it were truly a part of his Rule, it was told them that no particular Rule, ought to be preferred to the Laws of the Land, to which all Subjects were bound to give Obedience, and could not be excused from it, by any voluntary obligation under which they brought themselves yet all this could not prevail on them, but they said to the Bishop, they had professed St. Francis’s Rule, and would still continue in the Observance of it.

But though I do not find such resistance made elsewhere, yet it appears, that some secret practices of many of those Orders against the State were discovered, therefore it was resolved, that some effectual means, must be taken for lessening their credit and Authority with the People; and to a general visitation of all Monasteries and other Religious Houses was resolved on. This was chiefly advised, by Doctor Leighton, who had been in the Cardinals Service with Cromwell, and was then taken notice of by him, as a dextrous and diligent man, and therefore was now made use of on this Occasion. He by a Letter to Cromwell advertised him, that upon a long Conference with the Dean of the Archb., he found the Dean was of Opinion, that it was not fit to make any Visitations in the King’s name yet, for Two or
Three years, till his Supremacy were better received; and that he apprehended a severe Visitations so early, would make the Clergy more averse to the King's Power. But Leighton on the other hand, thought nothing would so much recommend the Supremacy, as to see such good effects of it, as might follow upon a strict and exact Visitations. And the Abuses of Religious persons were now so great and visible, even to the Laiy, That the Correcting and Reforming these, would be a very popular thing. He writ further, That there had been no Visitations in the Northern parts, since the Cardinal Ordered it: Therefore he advised one, and desired to be employed in Yorkshire. And by another Letter, dated the 4th of June, he wrote to Cromwell, desiring, that Doctor Lee, and he, might be employed in Visiting all the Monasteries, from the Dioceses of Lincoln Northwards: which they could manage better, than any body else, having great kindred, and a large acquaintance in those parts: so that they would be able to discover, all the disorders or seditious practices in those Houses. He complained, that former Visitations had been flight and insignificant, and promised great faithfulness and diligence both from himself and Doctor Lee.

The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury was now making his Metropolitical Visitations, having obtained the King's Licence for it, which says, That he having desired, that according to the Custom, and the Prerogative of his Metropolitical See, he might make his Visitations; The King granted him Licence to do it, and required all to assist and obey him; dated the 28th of April. Things were not yet ripe for doing great matters; so that he now look'd, to be, was to see that all should submit to the King's Supremacy; and renounce any dependance on the Pope, whose name was to be struck out of all the Publick Offices of the Church. This was begun in May 1535. Stokesley, Bishop of London, submitted not to this Visitations, till he had entered Three Protestations, for keeping up of Privileges. In October began the great Visitations of Monasteries, which was committed to several Commissioners. Leighton, Lee and London were most employed. But many others were also empowered to Visit. For I find Letters from Robert Southwell, Edme Price, John Ap-price, Richard Southwell, John Gage, Richard Bolasie, Walter Hendle, and several others, to Cromwell; giving him an account of the Progress they made in their several Provinces. Their Visitations, if they were palled under the great Seal, and enrolled, have been taken out of the Rolls; for there are none of them to be found there. Yet I do not like to think, they were not under the great Seal. I have been an Original Commissioner for the Visitations, that was next year, which was only under the King's hand and Signet. From which it may be inferred, that the Visitations this year, were of the same nature: yet whether such Commissioners could authorize them, to grant Dispensations, and Discharge men out of the Houses they were in, I am not skill'd enough in Law to determine. And by their Letters to Cromwell, I find they did assume Authority for these things. So what their Power was, I am not able to discover. But besides their Powers and Visitations, they got Instructions to direct them in their Visitations, and Injunctions to be left in every House, of which, though I could
could not recover the Originals, yet Copies of very good Authority I
have seen, which the Reader will find in the Collection at the end of
this Book. The Instructions contain 86 Articles. The substance of
them was, to try,

"Whether Divine Service was kept up day and night, in the right
hours? And how many were commonly present, and who were fre-
quently absent.

"Whether the full number, according to the Foundation, was in eve-
ry Houfe? Who were the Founders? What additions have been made
since the Foundation? And what were their Revenues? Whether it
was ever changed from one Order to another? By whom? And for
what Cause?

"What Mortmains they had? And whether their Founders were suf-
ciently Authorized to make such Donations?

"Upon what Suggestions, and for what Causes they were exempted
from their Diocelians?

"Their Local Statutes were alfo to be seen and Examined.

"The Election of their Head was to be enquired into. The Rule of
every Houfe was to be considered. How many profefled? And how
many Novices were in it? And at what time the Novices Profefled?

"Whether they knew their Rule and observed it? Chiefly the three
Vows of Poverty, Chriftity and Obedience? Whether any of them
kept any money without the Mafters knowledge? Whether they
kept company with women, within or without the Monaftery? Or if
there were any back-doors, by which women came within the pre-
cinct? Whether they had any boys lying by them?

"Whether they observed the Rules of Silence, Fafing, Abfstinence,
and Hair-shirts? Or by what warrant they were dispended with, in
any of these?

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

"Whether the Maftcr was too cruel, or too remifs? And whether
he used the Brethren without partiality or malice?

"Whether any of the Brethren were incorrigible?

"Whether the Maftcr made his accompls faithfully once a year?

"Whether all the other Officers made their accompls truly? And
whether the whole Revenues of the Houfe were imploved according
to the intention of the Founders?

"Whether the Fabrick was kept up, and the Plate and Furniture
were carefully preferred?

"Whether the Covent-Seal, and the Writings of the Houfe were
well kept? And whether Leafes were made by the Maftcr to his
Kindred and Friends, to the Damage of the Houfe? Whether Hospi-
tality was kept, and whether at the receiving of Novices, any mo-
ney or reward was demanded or promised? What care was taken to
instruct the Novices?

"Whether any had entred into the Houfe, in hope to be once the
Maftcr of it?

"Whether in giving Prefentations to Livings, the Maftcr had re-
served a Penfion out of them? Or what fort of Bargains he made con-
cerning them?

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

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

"Whether the House had a good Enclosure, and if the Doors and Windows were kept shut, so that no man could enter at inconvenient hours?"

"Whether any man conversed with the Sisters alone, without the Abbesses leave?"

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

"Whether they went out of their precinct without leave? And whether they wore their Habit then?"

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

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

"Whether the Confessor was a discreet and learned man, and of good reputation? And how oft a year the Sisters did Confess and Communicate?"

They were also to visit all Collegiate Churches, Hospitals and Cathedrals, and the Order of the Knights of Jerusalem. But if this Copy be compleat they were only to view their Writings and Papers, to see what could be gathered out of them, about the Reformation of Monarchical Orders. And as they were to visit according to these Instructions, so they were to give some Injunctions in the Kings Name.

"That they should endeavour, all that in them lay, that the Act of the Kings Succession should be observed, (where it is said that they had under their Hands and Seals confirmed it. This shows, that all the Religious Houses of England had acknowledged it: ) and they should teach the people, that the Kings Power was Supreme on Earth, under God, and that the Bishop of Rome's Power was Usurped by Craft and Policy, and by his ill Canons and Decretals, which had been long tolerated by the Prince, but was now justly taken away.

"The Abbot and Brethren were declared to be absolevered from any Oath, they had sworn to the Pope, or to any Forreign Potentate; and the Statutes of any Order, that did bind them to a Forreign Subjection, were abrogated and ordered to be razed out of their Books.

"That no Monk should go out of the precinct, nor any woman enter within it, without leave from the King or the Visitor, and that there should be no entry to it, but one.

"Some Rules were given about their Meals, and a Chapter of the Old or New Testament was ordered to be read at every one, The Abbots Table was to be served with common Meats, and nor with delicate and strange Dishes; and either he, or one of the Seniors, were to be always there to entertain strangers.

Some other Rules follow about the distribution of their Alms, their accommodation in Health and Sickness. One or two of every House, was to be kept at the University; that when they were well instructed, they might come and teach others: And every day, there was to be a Lecture of Divinity for a whole hour: The Brethren must all be well employed."
The Abbot or Head was every day to explain some part of the Rule, and apply it according to Christ's Law; and to shew them, that their Ceremonies were but Elements, introductory to true Christianity; and that Religion consisted not in Habits, or in such like Rites, but in channels of Heart, pureness of Living, unseigned Faith, Brotherly Charity, and true honouring of God in Spirit and Truth: That therefore they must not rest in their Ceremonies, but ascend by them to true Religion.

Other Rules are added about the Revenues of the House, and against Waftes, and that none be entred into their Houfe, nor admitted under twenty four years of Age.

Every Priest in the Houfe was to fay Mass daily; and in it, to pray for the King and Queen.

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

But before I give an account of this Vifitation, I presume it will not be ingrateful to the Reader, to offer him some short view of the Rise and Progress of Monaffeck Orders in England, and of the State they were in at this time. What the Ancient Britifh Monks were, or by what Rule they were Governed; whether it was from the Eastern Churches, that this Conftitution was brought into Britain, and was either fuited to the Rule of St. Anthony, St. Pachom, or St. Basil; or whether they had it from France, where Sulphitus tells us, St. Martin set up Monafferies, must be left to conjecture. But from the little that remains of them, we find they were very numerous, and were obedient to the Bifhop of Caerleem, as all the Monks of the Primitive times were to their Bifhops, according to the Canons of the Council of Chaledon.

But upon the confufions which the Gothick Wars brought into Italy, Benedict and others set up Religious Houfes; and more affiaf al Rules and Methods were found out for their Government. Not long after that, Auffins the Monk came into England; and having Baptized Ethelbert, he perfuaded him to Found a Monaffery at Canterbury, which the King, by his Charter, exempted from the Jurifdiction of the Arch-bifhop and his Succifors. This was not only done by Auffins content, but he by another Writing confirms this Foundation; and exempted both the Monaffery and all the Churches belonging to it, from his, or his Succifors Jurifdictions; and most earneffly conjures his Succifors, never to give any trouble to the Monks, who were only to be Subject to their own Abbots. And this was granted, that they might have no disturbance in the Service of God. But (whether this, with many other Ancient Foundations, were not latter Forgeries, which I vehemently fufept, I leave to Critics to difeufs) the next Exemption, that I find, was granted in the year 629, to the Abby of Peterborough, by Pope Agatha, and was Signed by Theodore, Arch-bifhop of Canterbury, called the Popes Legate (this I doubt was Forged afterwards.) In the year 725. King Ina's Charter to the Abbey of Glaflenbury, relates to their Ancient Charters, and exempts them from the Bifhops Jurifdiction. King Offa Founded, and exempted the Monaffery of St. Albin,
in the year 793, which Pope Honorius the 3d. Confirmed, Anno 1218, Kenulph King of Mercia founded and exempted Alkington, in the year 821. Knut founded and exempted St. Edmundsbury in the year 1020.

About the end of the Eighth Century, the Danes began to make their descents into England, and made everywhere great depredations; and finding the Monks had possessed themselves, of the greatest part of the Riches of the Nation, they made their most frequent inroads upon these places where they knew the Riches spoil was to be found. And they did so want and ruin these Houses, that they were generally abandon'd by the Monks, who as they loved the eafe and wealth they had enjoyed formerly in their Houses, so had no mind to expose themselves, to the perfections of those heathenish Invaders. But when they had defeated their Seats, the Secular Clergy came and possessed them; so that in King Edwards time, there was scarce a Monk in all England. He was a most doitfulle and lewd Prince, but being persuaded by Dunstan and other Monks, that what he did towards the restorring of that decayed State, would be a matter of great Merit, became the great Promoter of the Monastic State in England; For he converted most of the Chapters into Monasteries; and by his Foundation of the Priory of Woreseler, it appears, he had then founded no fewer than Forty Seven, which he intended to encerafe to Fity, the number of Pardon. Yet in his Foundations, he only exempted the Monasteries, from all Actions or dues, which the Bishops claim'd. There are exemptions of several rates and sizes: Some Houses were only Exempted from all Actions; others from all Jurisdiction or Visitations; others had only an Exemption for their precinct; others for all the Churches that belonged to them. Edward the Confessor exempted many of these Houses, which Edgar had founded, as Ramsey &c. He also founded and Exempted Coventry and Westminster, and the Exemption of the last, was likewise confirmed by Pope Nicholas, in a Bull to King Edward. William the Conqueror Founded and Exempted the Abbey of Battle from all Episcopal Jurisdiction.

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

All the Ancient Foundations were subcribed by the King, the Queen, and Prince, with many Bishops and Abbots, and Dukes and Earls conenting. The Abbeys being Exempted from all Jurisdiction, both Civil and Spiritual, and from all Impolitons; and having generally the Privilege of Sanctuary for all that fled to them, were at eafe, and accountable to none, so they might do what they pleased. They found also means to enrich themselves, First by the belief of Purgatory. For they perswaded all people, that the Souls departed.
went generally thither; few were to Holy, as to go straight to Heaven; and few to bad, as to be cast to Hell. Then people were made believe, that the faying of Masses for their Souls, gave them great relief in their Torments, and did at length deliver them out of them. This being generally received, it was thought by all a piece of piety to their Parents, and of necessary care for themselves, and their families, to give some part of their Estates towards the enriching of these Houses, for having a Mass said every day for the Souls of their Ancestors, and for their own, after their death. And this did spread, that if some Laws had not restrained their profaneness, the greater part of all the Estates in England, had been given to those Houses. But the Statutes of Mortmain were not very effecual restraints; for what King soever had refused to grant a Mortmain, was sure to have an uneafie reign ever after.

Yet this did not satisfy the Monks, but they fell upon other contrivances, to get the best of all mens Jewels, Plate, and Furniture. For they persuaded them, that the protection and intercession of Saints, were of mighty use to them; so that whatsoever respect they put on the Shrines and Images, but chiefly on the Relicks of Saints, they would find their account in it, and the Saints would take it kindly at their hands, and intercede the more earnestly for them. And people who saw Courtiers much wrought on by presents, imagined the Saints were of the same temper; only with this difference, that Courtiers love to have Presents put in their own hands, but the Saints were satisfied, if they were given to others. And as in the Courts of Princes, the new Favourite commonly had greatest credit, so every new Saint was believed to have a greater force in his Address; and therefore every body was to run to their Shrines, and make great Presents to them. This being infused into the credulous Multitude, they brought the richest things they had, to the places where the bodies or Relicks of those Saints were laid. Some Images were also believed, to have a peculiar Excellency in them; and Pilgrimages and Presents to these, were much magnified. But to quicken all this, the Monks found the means, either by dreams and visions, or strange Miraculous stories, to feed the devotion of the people. Relicks without number, were every-where discovered; and most wonderful relations of the Martyrdom, and other miracles of the Saints, were made and read in all places to the people; and new Improvements were daily made in a Trade, that through the craft of the Monks, and the simplicity of the people, brought in great advantages. And though there was enough got to enrich them all, yet there was strange rivalling, not only among the several Orders, but the Houses of the same Order. The Monks, especially, of Glassburn, St. Albans, and St. Edmondsbury, vied one with another, who could tell the most extravagant stories, for the honour of their House, and of the Relicks in it.

The Monks in these Houses abounding in wealth, and living at ease and in idlenefs, did so degenerate, that from the Twelfth Century downward, their reputation abated much; and the Privileges of Sanctuaries, were a general Grievance, and oft complained of in Parliament: For they received all that fled to them, which put a great stop to Justice, and did encourage the most criminal offenders. They became
became lewd and dissolute, and so impudent in it, that some of their farms were let, for bringing in a yearly tribute to their Lords: nor did they keep Hospitality and relieve the poor; but rather encouraged Vagabonds and Beggars, against whom Laws were made, both in Edward the 3d, King Henry the 7th, and this Kings Reign.

But from the Twelfth Century, the orders of Begging Friers were set up, and they by the appearance of Severity and Mortification, gained great esteem. At first they would have nothing, no real estates, but the ground on which their House stood. But afterwards distinctions were found, for satisfying their Consciences in larger Possessions. They were not so idle and lazy as the Monks, but were about and Preached, and heard Confessions, and carried about Indulgences, with many other pretty little things, Agnus Dei’s, Rosaries, and Pebbles, which they made the World believe, had great virtue in them. And they had the esteem of the people, wholly engrossed to themselves. They were also more formidable to Princes, than the Monks, because they were poorer, and by consequence, more hardy and bold. There was also a firmer union of their whole Order, they having a General at Rome, and being divided into many Provinces, subject to their Provincialis. They had likewise the School-Learning wholly in their hands, and were great Preachers, so that many things concurred, to raise their esteem with the people very high, yet great Complaints lay against them, for they went more abroad than the Monks did, and were believed guilty of Corrupting Families. The Scandals that went on them, upon their relaxing the primitive strictness of their Orders, were a little rectified by some Reforms of these Orders. But that lasted not long; for they became liable to much Censure, and many visitations had been made, but to little purpose. This Concurring with their secret practices against the King, both in the matter of his Divorce and Supremacy, made him more willing to examine the truth of these reports; that if they were found guilty of such scandals, they might lose their credit with the people, and occasions be ministr’d to the King, to justify the Suppression of them.

There were also the other Motives, that enclined the King to this Council. The one was, that he apprehended a War from the Emperor, who was then the only Prince in the World, that had any considerable force at Sea; having both great Fleets in the Indies, and being Prince of the Netherlands, where the greatest trade of these parts was driven. Therefore the King judged it necessary to fortify his Ports, and seeing the great advantages of Trade, which began then to rise much, was resolved to encourage it: For which end he intended to build many Havens and Harbors. This was a matter of great charge, and as his own revenue could not defray it, so he had no mind to lay heavy Taxes on his Subjects, therefore the Suppression of Monasteries, was thought, the easiest way of raising Money.

He also intended to erect many more Bishopricks, to which Cranmer advised him much, that the vauntness of some Dioceses, being reduced to a narrower compass, Bishops might better discharge their duties, and oversee their Flocks, according to the Scriptures and the Primitive Rules.
But Cranmer did on another reason, press the Suppression of Monasteries. He found that their Foundations, and whole State, was inconsistent with a full and true Reformation. For among the things to be reformed, were these Abuses, which were essential to their Constitution; such as the Belief of Purgatory, of Redeeming Souls by Masses, the worship of Saints and Images, and Pilgrimages, and the like. And therefore those Societies, whose interest it was to oppose the Reformation, were once to be suppressed: and then he hoped, upon new Endowments and Foundations, new Houses should have been erected at every Cathedral, to be Nurseries for that whole Diocese; which he thought would be more suitable, to the primitive use of Monasteries, and more profitable to the Church. This was his Scheme, as will afterwards appear; which was in some measure effected, though not so fully as he projected, for Reasons to be told in their proper place.

There had been a Bull sent from Rome, for dissolving some Monasteries, and Erecting Bilh NOP I Eavies out of them, as was related in the former Book, in the year 1532. And it seems it was upon that Authority, that in the year 1533, the Priory of Christ Church near Aldgate in London, was dissolved, and given to the Lord Chancellor Sir Thomas Audley; (not to make him speak thriller for his Matter in the Houfe of Commons, as Fuller mistakes it; for he had been Lord Chancellor a year before this was given him.) The Popes Authority not being at that time put down, nor the Kings Supremacy set up, I conjecture it was done, pursuant to the Bull for the Dissolution of some Religious Houses; but I never saw the Dissolution, and so can only guess, on what ground it was made. But in the Parliament held the former year, in which the Kings grant of that Houfe, to the Lord Chancellor was confirmed, it is said "in the Preamble, That the Priory and Convent, had resigned that House to the King the 24th. of February 23d. Regni. and had left their House; but no mention is made, upon what Reason they did it.

But now I come to Consider, how the Visitors carried on their Visitations. Many severe things are said of their Proceedings, nor is it any wonder, that men who had traded fo long in lies, as the Monks had done; should load those whom they esteemed the Instruments of their Ruin, with many Calumnies. By their Letters to Cromwell it appears, that in most Houses, they found Monstrous disorders. That many fell down on their knees, and prayed they might be discharged, since they had been forced to make vows against their wills; with these the Visitors dispensed, and set them at liberty. They found great Factions in the Houses, and Barbarous Cruelties exercised by one Faction, against another, as either of them prevailed. In many places, when they gave them the Kings injunctions, many cried out, that the severity of them was intolerable, and they desired rather to be suppressed, than so reformed. They were all extremely addicted to Idolatry and Superstition. In some they found the instruments, and other tools for multiplying and coying.

But for the Lewdnes of the Confessors of Nunneries, and the great Corruption of that State, whole Houses being found almost all with Child; for the dissoluteness of Abbots and the other Monks and Friars,
ars, not only with whores, but Married Women; and for their unnatural Lusts and other brutal practices; these are not fit to be spoken of, much less enlarged on, in a work of this Nature. The full report of this Visitacion is lost, yet I have seen an Extract of a part of it, concerning 143 Houses, that contains Abominations in it, equal to any that were in Sodom.

One passage that is more remarkable, I shall only set down; because upon it followed the first Refignation of any Religious House, that I could ever find. Doctor Leighton beset the Abbot of Langleyn House, and broke open his door of a sudden, and found his whore with him; and in the Abbots Coffer, there was an habit for her, for she went for a young Brother. Whether the blame of this discovery, or any other consideration prevailed with him, I know not; but on the 13th of November, he, and Ten Monks Signed a Refignation, which hath an odd kind of Preamble, to be found in the Collection. "It fayes, that the Revenue of the Houfe, was fo much endamaged, and engaged in fo much debt, that they Conferdering this, and what remedies might be found for it, faw, that except the King, of whole Foundation the Houfe was, did speedily relieve them, it must be very quickly ruined, both as to its Spiritual and Temporal concerns; therefore they surrender up their Houfe to the King. They were of the Order of Premonfry, and their Houfe was dedicated, to the honor of the Blessed Virgin, and St. Thomas Becket. This precedent was followed, by the like surrender, with the same Preamble, on the 15th of November, by the Prior of Folkton a Benedictin, and on the 16th, by the Prior of Dover, with Eight Monks. These were all of them in the County of Kent. But neither among the Original Surrrenders, nor in the Clause Rolls, are there any other Deeds, in this year of our Lord, there are indeed in the same year of the King, (which runs till April 1536.) four other Surrrenders, with the same Preambles. Of Merton in Yorkfhire, a Covent of Augustinians, signed by the Prior and Five Monks, the 9th of February, of Bilington in Kent, Signed by the Prior and Two Monks, the 21st of February, of Tilty in Essex, a Covent of Ciffercians, Signed by the Prior and Five Monks, and of Hornby in Yorkfhire, a Covent of the Premonfry, Signed by the Prior and Two Monks the 23d of March. These were all the Surrrenders, that I can discover to have been made, before the Act of Parliament, for suppressing the leffer Monafteries, paffed in the next Seffion that was assembled in February.

But before that, the afflicted and unfortunate Queen Katharine died, at Kimbolton; She had been much disquieted, because she would not lay down her Title of Queen. Many of her servants were put from her, on that account; but she would accept of no Service, from any that did not use her as a Queen, and call her so. The King sent oft to her, to persuade her, to more Complyance. But she stood her ground, and said, since the Pope had judged her Marriage good, she would lose her life, before she did any thing in prejudice of it. She became more cheerful, than she had wont to be; and the Country people came much to her; whom she received, and used very Obligingly. The King had a mind she should go to Fotheringhay-Cafile.
But when it was proposed to her, she plainly said, she would never go thither, unless she were carried as a Prisoner, bound with Ropes. She desired leave to come nearer London; but that was not granted. She had the jointure that was aligned her, as Princess Dowager; and was treated with the respect due to that Dignity, but all the Women about her, still called her Queen. I do not find she had any thoughts of going out of England; though her Life in it was but Melancholy. Yet her care to support her Daughters Title, made her bear all the Disgraces, she lay under. The Olficious and practicing Clergy, that were for the Court of Rome, look'd on her as the Head of their Party, and ascertained her Intrest much. Yet she was so watch'd, that she could not hold any great Correspondence with them; though in the matter of the Maid of Kent, she had some Medling.

When the fickn'd, she made her Will; and appointed her Body to be bury'd, in a Convent of Observant Friers, (who had done and suffered most for her;) and Ordered Five Hundred Maffes to be paid for her Soul; and that one should go a Pilgrimage, to our Lady of Walingham, and give Two Hundred Nobles by the way to the poor. Some other small Legacies, she left to her Servants. When the King heard she was sick, he sent a kind Message to her; and the Emperors Ambaffador went to see her, and to cheer her up, but when the fount her fickness like to prove Mortal; she made one about her; write a Letter in her name, to the King. In the Title she call'd him, 'Her dear Lord,' King and Husband. She advis'd him to look to the health of his Soul. She forgave him, all the Troubles he had caft her into. She recommended their Daughter Mary to him, and de- fired he would be a Loving Father to her. She also desir'd, that he would provide Matches for her Maids, who were but Three; and that he would give her Servants one years Wages, more than was due to them. And Concluded lastly, 'I make this Vow, That mine eyes desire you above all things.' By another Letter, she recommended her Daughter to the Emperors care. On the 8th of January she dy'd, in the Fiftyeth year of her Age, Thirty Three years after she came to England. She was a devout and pious Princefs, and led a severe and mortified Life. In her Greatness, she wrought much with her own hands, and kept her Women, well employed about her; as appeared, when the Two Legares came once to speak with her. She came out to them with a Skein of silk about her Neck, and told them, she had been within, at work with her Women. She was most passionately devoted, to the Interests of the Court of Rome, they being so interwoven with her own. And in a word, she is represented as a most wonderful good Woman. Only I find on many occasions, that the King complained much, of her uneasiness and peevishness. But whether the fault was in her humor, or in the provocations, she met with, the Reader may conjecture. The King received the news of her death, with some regret. But he would not give leave to bury her, as she had ordered; but made her body be laid in the Abbey Church of Peterborough, which he afterwards Converted to an Episcopal Cathedral. But Queen Anne did not carry her death so decently; for the express'd too much joy at it, both in her Carriage and drefs.

On the 4th of February the Parliament sate, upon a Prorogation of 14th. Months, (for in the Record there is no mention of any intermedial Prorogation,) where a great many Laws, relating to Civil concerns, were passed. By the 15th. Act, the Power that had been given by a former Act to the King, for naming thirty two Persons, to make a Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws, was again confirmed; for nothing had been done upon the former Act. But there was no limitation of time in this Act, and so there was nothing done in pursuance of it.

The great business of this Session of Parliament, was the suppressing the leffer Monasteries. How this went thorough the two Houfes, we cannot know from the Journals, for they are loft. But all the Historians of that time, tell us, that the report which the Visitors made to the King, was read in Parliament; which represented the manners of these Houses so odiously, that the Act was easily carried. The Preamble bears, "That small Religious Houses, under the number of twelve persons, had been long notoriously guilty of vicious and abominable Living; and did much consume and waste their Churches, Lands, and other things belonging to them; and that for above two hundred years, there had been many Visitations for reforming these Abuses, but with no Success; their vicious living increaseth daily: So that except small Houses were dissolved, and the Religious put into greater Monasteries, there could no Reformation be expected in that matter. Whereupon the King having received a ful information of these Abuses, both by his Visitors and other credible ways; and considering that there were divers great Monasteries, in which Religion was well kept and observed, which had not the full number in them, that they might and ought to receive, had made a full Declaration of the Premisses in Parliament. Whereupon it was Enacted, That all Houses which might spend yearly 200l. or within it, should be suppressed, and their Revenues converted to better uses, and they compelled to reform their Lives. The Lord Herbert thinks it strange, that the Statute in the printed Book, has no Preamble, but begins bluntly. Fuller tells us, that he wonders, that Lord did not see the Record; and he sets down the Preamble, and says, The rest follow as in the printed Statute, Chap. 27th. by a mistake for the 28th. This shews, that neither the one nor the other, ever look'd on the Record. For there is a particular Statute of Dissolution, distinct from the 28th. Chap. And the Preamble which Fuller sets down, belongs not to the 28th. Chapter, as he says, but to the 18th. Chapter, which was never printed: and the 28th. relates in the Preamble, to that other Statute, which had given these Monasteries to the King.

The reasons, that were pretended for dissolving these Houses, were: That whereas there was but a small number of persons in them, they entred into Conferderacies together, and their Poverty fet them on, to use many ill arts to grow Rich. They were also much abroad, and kept no manner of Discipline in their Houses. But those Houses were generally much richer, than they seemed to be: For the Abbots raising great Fines out of them, held the Leafs still low; and by that means they were not obliged to entertain a greater number in their House, and so enriched themselves and their Brethren by the Fines that were raised: For many Houses then rated at two hundred pounds, were
1536. were worth many thousands, as will appear to any that compares, what they were then valued at, (which is collected by Speed,) with what their estates are truly worth. When this was passing in Parliament, Stokely, Bishop of London, said, "These lesser Houses were as "Thorns soon pluck'd up, but the great Abbots were like putrid old "Oaks; yet they must needs follow, and so would others do in Chris"tendom, before many years were pasted.

By another Act, all these Houses, their Churches, Lands, and all their Goods were given to the King, and his Heirs and Successors, together with all other Houses which within a year before the making of the Act, had been dissolved or suppressed: And for the gathering the Revenues that belonged to them, a new Court was erected, called the Court of the Augmentations of the Kings Revenue; which was to consist of a Chancellor, a Treasurer, an Attorney and Solicitor, and ten Auditors, seventeen Receivers, a Clerk, and Ulster, and a Messenger. This Court was to bring in the Revenues of such Houses as were now dissolved, excepting only such as the King by his Letters-Patents, continued in their former state, appointing a Seal for the Court, with full Power and Authority to dispose of these Lands so as might be most for the King's Service.

Thus fell the lesser Abbeys, to the number of 376, and soon after, this Parliament, which had done the King such eminent Service, and had now six years, was dissolved, on the 14th of April.

In the Convocation, a motion was made of great consequence; That there should be a Translation of the Bible in English, to be set up in all the Churches of England. The Clergy, when they procured Tindall's Translation to be condemned, and suppressed it, gave out that they intended to make a Translation into the Vulgar-Tongue: Yet it was afterwards, upon a long Consultation, Resolved, that it was free for the Church to give the Bible in a Vulgar-Tongue, or not, as they pleased; and that the King was not obliged to it, and that at that time it was not at all expedient to do it. Upon which, those that promoted the Reformation, made great complaints, and said, it was visible, the Clergy knew there was an opposition between the Scriptures and their Doctrine. That they had first condemned Wickliff's Translation, and then Tindall's; and though they ought to teach men the Word of God, yet they did all they could to suppress it.

In the times of the Old Testament, the Scriptures were writ in the Vulgar-Tongue, and all were charged to read and remember the Law. The Apostles wrote in Greek, which was then the most common Language in the World. Christ did also appeal to the Scriptures, and sent the people to them. And by what St. Paul says of Timothy, it appears, that children were then early trained up in that Study. In the Primitive Church, as Nations were converted to the Faith, the Bible was translated into their Tongue. The Latin Translation was very Ancient; the Bible was afterwards put into the Scythian, Dalmatian and Gothick Tongues. It continued thus for several Ages, till the State of Monarchy rose; and then, when they engrossed the riches and the Popes assumed the Dominion of the World, it was not consistent with these Designs, nor with the Arts used to promote them, to let the Scriptures be much known: Therefore Legends and strange Stories of Visions,
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ons, with other devices, were thought more proper for keeping up their Credit, and carrying on their Ends,

It was now generally desired, that if there were just exceptions against what Tindal had done, these might be amended in a New Translation. This was a plausible thing, and wrought much on all that heard it; who plainly concluded, that those who denied the people the use of the Scriptures in their vulgar tongues, must needs know their own Doctrine and practices to be inconsistent with it. Upon these grounds Crammer, who was projecting the most effectual means for promoting a Reformation of Doctrine, moved in Convocation, that they should Petition the King for leave to make a Translation of the Bible. But Gardiner and all his party opposed it, both in Convocation, and in secret with the King. It was said, that all the Herecyes and extravagant Opinions, which were then in Germany, and from hence coming over to England, sprang from the free use of the Scriptures. And whereas in May the last year, Nineteen Hollanders were accused of some Heretical Opinions; denying 'Christ to be both God and man,' or that he took Flesh and Blood 'of the Virgin Mary,' or that the Sacraments had any effect on those that received them; in which opinions Fourteen of them remained Obstinate, and were burnt by pairs in several places; it was complained, that all those drew their Damnable errors from the indirect use of the Scriptures. And to offer the Bible in the English tongue to the whole Nation, during these distractions, would prove, as they pretended, the greatest Snare that could be. Therefore they proposed, that there should be a short exposition of the most useful and necessary Doctrines of the Christian Faith, given to the people in the English tongue, for the Instruction of the Nation, which would keep them in a certain Subjection to the King and the Church, in Matters of Faith.

The other party, though they liked well the publishing such a Treatise in the vulgar tongue, yet by no means thought that sufficient; but said, the people must be allowed to search the Scripture, by which they might be convinced that such Treatises were according to it. These Arguments prevailed with the Two Houses of Convocation. So they petitioned the King, that he would give order to some, to set about it. To this, great Opposition was made at Court. Some, on the one hand, told the King, that a diversity of opinions would arise out of it; and that he could no more Govern his Subjects, if he gave way to that. But on the other hand, it was represented, that nothing would make his Supremacy so acceptable to the Nation, and make the Pope more hateful, than to let them see, that whereas the Popes had Governed them by a blind obedience, and kept them in darkness, the King brought them into the light, and gave them the free use of the word of God. And nothing would more effectually extirpate the Popes Authority, and discover the Impostures of the Monks, than the Bible in English; in which all people would clearly discern, there was no Foundation for those things. These Arguments, joined with the Power that the Queen had in his affections, were so much considered by the King, that he gave order for setting about it immediately. To whom that work was commit-
But this was the last publick good Act of this unfortunate Queen; who, the nearer she drew to her end, grew more full of good works. She had distributed, in the last Nine Months of her Life, between Fourteen and Fifteen Thousand Pounds to the poor, and was designing great and publick good things. And by all appearance, if she had lived, the Money that was raised by the Suppression of Religious Houses, had been better employed than it was. In January, she brought forth a dead Son. This was thought to have made ill Impressions on the King: and that, as he concluded from the death of his Sons by the former Queen, that the Marriage was displeasing to God; so he might upon this misfortune, begin to make the like Judgment of this Marriage. Sure enough the Popish party were earnestly set against the Queen, looking on her as the great supporter of Herefie. And at that time, Fox then Bishop of Hereford was in Germany at Smalcald, treating a League with the Protestant Princes, who insisted, much on the Ausburg Confession. There were many Conferences between Fox and Doctor Barnes, and some others, with the Lutheran Divines, for accommodating the differences between them, and the thing was in a good forwardness. All which was imputed to the Queen. Gardiner was then Ambassador in France, and wrote earnestly to the King, to dissuade him from entering into any Religious League with these Princes: for that would alienate all the World from him, and dispose his own Subjects to Rebel. The King thought the German-Princes and Divines should have submitted all things to his Judgment, and had such an Opinion of his own Learning, and was so puffed up with the flattering praises that he daily heard, that he grew impatient of any opposition, and thought that his Dictates should pass for Oracles. And because the Germans would not receive them, his mind was alienated from them.

But the Duke of Norfolk at Court, and Gardiner beyond Sea, thought there might easily be found a mean to accommodate the King, both with the Emperor and the Pope, if the Queen were once out of the way; for then he might freely Marry any one whom he pleased, and that Marriage, with the Male Issue of it, could not be disputed: Whereas, as long as the Queen lived, her Marriage, as being judged Null from the beginning, could never be allowed by the Court of Rome, or any of that Party: with these reasons of State, others of affection concurred. The Queen had been his Wife Three years; but at this time he entertained a secret Love for Jane Seymour, who had all the charms both of Beauty and Youth in her person; and her humor was tempered, between the severe gravity of Queen Katharine, and the gay pleasunetue of Queen Ann. The Queen perceiving this Alienation of the Kings heart, used all possible Arts to recover that affection, of whose decay she was sadly sensible. But the Success was quite contrary to what she designed. For the King.
King saw her no more with those eyes, which she had formerly captivated; but grew jealous, and ascribed those carelessness to some other criminal affections, of which he began to suspect her. This being one of the most memorable passages of this reign, I was at more than ordinary pains to learn all I could concerning it, and have not only seen a great many Letters that were writ, by those that were set about the Queen, and catch every thing that fell from her, and sent it to Court, but have also seen an account of it, which the Learned Spelman, who was a Judge at that time, writ with his own hand in his Common-place Book, and another account of it writ by one Anthony Anthony a Surveyour of the Ordnance of the Tower From all which I shall give a just and faithful relation of it, without concealing the least circumstance, that may either seem favourable or unfavourable to her.

She was of a very cheerful temper, which was not always limited within the bounds of exact decency and deference. She had rallied one of the Kings Servants, more than became her. Her Brother, the Lord Rochford, was her Friend as well as Brother; but his spiteful Wife was jealous of him: and being a Woman of no sort of Vertue, (as will appear afterwards by her serving Queen Katherine Howard in her beastly practices, for which she was attainted and executed,) the carried many Stories to the King, or some about him, to persuade, that there was a familiarity between the Queen and her Brother, beyond what so near a Relation could justify. All that could be said for it, was only this; that he was once seen leaning upon her Bed, which bred great suspicion. Henry Norris, that was Groom of the Stole, Wefton, and Bretenon, that were of the Kings Privy-Chamber, and one Mark Smeton, a Musician, were all obsevered to have much of her favour. And their zeal in serving her, was thought too warm and diligent to flow from a less active Principle than Love. Many circumstances were brought to the King, which working upon his aversion to the Queen, together with his affection to Mistrefes Seinour, made him conclude her guilty. Yet somewhat which himself observed, or fancied, at a Tilting at Greenwicth, is believed to have given the Criis to her Ruin. It is said, that he spied her let her Handkerchief fall to one of her Gallants to wipe his face, being hot after a Court. Whether the dropt it carelessly, or of design; or whether there be any truth in that story, the Letters concerning her fall, making no mention of it, I cannot determine; for Spelman makes no mention of it, and gives a very different account of the discovery in these words. As for the evidence of this matter, it was discovered by the Lady Wingfield, who had been a Servant to the Queen, and becoming on a sudden infirm some time before her death, did swear this matter to one of her... and here unluckily the rest of the Page is torn off. By this it seems, there was no legal evidence against the Queen, and that it was but a Witness at second hand, who deposed what they heard the Lady Wingfield swear. Who this person was we know not, nor in what temper of mind the Lady Wingfield might be, when she swore it. The latest sort of forgery, to one whose Conscience can swallow it, is to lay a thing on a dead persons name, where there is no fear of discovery before the great day; and The Kings jealous of her.
when it was understood that the Queen had lost the Kings heart, many, either out of their zeal to Popery, or design to make their fortune, might be easily induced to carry a story of this Nature. And this it seems was that which was brought to the King at Greenwich, who did thereupon immediately return to Whitehall, it being the 11th of May. The Queen was immediately restrained to her Chamber, the other Five were also seiz'd on: But none of them would confess any thing, but Mark Smeton, as to any actual thing, so Cromwell wrt. Upon this they were carried to the Tower. The poor Queen was in a sad condition; she must not only fall under the Kings displeasure, but be both defam'd and destroy'd at once. At first she smiled and carried it cheerfully; and said, she believed the King did this only to prove her. But when she saw it was in earnest; she desired to have the Sacrament in her Closet, and expressed great devotion, and seemed to be prepared for death.

The surprize and confusion she was in, raised fits of the Mother, which tho' about her did not seem to understand: But Three or Four Letters, which were writ concerning her to Court, say, that she was at sometimes very devout, and cried much; and of a sudden would burst out in Laughter, which are evident signs of Vapours. When the heard that those who were accus'd with her, were sent to the Tower, she then concluded her self left; and said, she should be sent thither next; and talked idly, saying, "That if her Bishops were about the King, they would all speake for her. She also said, "That she would be a Saint in Heaven, for she had done many good deeds; and that there should be no Rain, but heavy judgments on the Land, for what they were now doing to her. Her Enemies had now gone too far, not to destroy her. Next day she was carried to the Tower, and some Lords, that met her on the River, declared to her what her Offences were. Upon which, she made deep Protestations of her Innocence, and begged leave to see the King; but that was not to be expected. When she was carried into the Tower, "She fell down on her knees, and prayed God to help her, as she was not guilty of the thing for which she was accus'd. That same day the King wrote to Crammer, to come to Lambeth; but ordered him not to come into his presence. Which was procured by the Queens Enemies, who took care, that one who had such credit with the King, should not come at him, till they had fully persuad'd him that she was guilty. Her Uncles Lady, the Lady Boleyn, was appointed to lie in the Chamber with her. Which she took very ill; for, upon what reason I know not, she had been in very ill terms with her. She engaged her into much discourse, and studied to draw Confessions from her. Whatsoever she said, was presently sent to the Court. And a Woman full of Vapours, was like enough to tell everything that was true, with a great deal more; for persons in that condition, not only have no command of themselves, but are apt to say anything that comes in their fancy. The Duke of Norfolk, and some of the Kings Council, were with her; but could draw nothing from her, though they made her believe, that Norris and Mark had accus'd her. But when they were gone, she fell down on her knees and wept, and prayed often, fere hove
have Mercy on me; and then fell a-laughing: when that fit was over, she desired to have the Sacrament still by her, that she might cry for Mercy. And she said to the Lieutenant of the Tower, she was as clear of the company of all men, as to sin, as she was clear from him; and that she was the Kings true wedded Wife. And she cried out, "O Norris, hate thou accused me? Thou art in the Tower " with me, and thou and I shall dye together; and Mark, so shall thou too. She apprehended they were to put her in a Dungeon; and falsely bemoaned her own, and her Mothers misery; and asked them, whether the must dye without Justice. But they told her, the poorest Subjects had Justice, much more would she have it. The same Letter says, that Norris had not accused her; and that he said her Almoner, that he could swear for her, she was a good Woman. But the being made believe that he had accused her, and not being then so free in her thoughts, as to consider that ordinary Artifice for drawing out Confessions, told all she knew, both of him and Mark. Which though it was not enough to destroy her, yet certainly wrought much on the jealous and alienated King. She told him, "that he once accused Norris, why he did not go on with his marriage? who answered her, that he would yet tarry some time. "To which she replied, you look for dead mens shoes; for if ought come to the King but good, you would look to have me. He answered, if he had any such thought, he would his head were cut off. Upon which, she said, she could undo him if she pleased, and thereupon she fell out with him. As for Mark, who was then laid in Irons, she said, he was never in her Chamber, but when the King was left at Winchester; and then he came in to play on the Virginals: she said, that "she never spoke to him after that, but on Saturday before May day, when she saw him standing in the Window, "and then she asked him, why he was so sad; he said, it was no matter: she answered, you may not look to have me speak to you, "as if you were a Nobleman, since you are an inferior person. No, "no, Madam, said he, a Look sufficeth me. She seemed more apprehehensive of Wofon, than of any body. For on Whitson-Munday left he said to her, "that Norris came more to her Chamber upon her account, than for any body else that was there. She had observed, "that he loved a Kinfwoman of hers, and challenged him for it, and "for not loving his Wife. But he answered her, that there were Wo- "men in the House, whom he loved better than them both; he asked who is that; your self said he; upon which, she said, she de- fied him.

This Misery of the Queens, drew after it the common effects that follow persons under such a disgrace, for now all the Court was against her, and every one was courting the rising Queen. But Cran- mer had not learned these Arts, and had a better Soul in him, than to be capable of such baseness and ingratitude. He had been much obliged by her, and had conceived an high opinion of her, and so could not easily receive ill impressions of her; yet he knew the Kings temper, and that a down-right Justification of her would provoke him: therefore he wrote the following Letter, on the 3d of May, with all the sofness that so tender a point required; in which he justi-
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"Pleaseth it your most Noble Grace, to be advertized, that at your Graces Commandment by Mr. Secretary his Letters, written in your Grace's name, I came to Lambeth yesterday, and do there remain to know your Graces further pleasure. And forfomuch as without your Graces Commandment, I dare not, contrary to the Contents of the said Letters, presume to come unto your Graces Presence; nevertheless of my most bounden duty, I can do no less than most humbly to desire your Grace, by your great Wisdom, and by the Assistance of Gods help, somewhat to suppress the deep forrows of your Graces heart, and to take all Adversities of Gods hands both patiently and thankfully. I cannot deny, but your Grace hath great causes many ways of lamentable heavines: and also that in the wrongful estimation of the World, your Graces honour of every part is so highly touched (whether the things that commonly be spoken of, be true or not,) that I remember not that ever Almighty God bent unto your Grace, any like occasion to try your Graces constancy throughout, whether your Highness can be content to take off Gods hand, as well things displeasant, as pleasant. And if he find in your most Noble heart such an Obedience unto his Will, that your Grace, without murmuration and o- vermuch heavines, do accept all adversities, not less thanking him, than when all things succed after your Graces Will and Pleasure, nor les procure his Glory and Honour; then I suppose your Grace did never thing more acceptable unto him, since your first Governance of this your Realm. And moreover, your Grace shall give unto him occasion to multiply and encrease his Graces and benefits unto your Highness, as he did unto his most faithful Servant Job; unto whom, after his great Calamities and heaviness, for his obedient heart, and willing acceptance of Gods scourge and rod, Addidit ei Dominus cumfa duplicia. And if it be true, that is openly reported of the Queens Grace, if men had a right estimation of things, they should not esteem any part of your Graces Honour to be touched thereby, but her Honour only to be clearly disparaged. And I am in such a perplexity, that my mind is clean amazed. For I never had better opinion in Woman, than I had in her; which maketh me to think, that she should not be culpable. And again, I think your Highness would not have gone so far, except she had surely been culpable. Now I think that your Grace best knoweth, that next unto your Grace, I was most bound unto her of all creatures living. Wherefore I most Humbly beseech your Grace, to suffer me in that, which both Gods Law, Nature, and also her kindnes, bindeth me unto; that is, that I may with your Graces favour wish and pray for her, that she may declare her self inculpable and innocent. And if she be found culpable, considering your Graces Goodness towards her, and from what condition your Grace of your only meere goodnesse took her, and that
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"the Crown upon her head; I repute him not your Graces faith-
ful Servant and Subject, nor true unto the Realm, that would not
desire the offence without mercy to be punished, to the example
of all other. And as I loved her not a little, for the Love which
I judged her to bear towards God and his Gofpel; so if she be prov-
ced culpable, there is not one that loveth God and his Gofpel,
that ever will favour her, but must hate her above all other; and
the more they favour the Gofpel, the more they will hate her:
For then there was never creature in our time that so much flan-
dered the Gofpel. And God hath sent her this punishment, for
that she feignedly hath professed his Gofpel in her mouth, and
not in heart and deed. And though she have offended so, that
the hath deserved never to be reconciled unto your Graces favour;
yet Almighty God hath manifoldly declared his goodness towards
your Grace, and never offended you. But your Grace, I am sure,
knowledge that you have offended him. Wherefore I trust that
your Grace will bear no less entire favour unto the truth of the
Gofpel, than you did before: Forfomuch as your Graces favour to
the Gofpel, was not led by affection unto her, but by zeal unto the
truth. And thus I befeech Almighty God, whose Gofpel he hath
ordained your Grace to be Defender of, ever to preserve your Grace
from all evil, and give you at the end, the promise of his Gofpel.
"From Lambeth, the 3d day of May.

"After I had written this Letter unto your Grace, my Lord Chan-
cellor, my Lord of Oxford, my Lord of Suffolk, and my Lord Cham-
berlain of your Graces Houfe, sent for me to come unto the Star-
Chamber; and there declared unto me such things as your Graces
pleasure was they should make me privy unto. For the which I
am most bounden unto your Grace. And what Communication
we had together, I doubt not but they will make the true report
thereof unto your Grace. I am exceedingly sorry, that such faults
"can be proved by the Queen, as I heard of their relation. But I
"am, and ever shall be, Your faithful Subject,

Your Graces most
humble Subject,
and Chaplain.

T. Cantuariensis.

But Jealoufie, and the Kings new affection, had quite defaced all
the remainders of eftem for his late beloved Queen. Yet the Mini-
sters continued praftising, to get further evidence for the Tryal;
which was not brought on, till the 12th of May; and then Norru,
Wellon, Breton, and Smetón, were tryed by a Commiffion of Oyer
and Terminer in Wellminfter-Hall. They were twice indicted, and the
indictments were found by two Grand Juries, in the Counties of Kent
and Middlefex: The Crimes with which they were charged, being
said
said to be done in both those Counties. \textit{Mark Smeton} confessed, he had known the Queen Carnally Three times: The other Three pleaded not Guilty, but the Jury upon the evidence formerly mentioned, found them all Guilty; and Judgment was given, that they should be drawn to the place of Execution, and some of them to be hanged, others to be beheaded, and all to be quartered, as Guilty of high Treason. On the 15th of May, the Queen and her Brother the Lord Rockford (who was a Peer, having been made a Vicount when his Father was Created Earl of Wiltshire) were brought to be Tried by their Peers: The Duke of Norfolk being Lord high Steward for that occasion. With him sat the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquis of Exeter, the Earl of Arundel, and Twenty Five more Peers, of whom their Father the Earl of Wiltshire was one. Whether this unnatural compliance was imposed on him by the Imperious King, or officiously submitted to by himself, that he might thereby be preferred from the Ruin that fell on his Family, is not known. Here the Queen of England by an unheard-of president was brought to the Bar, and Indicted of high Treason. The Crimes charged on her were, That she had procured her Brother and the other Four to lie with her, which they had done often; that she had said to them, that the King never had her heart, and had said to every one of them by themselves, that she loved them better than any person whatsoever. Which was to the slander of the issue that was begotten between the King and her. And this was Treason, according to the Statute made in the 26th year of this Reign (so that the Law that was made for her and the issue of her Marriage, is now made use of to destroy her.) It was also added in the indictment, that she, and her complices, had conspired the King's death; but this it seems was only put in to swell the charge, for if there had been any evidence for it, there was no need of stretching the other Statute, or if they could have proved the violating of the Queen, the known Statute of the Twenty Fifth year of the Reign of Edward the Third had been sufficient. When the Indictment was read, she held up her hand, and Plead not Guilty, and so did her Brother, and did answer the evidence was brought against her directly. One thing is remarkable that \textit{Mark Smeton}, who was the only person that confessed any thing, was never confronted with the Queen, nor was kept to be an evidence against her, for he had received his Sentence Three days before, and so could be no witness in Law: but perhaps, though he was wrought on to confess, yet they did not think he had confidence enough to aver it to the Queens face; therefore the evidence they brought, as \textit{Spelman} says, was the Oath of a Woman that was dead, yet this, or rather the Terror of offending the King, so wrought on the Lords, that they found her and her Brother Guilty: and Judgment was given, that she should be Burnt, or Beheaded at the King's pleasure. Upon which \textit{Spelman} observes, that whereas Burning is the death which the Law appoints for a Woman that is attainted of Treason, yet since she had been Queen of England, they left it to the King to determine, whether she should dye so infamous a death, or be Beheaded; but the Judges complained of this way of proceeding, and said, such a disjunctive in a Judgment of Treason, had never been seen. The Lord Rockford was also Condemned.
ed to be Beheaded and Quartered. Yet all this did not satisfy the
enraged King, but the Marriage between him and her must be annu-
led, and the issue illegitimated. The King remembered an Intrigue
that had been between her and the Earl of Northumberland, which
was mentioned in the former Book; and that he then Lord Piercy
he said to the Cardinal, 'That he had gone so far before witnesses,
that it lay upon his Conscience, so that he could not go back: this
it's like might be some promise he made to Marry her, per verba de
futuro, which though it was no Precontract in it self, yet it seems
the poor Queen was either so ignorant or so ill-advised, as to be perfwaded
afterwards it was one, though it's certain that nothing, but a Contract
per verba de praesenti, could be of any force to annul the subsequent
Marriage. The King and his Council, reflecting upon what it seems
the Cardinal had told him, resolved to try what could be made of
it, and pressed the Earl of Northumberland to confer a Contract
between him and her. But he took his Oath before the Two Arch-
Bishops, that there was no Contract, nor promise of Marriage ever
between them, and received the Sacrament upon it, before the Duke
of Norfolk, and others of the Kings Privy Council; wishing it might
be to his Damnation, if there was any such thing, (concerning which I
have seen the Original Declaration under his own hand.) Nor could
they draw any Confession from the Queen, before the Sentence, for cer-
tainly if they could have done that, the Divorce had gone before
the Tryal; and then she must have been tried only, as Marchioness
of Pembroke. But now the lying under so terrible a Sentence, it is
most probable, that either some hopes of Life were given her; or
at least, she was wrought on by the Assurances of mitigating that
cruel part of her judgment, of Being Burnt, into the milder part of
the Sentence, of Having her head cut off; so that she confessed
a Pre-contract, and on the 17th of May was brought to Lambeth;
and in Court, the afflicted Arch-Bishop sitting Judge, some persons
of Quality being present, she confessed some just and lawful impe-
diments; by which it was evident, that her Marriage with the King
was not valid. Upon which Confession, her Marriage between the
King and her was judged to have been null and void. The Record
of the Sentence is burnt; but these particulars are repeated in the Act
that passed in the next Parliament, touching the Succession to the
Crown. It seems this was secretly done, for Spelman writes of it thus;
It was said, there was a Divorce made between the King and her,
upon her confessing a Precontract with another before her Marriage
with the King: so that it was then only talk of, but not generally
known.

The two Sentences that were past upon the Queen, the one of At-
tainder for Adultery, the other of Divorce because of a Precontract,
did so contradict one another, that it was apparent, one, if not both
of them must be unjust; for if the Marriage between the King
and her was null from the beginning, then since she was not the Kings
wedded Wife, there could be no Adultery: and her Marriage to the King
was either a true Marriage, or not; if it was true, then the annulling
of it was unjust, and if it was no true Marriage, then the Attainder
was unjust; for there could be no breach of that Faith which was nev
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Her Preparation for Death.

Sir, These should be to advertise you, I have received your Letter, wherein you would have strangers conveyed out of the Tower, and so they be by the means of Richard Greffam, and William Cooke, and Wytspoel. But the number of strangers past not thirty, and not many of those Armed; and the Ambassador of the Emperor had a Servant there, and honestly put out: Sir, If we have not an hour certain, as it may be known in London, I think here will be but few, and I think a reasonable number were best, for I suppose she will declare her self to be a good woman, for all men but for the King, at the hour of her death. For this morning she sent for me, that I might be with her at such time as she received the Good Lord, to the intent I should hear her speak as touching her Innocency alway to be clear. And in the writing of this, she sent for me, and at my coming she said: Mr. Kingdon I hear say I shall not die aforesoon, and I am very sorry therefore, for I thought to be dead by this time, and pass my pain. I told her, it should be no pain, it was to fettle. And then she said, I heard say the Executioner was very good, and I have a little Neck, and
Capite plexa. Ano 1536. May 19.
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and put per hands about it, laughing heartily. I have seen many men, and also women, Executed; and that they have been in great sorrow, and to my knowledge this Lady has much joy and pleasure in death. Sir, her Almoner is continually with her, and had been since two a Clock after midnight. This is the effect of any thing that is here at this time, and thus Fare you well,

Tours,

William Kingston.

A little before Noon, being the 10th of May, she was brought to the Scaffold, where she made a short Speech to a great company that came to look on that Scene of this fatal Tragedy: The chief of whom, were the Dukes of Suffolk and Richmond, the Lord Chancellor, and Secretary Cromwell, with the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs and Aldermen of London. She said, She was come to die, as she was judge

ed by the Law; she would accuse none, nor lay any thing of the ground upon which she was judged. She prayed heartily for the King; and called him a most merciful and gentle Prince, and that he had been always to her, a good, gentle, Sovereign Lord: and if any would meddle with her cause, she required them to judge the belt. And so she took her leave of them, and of the world; and heartily desired they would pray for her. After she had been some time in her devotions, her last words being, To Christ I commend my Soul; her Head was cut off by the Hangman of Calais, who was brought over as more expert at Beheading than any in England: her Eyes and Lips were observed to move after her Head was cut off, as Spelman writes; but her Body was thrown into a common Chest of Elm-tree that was made to put Arrows in, and was buried in the Chappel within the Tower before twelve a Clock.

Her Brother with the other four did also suffer; none of them were Quartered, but they were all Beheaded, except Smeton, who was Hanged. It was generally said, that he was corrupted into that Confes-

sion, and had his Life promised him; but it was not fit to let him live to tell Tales. Norris had been much in the Kings favour, and an offer was made him of his life, if he would confess his guilt, and accuse the Queen. But he generously rejected that un-handform proposition, and said, That in his Conscience he thought her Innocent of these things laid to her charge; but whether she was or not, he would not accuse her of any thing, and he would die a thousand times, rather than ruin an Innocent Perfon.

These proceedings occasioned as great variety of Cenfures, as there were diversity of Interests. The Popish Party said, the justice of God was visible, that she who had supplan ted Queen Katherine, met with the like, and harder measure, by the same means. Some took notice of her faint justifying her self on the Scaffold, as if her Conscience had then prevailed so far, that she could no longer deny a thing, for which she was so soon to answer at another Tribunal. But others thought her care of her Daughter made her speak so tenderly; for

The several Cenfures that were then passed on those proceedings.
the had obser'd, that Queen Katherine's obstinacy had drawn the Kings indignation on her Daughter; and therefore that she alone might bear her misfortunes, and derive no share of them on her Daughter, she spake in a tone, that could give the King no just offence: And as she said enough to justify her self, so she said as much for the Kings honour, as could be expected. Yet in a Letter that the wrote to the King from the Tower, (which will be found in the Collection,) she pleaded her Innocence, in a strain of so much Wit, and moving pas- sionate Eloquence, as perhaps can scarce be parallel'd: certainly her spirits were much excited when she wrote it, for it is a pitch above her ordinary style. Yet the Copy I take it from, lying among Cromwell's other papers, makes me believe it was truly written by her.

Her carriage seemed too free, and all people thought that some freedoms and levities in her had encouraged those unfortunate persons to speak such bold things to her, since few attempt upon the Chastity, or make declarations of Love, to persons of so exalted a quality, except they see some invitations, at least in their carriage. Others thought that a free and jovial temper might, with great Innocence, though with no discretion, lead one to all those things that were proved against her; and therefore they concluded her chait, though indifferent. Others blamed the King, and taxed his cruelty in proceeding so severely against a person whose Chastity he had reason to be affur'd of, since he had refir'd his addresses near five years, till he Legitimated them by Marriage. But others accused him. It is certain her carriage had given just cause of some jealousy, and that being the rage of a man, it was no wonder if a King of his temper, conceiving it against one whom he had so signal' oblig'd, was transported into unjustifiable excesses.

Others condemned Cranmer, as a man that obsequiously followed all the Kings appetites; and that he had now Divorced the King a second time, which shew'd that his Conscion was governed by the Kings pleasure as his supreme Law. But what he did was unavoidable. For whatever motives drew from her the Conscion of that Precontract, he was oblig'd to give Sentence upon it: and that which he confe- c'd, being such as made her incapable to contract Marriage with the King, he could not decline the giving of Sentence upon it formal a Conscion. Some loaded all that favour'd the Reformation: And said, It now appeared what a woman, their great Patroness and Sup- porter had been. But to those it was answer'd, That her faults, if true, being secret, could cast no reflection on those, who being igno- rant of them, made use of her Protection. And the Church of Rome thought not their Caufe suffered, by the enraged Cruelty and Ambi- tion, of the cursed Irenee, who had conven'd the second Council of Nice, and set up the worship of Images again in the East; whom the Popes continued to court and magnifie, after her barbarous murder of her Son, with other acts of unfatisfactor'd spirit and ambition. Therefore they had no rea'n to think the worse of persons for claiming the Protec- tion of a Queen, whose faults (if she was at all criminal,) were un- known to them when they made use of her.

Some have since that time concluded it a great evidence of her Guilt, that during her Daughters long and glorious Reign, there was no full nor compleat vindication of her published. For the Writers of that
that time thought it enough to speak honourably of her; and in general, to call her, Innocent, But none of them ever attempted a clear discourse of the particulars laid to her charge. This had been much to her Daughters honour, and therefore, since it was not done, others concluded it could not be done; and that their knowledge of her guilt restrained their Pens. But others do not at all allow of that Inference, and think rather, that it was the great wisdom of that time not to suffer such things to be called in question; since no wise Government will admit of a debate about the clearness of the Princes Title. For the very attempting to prove it weakens it more, than any of the proofs that are brought can confirm it; therefore it was prudently done of that Queen and her great Ministers, never to suffer any Vindication or Apology to be written. Some indifferences could not be denied, and these would all have been caught hold of, and improved by the idle Emphases of Rome and Spain.

But nothing did more evidently discover the secret cause of this Queen's ruin, than the Kings Marrying Jane Seymour; the day after her Execution. She of all King Henry's Wives, gained most on his esteem and affection: But she was happy in one thing, that she did not out-live his love; otherwise she might have fallen as signally as her Predecessor had done. Upon this turn of Affairs a great change of Counsels followed.

There was nothing now, that kept the Emperor and the King at a distance, but the Illegitimation of the Lady Mary, and if that matter had been adjusted, the King was in no more hazard of trouble from him: Therefore it was proposed, that she might be again restored to the Kings favour. She found this was the best opportunity she could ever look for, and therefore laid hold on it, and wrote an humble Submission to the King, and desired again to be admitted to his presence. But her Submissions had some receivers in them, therefore she was pressed to be more express in her acknowledgments. At this she stuck long, and had almost embroyled her self again with her Father. She freely offered to submit to the Laws of the Land about the Succession, and confessed the fault of her former Obstinacy. But the King would have her acknowledge, that his Marriage to her Mother was incestuous and unlawful; and to renounce the Popes Authority, and to accept him, as Suprem Head of the Church of England. These things were of hard digestion with her, and she could not easily swallow them; so she wrote to Cromwell, to befriend her at the Kings hands. Upon which many Letters past between them. He wrote to her, that it was impossible to recover her Fathers favour, without a full and clear Submission in all points. So in the end the yielded, and sent the following Paper, all written with her own hand, which is set down, as it was Copied from the Original yet extant.

'The Confession of me the Lady Mary, made upon certain points and Articles under written; in the which, as I do now plainly, and with all mine heart, confess and declare mine inward Sentence, Belief, and Judgment, with a due conformity of Obedience to the Laws of the Realm; so minding for ever to persist and continue in
First, I confess and acknowledge the Kings Majesty, to be my Sovereign Lord and King in the Imperial Crown of this Realm of England; and do submit my self to his Highness, and to all and singular Laws and Statutes of this Realm, as becometh a true and faithful Subject to do; which I shall also obey, keep, observe, advance, and maintain, according to my bounden duty, with all the power, force, and qualities, that God hath endued me with, during my Life.

Item, I do recognize, accept, take, repute, and acknowledge, the Kings Highness to be Supreme Head in Earth under Christ, of the Church of England; and do utterly refuse the Bishop of Rome's pretended Authority, Power, and Jurisdiction within this Realm hereof usurped, according to the Laws and Statutes made in that behalf, and of all the Kings true Subjects humbly received, admitted, obeyed, kept, and observed; and also do utterly renounce and forfake all manner of Remedy, Interest and advantage, which I may by any means claim by the Bishop of Rome's Laws, Process, Jurisdiction, or Sentence, at this present time, or in any wise hereafter, by any manner of title, colour, mean, or cafe, that is, shall, or can be devised for that purpose.

Mary.

Item, I do freely, frankly, and for the Discharge of my duty towards God, the Kings Highness, and his Laws, without other respect, recognize and acknowledge, that the Marriage heretofore had between his Majesty, and my Mother the late Princess Dowager, was by Gods Law, and Mans Law, incestuous and unlawful.

Mary.

Upon this she was again received into favour. One circumstance I shall add, that shows the frugality of that time. In the Establishment that was made for her Family, there was only 40 l. a quarter assigned for her privy purse. I have seen a Letter of hers to Cromwell, at the Christmast-quarter, desiring him to let the King know, that she must be at some Extraordinary expense that season, that so he might encrease her allowance, since the 40 l. would not defray the Charge of that quarter.

For the Lady Elizabeth, though the King devoluted her of the Title of Princess of Wales, yet he continued ill to breed her up in the Court, with all the care and tenderness of a Father. And the new
new Queen, what from the sweetness of her disposition, and what out of compliance with the King, who loved her much, was as kind to her, as if she had been her Mother. Of which I shall add one pretty evidence, though the childishness of it may be thought below the Gravity of a History: Yet by it the Reader will see, both the kindness that the King and Queen had for her, and that they allowed her to subscribe, Daughter. There are two Original Letters of hers yet remaining, writ to the Queen when she was with Child of King Edward: the one in Italian, the other in English; both writ in a fair hand, the same that she wrote all the rest of her life. But the conceits in that writ in English, are so pretty, that it will not be unaccountable to the Reader, to see this first blossom of so great a Prince's, when she was not full Four years of Age; She being born in September 1533. and this writ in July 1537.

'Although your Highness Letters be most joyful to me in absence, yet considering what pain it is to you to write, your Grace being so great with Child, and so sickly, your Commendation were enough in my Lords Letter. I much rejoice at your health, with the well liking of the Countrey; with my humble thanks that your Grace wished me that you till I were weary of that Countrey. Your Highnesses were like to be comforted, if I should not depart till I were weary being with you: although it were in the worst foil in the World, your presence would make it pleasant. I cannot reprove my Lord for not doing your Commendations in his Letter, for he did it; and although he had not, yet I will not complain on him, for that shall be diligent to give me knowledge from time to time, how his base child doth; and if I were at his birth, no doubt I would see him beaten, for the trouble he has put you to. Mr. Denny, and my Lady, with humble thanks prayeth most entirely for your Grace, prayeth the Almighty God to send you a most happy deliverance. And my Mistrel wisheth no less, giving your Highness most humble thanks for her commendations. Writ with very little leisure, this last day of July.

Your Humble Daughter,

Elizabeth.

But to proceed to more serious matters. A Parliament was Summoned to meet the 8th of June. If full Forty days be necessary for a Summons, then the Writs must have been issued forth the day before the late Queen's disgrace; so that it was designed before the Juffs at Greenwich, and did not flow from any thing that then appeared. When the Parliament met, the Lord Chancellor Audley, in his speech, told them, That when the former Parliament was dissolved, the King had no thoughts of Summoning a new one so soon. But for two reasons, he had now called them. The one was, that he finding himself subject to so many infirmities, and considering that he was Mortal, (a rare thought in a Prince) he desired
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1536. To settle an apparent heir to the Crown, in case he should die without Children lawfully begotten. The other was, to repeal an Act of the former Parliament, concerning the Succession of the Crown, to the issue of the King by Queen Ann Boleyn. He desired them to reflect on the great troubles and vexation the King was involved in, by his first unlawful marriage, and the dangers he was in by his second; which might well have frightened any body from a third marriage. But Ann, and her confpirators, being put to death, as they well deserved; the King at the humble request of the Nobility, and not out of any Carnal concupiscence, was pleased to marry again, a Queen, by whom there were very probable hopes of his having children: Therefore he recommended to them, to provide an heir to the Crown by the Kings direction, who if the King dyed without children lawfully begotten, might Rule over them. He desired they would pray God earnestly, that he would grant the King issue of his own body; and return thanks to Almighty God that preferred such a King to them out of so many eminent dangers, who employed all his care and endeavours, that he might keep his whole people in quieter, peace, and perfect charity, and leave them so to those that should succeed him.

But though this was the chief cause of calling the Parliament, it seems the Ministers met with great difficulties, and therefore spent much time, in preparing mens minds. For the Bill about the Succession to the Crown, was not brought into the House of Lords before the 30th day of June, that the Lord Chancellor offered it to the House. It went through both Houses without any Opposition. It contained first, a repeal of the former Act of Succession, and a Confirmation of the two Sentences of Divorce, the issue of both the Kings former Marriages being declared illegitimate, and for ever excluded from claiming the inheritance of the Crown, as the Kings Lawful heirs by lineal descent. The Attainder of Queen Ann and her Complices is confirmed. Queen Ann is said, to have been inflamed with pride, and Carnal desires of her body; and, having confederated her self with her complices, to have committed divers Treasons, to the danger of the Kings Royal person; (with other aggravating words,) for which she had justly suffered death, and is now attained by Act of Parliament. And all things that had been said or done against her, or her Daughter, being contrary to an Act of Parliament then in force, and pardoned; and the inheritance of the Crown is established, on the issue of Queen Jane, whether Male or Female, or the Kings issue by any other Wife whom he might Marry afterwards.

But since it was not fit to declare, to whom the Succession of the Crown belonged after the Kings death left the person, so designed, might be thereby enabled to raise trouble and Comotions; therefore they considering the Kings wife and excellent Government, and confiding in the love and affection which he bore to his Subjects, did give him full Power to declare the Succession to the Crown, either by his Letters Patents under the great Seal, or by his last will, Signed with his hand; and promised all faithful obedience to the persons named by him. And if any, so designed to
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'to succeed in default of others, they should endeavor to usurp upon those before them, or to exclude them, they are declared Traytors, and were to forfeit all the Right they might thereafter claim to the Crown. And if any should maintain the Lawfulness of the former Marriages, or that the issue by them was legitimate, or refused to swear to the Kings issue by Queen Jane, they were also declared Traytors.

By this Act it may appear how absolutely this King Reigned in England. Many question'd much the validity of it, and, as shall afterwards appear,) the Scots said, that the Succession to the Crown was not within the Parliaments Power to determine about it, but must go by inheritance to their King, in default of issue by this King. Yet by this, the King was enabled to settle the Crown on his Children whom he had now declared Illegitimate, by which he brought them more absolutely to depend upon himself. He neither made them desperate, nor gave them any further Right, than what they were to derive purely from his own good pleasure. This did also much pacifie the Emperor, since his Kinswoman was, though not restored in blood, yet put in a capacity to succeed to the Crown.

At this time there came a new Proposition from Rome, to try if the King would accommodate matters with the Pope. Pope Clement the Seventh dyed two years before this, in the year 1534; and Cardinal Fane succeeded him, called Pope Paul the Third. He had before this made one unsuccessful attempt upon the King; but, upon the heading of the Bishop (and declared Cardinal) of Rochester, he had Thundered a most terrible Sentence of Deposition against the King, and designed to commit the Execution of it to the Emperor: Yet now, when Queen Katharine and Queen Ann, who were the occasions of the rupture, were both out of the way, he thought it was a proper conjuncture, to try if a Reconciliation could be effected. This he proposed to Sir Gregory Caffali, who was no more the Kings Ambaflador at Rome, but was still his Correspondent there. The Pope desired he would move the King in it, and let him know that he had ever favoured his Cause in the former Popes time, and though he was forced to give out a Sentence against him, yet he had never any intention to proceed upon it to further Extremities.

But the King was now so entirely alienated from the Court of Rome, that to cut off all hopes of reconciliation, he procured two Acts to be passed in this Parliament. The one was for the utter extinguishing the Authority of the Bishop of Rome. It was brought into the House of Lords on the 4th of July: And was read the first time the 5th, and the second time on the 6th of July, and lay at the Committee till the 12th. And on the 14th, it was sent down to the Commons; who, if there be no mistake in the Journal, sent it up that same day: They certainly made great haste, for the Parliament was dissolved within Four days.

The Preamble of this first Act contains severe Reflections on the Bishop of Rome, (whom some called the Pope,) who had long darkened Gods word, that it might serve his Pomp, Glory, Avarice, Ambition, and Tyranny; both upon the Souls, Bodies, and Goods, of all Christians; excluding Christ out of the Rule of mans Soul, and Princes out of their Dominions: And had exacted in England
great Sums, by dreams, and vanities, and other Superstitious ways.  

Upon these reasons his Usurpations had been by Law put down in this Nation; yet many of his Emisaries were still practising up and down the Kingdom, and persuading people to acknowledge his pretended Authority. Therefore every person offending after the last of July next to come, was to incur the pains of a {promunire}; and all Officers, both Civil, and Ecclesiastical, were commanded to make enquiry about such offences, under several penalties.

On the 12th of July, a Bill was brought in, concerning Priviledges obtained from the See of Rome, and was read the First time. And on the 17th it was agreed to, and sent down to the Commons, who sent it up again the next day. It bears, that the Popes had, during their Usurpation, granted many Immunities to several Bodies and Societies in England, which upon that Grant had been now long in use: Therefore all these Bulls, Breves, and every thing depending on, or flowing from them, were declared void and of no force.

Yet all Marriages celebrated by virtue of them, that were not otherwise contrary to the Law of God, were declared good in Law; and all Consecrations of Bishops by virtue of them, were confirmed. And for the future, all who enjoyed any Priviledges by Bulls, were to bring them in to the Chancery, or to such persons as the King should appoint for that end. And the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury was lawfully to grant anew the effects contained in them, which Grant was to pass under the great Seal, and to be of full force in Law.

This struck at the Abbots Rights. But they were glad to bear a Diminution of their Greatness, so they might save the whole, which now lay at stake. By the Thirteenth Act, they corrected an Abuse which had come in, to evade the force of a Statute made in the Twenty First year of this King, about the Residence of all Ecclesiastical persons in their Livings. One qualification, that did excuse from Residence, was their staying at the University for the compleating of their Studies. Now it was found, that many dissolute Clergymen went and lived at the Universities, not for their Studies, but to be excused from serving their Cures. So it was Enacted, that none above the Age of Forty, that were not either Heads of Houses, or Publick Readers, should have any Exemption from their Residence, by virtue of that Clause in the former Act. And those under that Age should not have the Benefit of it, except they were present at the Lectures, and perform'd their Exercises in the Schools.

By another Act, there was Provision made against the prejudice the Kings Heirs might receive, before they were of Age, by Parliaments held in the Non-Age; That whatsoever Acts were made before they were Twenty Four years of Age, they might at any time of their lives after that, Repeal and Annul, by their Letters Patent, which should have equal force with a Repeal by Act of Parliament. From these Acts it appears, that the King was absolute Master, both of the affections and fears of his Subjects when in a new Parliament called on a sudden, and in a Session of six weeks, from the 8th of June, to the 18th of July, Acts of this Importance were past without any Protest or publick Opposition.
But having now opened the business of the Parliament, as it relates to the State, I must next give an account of the Convocation, which sat at this time, and was very bise, as appears by the Journal of the House of Lords, in which this is given for a reason of many Adjournments, because the Spiritual Lords were bise in the Convocation. It sat down on the 9th of June, according to Fuller's Extract, it being the Custom of all this Reign, for that Court to meet two or three days after the Parliament. Hither Cromwell came as the Kings Vicar-General: But he was not yet Vice-Gerent. For he sat next the Arch-Bishop; but when he had that Dignity he sat above him. Nor do I find him Stiled in any Writing Vice-Gerent for some time after this; though the Lord Herbert says, he was made Vice-Gerent the 18th of July this year, the same day in which the Parliament was Dissolved.

Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, preached the Latin Sermon, on these words. The Children of this World are wiser in their Generation, than the Children of Light. He was the most Celebrated Preacher of that time. The simplicity and plainness of his matter, with a serious and fervent Affect that accompanied it, being preferred to more learned and elaborate Compilures. On the 21st of June, Cromwell moved, that they would Confirm the Sentence of the Invalidity of the Kings Marriage with Queen Ann, which was accordingly done by both Houses of Convocation. But certainly Fuller was asleep when he wrote; That Ten days before that, the Arch-Bishop had passed the Sentence of Divorce, on the day before the Queen was beheaded. Whereas if he had considered this more fully, he must have seen that the Queen was put to death a Month before this, and was Divorced two days before she dyed. Yet, with this animadversion, I must give him my thanks for his pains in copying out of the Journals of Convocation many remarkable things, which had been otherwise irrecoverably lost.

On the 23d of June, the lower House of Convocation sent to the upper House a Collection of many opinions, that were then in the Realm; which, as they thought, were abuses, and errors, worthy of special Reformation. But they began this Representation with a Protestation: 'That they intended not to do, or speake any thing, which might be unpleasant to the King; whom they acknowledg'd their Supream Head, and were resolved to obey his Commands, renouncing the Popes usurp'd Authority, with all his Laws and Inventions, now extinguih'd and abolisht, and did addisht themselves to Almighty God, and his Laws, and unto the King and the Laws made within this Kingdom.

There are Sixty Seven opinions fet down, and are either the Tenets of the Old Lollards, or the New Reformers, together with the Anabaptists opinions. Besides all which, they complained of many unfavor and indiscreet expressions, which were either feign'd on design to disgrace the New Preachers, or were perhaps the extravagant Reflections of some illiterate and injudicious persons; who are apt upon all occasions, by their heat and folly, rather to prejudice, than advance their party; and affect some petulant jeers, which they think witty, and are perhaps well entertained by some others, who though they
are more judicious themselves, yet imagining that such jefts on the contrary opinions will take with the people, do give them too much Encouragement. Many of these jefts about Confession, praying to Saints, Holy Water, and the other Ceremonies of the Church, were complained of. And the last Articles contained sharp reflexions on some of the Bishops, as if they had been wanting in their Duty to suppress such things. This was clearly levelled at Cranmer, Latimer, and Shaxton, who were noted as the great Promoters of these opinions. The first did it prudently and boldly. The second zealously and firmly. And the third with much indiscreet pride and vanity. But now that the Queen was gone, who had either raised or supported them, their Enemies hoped to have advantages against them, and to lay the growth of these opinions to their charge. But this whole Project failed, and Cranmer had as much of the Kings favour as ever; for in stead of that which they had projected, Cromwell, by the Kings order, coming to the Convocation, Declared to them, that it was the Kings pleasure, that the Rights and Ceremonies of the Church, should be Reformed by the Rules of Scripture, and that nothing was to be maintained which did not rest on that Authority, for it was absurd, since that was acknowledged to contain the Laws of Religion, that recourse should rather be had to Glosses, or the decrees of Popes, than to these. There was at that time one Alexander Aisfe, a Scotch-man, much esteemed for his Learning and Piety, whom Cranmer entertained at Lambeth. Him Cromwell brought with him to the Convocation, and desire him to deliver his opinion about the Sacraments. He enlarged himself much to Convince them, that only Baptism and the Lords Supper were Instituted by Christ.

Stokesley Bishop of London anfwered him in a long Discourse, in which he shewed he was better acquainted with the Learning of the Schools, and the Canon-Law, than with the Gospel; He was Seconded by the Arch-Bishop of York, and others of that Party.

But Cranmer in a long and learned Speech, shewed how useles these niceties of the Schools were, and of how little Authority they ought to be; and discoursed largly of the Authority of the Scriptures, of the use of the Sacraments, of the uncertainty of Tradition, and of the Corruption which the Monks and Friars had brought into the Christian Doctrine. He was vigorously seconded by the Bishop of Hereford, who told them, the world would be no longer deceived with such Sophisticated stuff as the Clergy had formerly vented: The Laity were now in all Nations studying the Scriptures, and that, not only in the vulgar Translations, but in the original Tongues; and therefore it was a vain imagination to think they would be any longer govern'd by those arts which in the former Ages of Ignorance had been so effectual. Not many days after this, there were several Articles brought in to the upper House of Convocation, devised by the King himself, about which there were great debates among them. The two Arch-Bishops, heading two Parties, Cranmer was for a reformation, and with him joyned Thomas Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, Shaxton, of Sarum, Latimer, of Worcester, Fox, of Hereford, Hiljey, of Rochester, and Barlow, of St. Davids.

But Lee, Arch-Bishop of York, was a known favourer of the Popes Interests; which, as it first appeared in his scrupling so much, with the
the whole Convocation of York, the acknowledging the King to be Supreme Head of the Church of England; so he had since discovered it on all occasions, in which he durst do it without the fear of losing the Kings favour: So he, and Stokesley, Bishop of London, Tylwall, of Durham, Gardiner, of Winchester, Longland, of Lincoln, Sherburn of Chichester, Nix, of Norwich, and Kite, of Carlisle, had been still against all changes. But the King discovered, that those did in their hearts love the Papal Authority, though Gardiner dissembled it most artificially. Sherburn, Bishop of Chichester upon what inducement I cannot understand, resigned his Bishopsrick, which was given to Richard Sampson, Dean of the Chappel; a Penfion of 400 l. being referred to Sherburn for his Life, which was confirmed by an Act of this Parliament. Nix, of Norwich, had also offended the King signally, by some correspondence with Rome, and was kept long in the Marshalsea, and was convicted and found in a Premonire: The King considering his great Age, had upon his humble submission discharged him out of Prison, and pardoned him. But de died the former year; though Fuller, in his flight way, makes him fit in this Convocation: For by the 17th Act of the last Parliament, it appears that the Bishoprick of Norwich being vacant, the King had recommended William Abbot of St. Bennets to it; but took into his own hands all the Lands and Manours of the Bishoprick, and gave the Bishop several of the Pries in Norfolk in exchange, which was confirmed in Parliament.

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

First, All Bishops and Preachers must instruct the people to believe the whole Bible, and the three Creeds, that made by the Apocryphal, the Nicene, and the Athanassian; and interpret all things according to them, and in the very same words, and condemn all Heresies contrary to them, particularly those condemned by the first four general Councils. Articles agreed on about Religion.

Secondly, Of Baptism the people must be instructed; That it is a Sacrament instituted by Christ, for the Remission of sins, without which none could attain Everlasting Life: And that, not only those of full Age, but Infants, may, and must be Baptized, for the pardon of Original sin, and obtaining the gift of the Holy Ghost, by which they became the Sons of God. That none Baptized, ought to be Baptized again. That the opinions of the Anabaptists and Pelagians, were detestable Heresies: And that those of ripe Age, who desired Baptism, must with it joyn Repentance and Contrition for their sins, with a firm Belief of the Articles of the Faith.

Thirdly, Concerning Penance, they were to instruct the people, that it was instituted by Christ, and was absolutely necessary to Salvation. That it consisted of Contrition, Confession and Amendment of Life; with exterior works of Charity, which were the worthy Fruits of Penance. For Contrition, it was an inward shame and sorrow for sin, because it is an offence of God, which provokes his displeasure. To this must be joyned, a faith of the mercy and goodness of God, whereby the penitent must hope, that God will forgive him, and repute him justified, and of the number of his Elect Children, not for the worthiness of any merit or work done by him, but for...
for the only Merits of the Blood and passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ. That this Faith is got and confirmed, by the Application of the Promises of the Gospel, and the use of the Sacraments:

And for that end, Confession to a Priest is necessary, if it may be had, whose Absolution was instituted by Christ, to apply the promises of Gods Grace to the penitent: Therefore the people were to be taught, that the Absolution is spoken by an Authority given by Christ in the Gospel to the Priest, and must be believed; as if it were spoken by God himself, according to our Saviours words; and therefore none were to condemn auricular Confession, but use it for the comfort of their Consciences. The people were also to be instructed, that though God pardoned sin, only for the satisfaction of Christ: yet they must bring forth the Fruits of Penance, Prayer, Fastings, Almsdeeds, with restitution and satisfaction for wrongs done to others, with other works of Mercy and Charity, and Obedience to Gods Commandments, else they could not be saved; and that by doing these, they should both obtain Everlasting Life, and mitigation of their Afflictions in this present life, according to the Scriptures.

Fifthly, As touching the Sacrament of the Altar, people were to be instructed, that under the Forms of Bread and Wine, there was truly and substantially given, the very same Body of Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary; and therefore it was to be received with all Reverence, every one duly Examining himself, according to the words of St. Paul.

Fifthly, The people were to be instructed, That Justification signifies Remission of sins, and acceptance into the favour of God; that is to say, a perfect Renovation in Christ. To the attaining which, they were to have, Contrition, Faith, Charity, which were both to concur in it, and follow it; and that the good works necessary to Salvation, were not only outward Civil works, but the inward motions and graces of Gods Holy Spirit, to dread, fear, and love him, to have firm confidence in God, to call upon him, and to have patience in all adversities, to hate sin, and have purposes and wills not to sin again; with such other motions and virtues, concerning and agreeable to the Law of God.

The other Articles were about the Ceremonies of the Church.

First, of Images. The people were to be instructed, That the use of them was warranted by the Scriptures, and that they served to represent to them good Examples, and to stir up Devotion; and therefore it was meet that they should stand in the Churches. But that the people might not fall into such Superstition as it was thought they had done in time past, they were to be taught, to reform such Abuses, lest Idolatry might ensue, and that in cenosing, kneeling, offering, or worshipping them, the people were to be instructed, not to do it to the Image, but to God and his honour.

Secondly, For the honouring of Saints, they were not to think to attain these things at their hands, which were only obtained of God, but that they were to honour them, as persons now in glory, to praise God for them, and imitate their virtues, and not fear to die for the Truth, as many of them had done.

Thirdly, For praying to Saints, The people were to be taught, that
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that it was good to pray to them, to pray for, and with us. And to correct all Superstitious Abuses in this matter, they were to keep the days appointed by the Church for their Memories, unless the King should lessen the number of them, which if he did, it was to be obeyed.

Fourthly, Of Ceremonies. The people were to be taught, that they were not to be condemned and cast away, but to be kept as good and laudable, having mystical significations in them, and being useful to lift up our minds to God. Such were the Vellments in the worship of God: The sprinkling holy-water to put us in mind of our Baptism and the Blood of Christ: Giving holy Bread, in sign of our Union in Christ, and to remember us of the Sacrament: Bearing Candles on Candlemas-day, in remembrance, that Christ was the spiritual Light: Giving Alms on Ash-wednes-day, to put us in mind of Penance, and of our Mortality. Bearing Palms on Palm-sunday, to show our desire to receive Christ in our hearts, as he entred into Jerusalem: Creeping to the Cross on Good-friday, and kissing it, in memory of his death, with the setting up the Sepulchre on that day:

The Hallowing the Font, and other Exorcisms and Benedictions.

And lastly, As to Purgatory, They were to declare it good and charitable to pray for the Souls departed, which was said to have continued in the Church from the beginning: And therefore the people were to be instructed, That it consisted well with the due order of Charity, to pray for them, and to make others pray for them, in Masses and Exequies, and to give Alms to them for that end. But since the place they were in, and the pains they suffered, were uncertain by the Scripture, we ought to remit them wholly to God's mercy: Therefore all these Abuses were to be put away, which, under the pretence of Purgatory, had been advanced, as if the Popes pardons did deliver Souls out of it, or Masses said in certain places, or before certain Images, had such efficiency: with other such-like Abuses.

These Articles being thus conceived, and in several places corrected, and tempered by the Kings own hand, were signed by Cromwell, and the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and seventeen other Bishops, forty Abots and Priors, and fifty Arch-Deacons and Proctors of the lower House of Convocation. Among whom, Polidor Virgilius and Peter Vannes, signed with the rest, as appears by the Original yet extant. They being tendered to the King, he confirmed them, and ordered them to be published with a Preface in his name. 'It is said in the Preface, that he, accounting it the chief part of his charge, that the Word and Commandments of God should be believed and observed, and to maintain unity and concord in opinion; and understanding, to his great regret, that there was great diversity of opinion arisen among his Subjects, both about Articles of Faith and Ceremonies, had in his own Person taken great pains and study about these things, and had ordered also the Bishops, and other Learned men of the Clergy, to examine them; who after long deliberation had concluded on the most special Points, which, the King thought, proceeded from a good, right, and true judgment, according to the Laws of God; these would also be profitable, for establishing unity in the Church of England: Therefore he had ordered them to be published, requiri
ring all to accept of them, praying God so to illuminate their hearts, that they might have no less zeal and love to unity and concord in reading them, than he had in making them to be devised, set forth, and published; which good acceptance should encourage him to take further pains for the future, as should be most for the honour of God, and the profit, and the quietness of his Subjects.

This being published, occasion'd great variety of Censures. Those that defired Reformation, were glad to see so great a step once made; and did not doubt, but this would make way for further Changes. They rejoiced to see the Scriptures, and the ancient Creeds, made the Standards of the Faith, without mentioning Tradition, or the Decrees of the Church. Then the Foundation of Christian Faith was truly flated, and the terms of the Covenant between God and man in Christ were rightly opened, without the niceties of the Schools of either side. Immediate worship of Images and Saints was also removed, and Purgatory was declared uncertain by the Scripture. These were great advantages to them, but the establishing the necessity of Auricular Confession, the Corporal presence in the Sacrament, the keeping up and doing reverence to Images, and the praying to Saints, did allay their joy, yet they still counted it a victory, to have things brought under debate, and to have some Grošier abuses taken away.

The other party were unspeakably troubled. Four Sacraments were passed over, which would encourage ill-affected people to neglect them. The gainful trade by the Belief of Purgatory was put down; for though it was said to be good to give Alms for praying for the dead, yet since both the dreadful Stories of the Miferies of Purgatory, and the Certainty of Redeeming Souls out of them by Malles, were made doubtful, the peoples Charity and bounty that way would soon abate. And in a word, the bringing matters under dispute, was a great Mortification to them, for all concluded, that this was but a Preamble to what they might expect afterwards.

When these things were seen beyond Sea, the Papal party made every-where great use of it, to show the Necessity of adhering to the Pope; since the King of England, though, when he broke off from his Obedience to the Apostolick See, he pretended, he would maintain the Catholick Faith entire, yet was now making great Changes in it. But others, that were more moderate, acknowledged that there was great temper and prudence in contriving these Articles. And it seems, the Emperor, and the more Learned Divines about him, both approved of the Precedent, and liked the particulars so well, that not many years after, the Emperor published a work not unlike this, called, The Interim; because it was to be in force in that Interim, till all things were more fully debated and determined by a General Council, which, in many particulars, agreed with these Articles. Yet some stricter persons cenfured this work much, as being a Political dawbing, in which, they said, there was more pains taken to gratifie persons, and serve particular ends, than to assure Truth in a free and un-biased way, such as became Divines. This was again excused, and it was said, that all things, could not be
be attained on a sudden: that some of the Bishops and Divines, who afterwards arrived at a clearer understanding of some matters, were not then so fully convinced about them, and so it was their ignorance, and not their Cowardice or Policy, that made them compliant in some things. Besides, it was said, that as our Savior did not reveal all things to his Disciples, till they were able to bear them; and as the Apostles did not of a sudden abolish all the Rites of Judaism, but for some time, to gain the Jews, complied with them, and went to the Temple, and offered Sacrifices: so the people were not to be over driven in this Change. The Clergy must be brought out of their ignorance by degrees, and then the people were to be better instructed; but to drive furiously, and do all at once, might have spoiled the whole design, and totally alienated those who were to be drawn on by degrees; it might have also much endangered the peace of the Nation, the people being much disposed by the practices of the Friers to rise in Arms: Therefore these slow steps were thought the surer and better method.

On the last day of the Convocation, there was another Writing brought in by Fox Bishop of Hereford, occasioned by the Summons for a General Council to sit at Mantua, to which the Pope had cited the King to appear. The King had made his appeal from the Pope to a General Council, but there was no reason to expect any Justice in an assembly so constituted, as this was like to be. Therefore it was thought fit to publish somewhat of the Reasons why the King could not submit his matter to the Decision of such a Council, as was then intended. And it was moved, that the Convocation should give their sense of it.

The Substance of their Answer, (which the Reader will find in the Collection,) was, 'That as nothing was better Instituted by the Ancient Fathers, for the Establishment of the Faith, the Extirpation of Heresies, the Healing of Schisms, and the Unity of the Christian Church, than General Councils, gathered in the Holy Ghost, duly called to an indifferent place; with other necessary requisites: So on the other hand nothing could produce more pithive effects, than a General Council called upon private malice, or Ambition, or other carnal respects; which Gregory Nazianzen so well observed in this time, that he thought all Assemblies of Bishops were to be eschewed, for he never saw good come of any of them, and they had encreased, rather than healed the distempers of the Church. For the appetite of vain-glory, and a contentious humor bore down reason: Therefore they thought Christian Princes ought to employ all their endeavours to prevent so great a mischief. And it was to be considered, First, who had Authority to call one. Secondly, If the Reasons for calling one were weighty. Thirdly, who should be the Judges. Fourthly, what should be the manner of Proceeding. Fifthly, what things should be treated of in it. And as to the first of these, they thought neither the Pope, nor any one Prince of what dignity ever, had Authority to call one, without the Consent of all other Christian Princes: especially such as had entire and supreme Government over all their Subjects. This was Signed on the 20th of July, by Cromwell, and the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, with
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with 14 Bishops, and 30 Abbots, Priors, and Clerks, of the Convocation of Canterbury. Whether this and the former Articles were also Signed by the Convocation of the Province of York, does not appear by any Record, but that I think is not to be doubted. This being obtained, the King published a long and sharp Protestation against the Council now Summoned to Mantua. In which he shews, that the Pope had no power to call one; for it was done by the Emperors of old; so it pertained to Christian Princes now. That the Pope had no Jurisdiction in England, and so could Summon none of this Nation to come to any such meeting. That the place was neither safe nor proper: That nothing could be done in a Council to any purpose, if the Pope late Judge in chief in it, since one of the true ends, why a Council was to be desired, was to reduce his Power within its old limits. A free General Council was that which he much desired; but he was sure this could not be such: and the present distractions of Christendom, and the Wars between the Emperor and the French King, shewed this was no proper time for one. The Pope who had long refused or delayed to call one, did now choose this Conjuncture of affairs, knowing that few would come to it, and so they might carry things as they pleased.

But the World was now awake; the Scriptures were again in mens hands, and people would not be so tamely couzined as they had been. Then he shews how unsafe it was, for any English man to go to Mantua, how little regard was to be had to the Popes late Conduct, they having so oft broken their Oaths and Promises. He also shews how little reason he had to trust himself to the Pope, how kind he had been to that See formerly, and how basely they had requited it: And that now these Three years past, they had been stirring up all Christian Princes against him, and using all possible means to create him trouble. Therefore he declared, he would not go to any Council called by the Bishop of Rome; but when their was a General peace among Christian Princes, he would most gladly hearken to the motion of a true General Council: and the mea-while, he would preserve all the Articles of the Faith in his Kingdom, and sooner lose his Life and his Crown, than suffer any of them to be put down. And so he protected against any Council to be held at Mantua, or any where else, by the Bishop of Rome's Authority: That he would not acknowledg it, nor receive any of their Decrees.

At this time Reginald Pole, who was of the Royal Blood, being by his Mother descended from the Duke of Clarence, Brother to King Edward the Fourth, and in the same degree of kindred with the King by his Fathers side, was in great esteem for his Learning, and other Excellent virtues. It seems the King had determined to breed him up to the greatest dignity in the Church; and to make him as Eminent in Learning, and other acquired parts, as he was for Quality, and a Natural Sweetness and Nobleness of temper. Therefore the King had given him the Deanery of Excester, with several other dignities, towards his maintenance beyond Sea; and sent him to Paris, where he stayed several years: There he first incurred the Kings displeasure. For, being desired by him to concur with his Agents,
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gents, in procuring the Subscriptions and Seals of the French Universitie-, he executed himself; yet it was in such terms, that he did not openly declare himself against the King: After that, he came over to England, and as he writes himself, was present when the Clergy made their Submission, and acknowledged the King Supremum Head: In which, since he was then Dean of Exeter, and kept his Deanship several years after that, it is not to be doubted, but that, as he was by his place obliged to sit in the Convocation, so he concurred with the rest in making that Submission. From thence he went to Padua, where he lived long, and was received into the Friendship and Society of some celebrated persons, who gave themselves much to the Study of Eloquence and of the Roman Authors. These were Centareno, Bembo, Caraffa, Sadoletti, with a great many more, that became afterwards well known over the World: But all those gave Pool the Preeminence, and that justly too, for he was accounted one of the most Eloquent men of his time.

The King called him oft home to assist him in his affairs, but he still declined it; at length finding delays could prevail no longer, he wrote the King word, that he did not approve of what he had done, neither in the matter of his Divorce, nor his separation from the Apostolick See. To this the King anwered, defining his reasons why he disagreed from him, and sent him over a Book which Doctor Sampson had writ in defence of the Proceedings in England. Upon which he wrote his Book De antiquae Ecclesiae. Missa, and sent it over to the King; and soon after Printed it this year. In which Book he condemned the Kings Actions, and pressed him to return to the obedience he owed the See of Rome, with many sharp reflections; but the Book was more considered for the Author, and the Wit and Eloquence of it, than for any great Learning, or deep reasoning in it. He did also very much depress the Royal, and exalt the Papal Authority: He compared the King to Nebuchadnezzar, and addressed himself in the Conclusion to the Emperor, whom he conjured to turn his Arms rather against the King than the Turk. And indeed the indecencies of his expressions against the King, not to mention the scurrilous Language he beflows on Sampson, whose Book he undertakes to answer, are such, that it appears how much the Italian Air had changed him; and that his Converfe at Padua had for some time delaced that generous temper of mind, which was otherwise so natural to him.

Upon this, the King desired him at first to come over, and explain some passages in his Book: But when he could not thus draw him into his toyes, he proceeded severely against him, and defeved him of all his Dignities; but these were plentifully made up to him by the Popes bounty, and the Emperors. He was afterwards rewarded with a Cardinals hat, but he did not rise above the degree of a Deacon. Some believe that the Spring of this opposition he made to the King was a secret affection he had for the Lady Mary. The publishing of this Book, made the King set the Bishops on work to write Vindications of his Actions: which Stokeley and Townhal did in a long and Learned Letter, that they wrote to Pool. And Gardiner published his Book of true obedience: To which Bonner, who was hot on the
the scent of preferment, added a preface. But the King designd sharp
or tools for J'ool's punishment: Yet an Attainder in ableness was all he
could do against him: but. But his Family and kindred felt the weight
of the Kings displeasure very sensibly.

But now I must give an account of the dissolution of the Mona-
steries, pursuant to the Act of Parliament, though I cannot fix the ex-
act time in which it was done. I have seen the Original Instructions
with the Commission, given to those who were to visit the Mona-
steries in and about Bristol. All the rest were of the same kind:
They bear date the 28th of April, after the Session of Parliament was
over; and the report was to be made in the Octaves of St. Mich-
el the Arch-Angel. But I am inclined to think that the great con-
cussion and disorder things were in by the Queens death, made the
Commissioners unwilling to proceed in so invidious a matter, till
they saw the issue of the new-Parliament. Therefore I have delay-
ed giving any account of the proceedings in that matter till this place.
The Instructions will be found in the Collection. The Substance of
them was as follows.

The Auditors of the Court of Augmentations, were the persons
that were employed. Four, or any Three of them, were Commissi-
ioned to execute the Instructions in every particular Visitation. One
Auditor, or Receiver, and one of the Clerks of the former Visita-
tion, were to call for Three different persons in the County, who
were also named by the King. They were to signify to every
House the Statute of Dissolution, and shew them their Commission.
Then they were to put the Governor, or any other officer of the Houfe,
to declare upon Oath the true State of it: And to require him
speedily to appear before the Court of Augmentations, and in the
mean time not to meddle with any thing belonging to the Houfe.
Then to examine how many Religious persons were in the Houfe,
and what lives they led; how many of them were Priests, how ma-
y of them would go to other Religious Houses, and how many of
them would take Capacities and go into the World. They were to
estimate the State and Fabrick of the Houfe, and the number of
the Servants they kept: and to call for the Covent-Seal, and Writ-
ings, and put them in some sure place, and take an inventory of all
their Plate, and their Moveable goods, and to know the value of all,
that before the 1st of March last belonged to the Houfe, and what
debts they owed. They were to put the Covent-Seal, with the
Jewels and Plate in safe keeping, and to leave the rest (an Inven-
tory being first taken) in the Governors hands, to be kept by them
till further Order. And the Governors were to meddle with none
of the Rents of the Houfe, except for necessary Sustenance, till
they were another way dispossed of. They were to try what Leaf-
cs and Deeds had been made for a whole year before the 4th of
February last. Such as would still live in Monasteries, were to be
recommended to some of the great Monasteries that lay next: and
such as would live in the world, must come to the Arch-Bishop of
Canterbury, or the Lord Chancellor, to receive Capacities. (From
which it appears that Cromwell was not at this time Lord Vice-ge-
rent; for he granted these Capacities when he was in that Power.)

And
And the Commissioners were to give them a reasonable allowance for their Journey, according to the distance they lived at. The Governor was to be sent to the Court of Augmentations, who were to assign him a yearly pension for his Life.

What Report those Commissioners made, or how they obeyed their Instructions, we know not; for the Account of it is razed out of the Records. The Writers that lived near that time represent the matter very odiously, and say; about ten Thousand persons were set to seek for their Livings; only Forty Shillings in Money, and a Crown, being given to every Religious man. The Rents of them all, rose to about Thirty Two Thousand Pound: And the Goods, Plate, Jewels, and other moveables, were valued at an Hundred Thousand Pound: And it is generally said, and not improbably, that the Commissioners were as careful to enrich themselves, as to encrease the Kings Revenue. The Churches and Cloysters were for the most part pulled down; and the Lead, Bells and other Materials were sold; and this must needs have raised great discontents every-where.

The Religious persons that were undone, went about complaining of the Sacrilege and Injustice of the Suppression; That what the piety of their Ancestors had dedicated to God and his Saints, was now invaded and converted to secular ends. They said, the Kings severity fell first upon some particular persons of their Orders, who were found delinquent; but now, upon the pretended miscarriages of some Individual persons, to proceed against their Houses, and suppress them, was an unheard-of practice. The Nobility, and Gentry, whose Ancestors had founded or enriched these Houses, and who provided for their younger Children, or empowered Friends, by putting them into these Sanctuaries, complained much of the prejudice they sustained by it. The people, that had been well entertained at the Abbeys Tables, were sensible of their loss: for generally, as they Travelled over the Country, the Abbeys were their Stages, and were Houfes of Reception to Travellers and Strangers. The Devout few of people of their persuasion, thought their friends must now lie in Purgatory without relief, except they were at the charge to keep a Priest, who should daily say Mass for their Souls. The poor, that fed on their daily Alms, were deprived of that supply.

But to compose these discontents, first many Books were published, to shew what Crimes, Cheats, and Impostures, those Religious persons were guilty of. Yet that wrought not much on the people; for they said, why were not these Abuses severely punished and reformed? But must wholesale Houses, and the succeeding Generations, be punished for the faults of a few? Most of these reports were also denied, and even those who before envied the ease and plenty in which the Abbeys and Monks lived, began now to pity them, and condemned the proceedings against them. But to allay this General discontent; Cromwell advised the King to sell their Lands at very easy rates to the Gentry in the several Counties, obliging them, since they had them upon just terms, to keep up the wanted Hospitality. This drew in the Gentry a-pace both to be satisfied with what was done; and to Assist the Crown for ever in the defence of these Laws: their own interest being so enterwoven with the Rights of
of the Crown. The commoner sort, who, like those of old that followed Christ for the Loaves, were most concerned for the loss of a good dinner on a Holy-day, or when they went over the Country about their business, were now also in a great measure satisfied, when they heard that all to whom their Lands were given, were obliged under heavy Forfeitures to keep up the Hospitality; and when they saw that put in practice, their discontent, which lay chiefly in their Stomach, was appeased.

And to quiet other people, who could not be satisfied with such things, the King made use of a Clause in the Act that gave him the lesser Monasteries, which Empowered him to continue such as he should think fit. Therefore on the 17th of August, he by his Letters Patents, did of new give back in perpetuum &c. for perpetual Alms, Five Abbeys. The first of these, was the Abbey of St. Mary of Bethlehem of the Cistercian order in Bedfordshire, ten more were afterwards confirmed. Sixteen Nunneries, were also confirmed; in all Thirty one Houses. The Patents (in most of which some mon- nors are excepted, that had been otherwise disposed of,) are all enrolled, and yet none of our Writers have taken any notice of this. It seems thefe Houses had been more regular than the rest: So that in a General Calamity they were rather reprieved than excepted: for two years after this, in the Suppression of the rest of the Monaf- teries, they fell under the common fate of other Houses. By these new Endowments, they were obliged to pay Tenths and first-Fruits, and to obey all the Statutes and Rules that should be sent to them from the King, as Supreme Head of the Church. But it is not unlike, that some presents, to the Commissioners, or to Cromwell, made these Houses outlive this ruin: for I find great trading in Bribes at this time, which is not to be wondered at, when there was so much to be shared.

Yet people generally en- clue to Rebel.

But great disorders followed upon the Dissolution of the other Houfes. People were still generally discontented. The Suppression of Religious Houses occasioned much out-crying, and the Articles then lately published about Religion, increased the dislike they had conceived at the Government. The old Clergy were also very watchful to improve all opportunities, and to blow upon every spark. And the Popes Power of deposing Kings had been for almost five hundred years received as an Article of Faith. The fame Council that established Transubstantiation, had asserted it: and there were many Pre- cedents, not only in Germany, France, Spain, and Italy but also in England, of Kings that were Deposed by Popes, whose Dominions were given to other Princes. This had begun in the Eighth Century, in two famous Deprivations. The one in France, of Childebert the 3d, who was deprived, and the Crown given to Pepin; and about the same time, those Dominions in Italy which were under the Eastern Emperors, renounced their allegiance to them. In both these the Popes had a great hand, yet they rather confirmed and approved of those Treatable Mutations, than gave the first rise to them. But after Pope Gregory the 7th's time, it was clearly assumed, as a Right and Prerogative of the Papal Crown, to Depose Princes, and absolve Subjects from the Oaths of Allegiance, and set up others in their stead.
fled. And all those Emperors or Kings, that contested any thing with Popes, fat very uneasie and unsafe in their Thrones, ever after that. But if they were tractable to the demands of the Court of Rome, then they might oppress their Subjects, and Govern as unjustly as they pleased: for they had a mighty support from that Court. This made Princes more easily bear the Popes usurpations, because they were affifted by them in all their other Proceedings. And the Friars, having the Confitences of people generally in their hands, as they had the word given by their General at Rome, so they disposed people, either to be obedient, or feditious, as they pleased.

Now, not only their own Intereffs, mixed with their zeal for the ancient Religion, but the Popes Authority, gave them as good a Warrant to enclife the people to Rebel, as any had in former times, of whom some were Canonized for the like practices. For in August the former year, the Pope had Summoned the King to appear within Ninety days, and to anfwer for putting away his Queen, and taking another Wife; and for the Laws he had made against the Church, and putting the Bishop of Rochefter and others to death for not obeying thefe Laws: and if he did not reform these faults, or did not appear to anfwer for them, the Pope Excommunicated him, and all that favoured him, deprived the King, the Kingdom under an Interdict, forbade all his Subjects to obey, and other States to hold Commerce with him, difolved all his Leagues with foreign Princes, commanded all the Clergy to depart out of England, and his Nobility to rife in Arms against him. But now, the force of thofe Thun- ders, which had formerly produced great Earth-quake and Communions, was much abated; yet some forms were raised by this, though not so violent as had been in former times.

The people were quiet till they had reaped their Harvest. And though some Injunctions were published a little before, to help it the better forward, most of the Holy days of Harvest being abolished by the Kings Authority; yet that rather inflamed them the more. Other Injunctions were also published in the Kings name by Cromwell his Vice-gerent, which was the first Act of pure Supremacy done by the King. For in all that went before, he had the Concurrence of the two Convocations. But these, it is like, were penned by Cranmer. The Reader is referred to the Collection of Papers for them, as I transcribed them out of the Register.

The Substance of them was, that first, all Ecclesiastical Incum- bents were for a quarter of an year after that, once every Sunday, and ever after that, twice every quarter, to publish to the people:

That the Bishop of Rome usurped Power, had no ground in the Law of God: and therefore was on good reasons abolished in this Kingdom: And that the Kings power was by the Laws of God, Suprem over all perfon in his Dominions. And they were to do their uttermost endeavours, to extirpate the Popes Authority, and to eftablish the Kings.

Secondly, They were to declare the Articles lately published, and agreed to, by the Convocation: and to make the people know which of them were Articles of Faith, and which of them Rules for the decent and politick Order of the Church.

Thirdly,
1536. Thirdly, They were to declare the Articles lately set forth, for the Abrogation of some superfluous Holy days, particularly in Harvest time.

Fourthly, They were no more to extoll Images or Relicks, for superstitition or gain; nor to exhort people to make Pilgrimages, as if blessings and good things were to be obtained of this or that Saint or Image. But in stead of that, the people were to be instructed to apply themselves to the keeping of Gods Commandments, and doing works of Charity; and to believe that God was better served by them, when they stayed at home and provided for their Families, than when they went Pilgrimages: and that the Moneys laid out on these, were better given to the poor.

Fifthly, They were to exhort the people to reach their Children the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and the ten Commandments, in English: and every Incumbent was to explain these, one Article a day, till the people were instructed in them. And to take great care, that all Children were bred up to some trade or way of Living.

Sixthly, They must take care that the Sacraments and Sacramentals be reverently administered in their Parishes, from which when at any time they were absent, they were to Commit the Cure to the Learned and expert Curate; who might instruct the people in wholesome Doctrine: that they might also see, and their Parents did not pursue their own profits or interests, so much as the Glory of God, and the good of the Souls under their Care.

Seventhly, They should not, except on urgent occasion, go to Taverns or Ale-houses: nor sit too long at any fort of Games after their Meals: but give themselves to the Study of the Scripture, or some other honest exercise; and remember that they must excel others in purity of life, and be examples to all others to live well and Christianly.

Eighthly, Because the goods of the Church, were the goods of the poor; every Beneficed person that had twenty Pound or above, and did not reside, was yearly to distribute the Fortieth part of his Benefice to the poor of the Parish.

Ninthly, Every Incumbent that had a hundred Pounds a year, must give an Exhibition for one Schollar at some Grammar School, or University; who after he had completed his Studies, was to be Partner of the Cure and charge, both in Preaching, and other duties: And so many hundred Pounds as any had, so many Students he was to breed up.

Tenthly, Where Parsonage or Vicarage-Houses were in great decay the Incumbent was every year to give a fifth part of his profits to the repairing of them, till they were finished; and then to maintain them in the State they were in.

Eleventhly, All these Injunctions were to be observed, under pain of suspension and sequestration of the mean profits till they were observed.

These were equally ingrateful to the Corrupt Clergy, and to the Laiety that adhered to the old Doctrine. The very same opinions, about Pilgrimages, Images, and Saints departed, and instructing the people in the Principles of Christian Religion in the Vulgar tongue, for
for which the **Lollards** were not long ago, either burnt or forced to abjure them, were now set up by the King's Authority. From whence they concluded, that whatsoever the King said of his maintaining the old Doctrine, yet he was now changing it. The Clergy also were much troubled at this Precedent, of the King giving such Injunctions to them, without the consent of the Convocation: From which they concluded, they were now to be slaves to the Lord Vice-gerent. The matter of these Injunctions was also very uneafie to them. The great profits they made by their Images, and Relieks, and the Pilgrimages to them, were now taken away: and yet severe Impositions and heavy Taxes were laid on them; a fifth part for Repairs, a tenth at least for an Exhibitioner, and a fourtenth for Charity, which were cried out on as intolerable burdens. Their Labour was also increased, and they were bound up to many severities of Life: All these things touched the Secular Clergy to the quick, and made them concur with the Regular Clergy in disposing the people to Rebel.

This was secretly fomented by the great Abbots. For though they were not yet struck at, yet the way was prepared to it; and their Houses were oppressed with crowds of those who were sent to them from the suppresed Houses. There was some pains taken to remove their fears. For a Letter was sent to them all in the King's name, to silence the reports that were spread abroad, as if all Monasteries were to be quite suppresed. This they were required not to believe but to serve God according to their Order, to obey the King's Injunctions, to keep Hospitality, and make no waftes nor dilapidations. Yet this gave them small comfort; and as all such things do, rather encreased than quieted their jealousies and fears. So many secret caufes concurring, no wonder the people fell into mutinous and seditious practices.

The first Rising was in **Lincolnshire** in the beginning of October, where a Church-man, disguised into a Cobler, and directed by a Monk, drew a great body of men after him. About 20000 were gathered together. They swore to be true, to God, the King, and the Common-wealth, and digested their Grievances into a few Articles, which they sent to the King, desiring a redrefs of them.

They complained of some things that related to secular concerns, and some Acts of Parliament that were uneafie to them: They also complained of the suppression of so many Religious Houses: that the King had mean persons in high places about him, who were ill Counfellors: They also complained of some Bishops who had subverted the Faith; and they apprehended the Jewels and Plate of their Churches, should be taken away. Therefore they desired the King would call to him the Nobility of the Realm, and by their advice redrefs their Grievances: Concluding with an acknowledgment of the Kings being their Supream Head, and that the Tenthes and first Fruits of all Livings, belonged to him of Right.

When the King heard of this Insurrection, he presently sent the Duke of Suffolk with a Commission to raise forces for dispersing them: But with him he sent an answer to their Petition. He began with that about his Counfellors, and said; It was never before heard of that the Rabble presumed to Dictate to their Prince, what Counsellors...
...fellors he should choose. That was the Princes work and not theirs.

1536. The Suppression of Religious Houses was done pursuant to an Act of Parliament, and was not fet forth by any of his Councillors.

The Heads of these Religious Houses, had under their own hands confesfed those horrid scandals, which made them a reproach to the Nation. And in many House there were not above Four or Five Religious persons. So it seemed they were better pleased, that such dissolute persons should confunde their Rents in riotous and idle living, than that their Prince should have them for the Common good of the whole Kingdom. He also anfwered their other Demands in the fame high and commanding strain; and required them to submit themselves to his mercy, and to deliver their Captains and Lieutenants into the hands of his Lieutenants; and to difperse, and carry themselves as became good and obedient Subjects, and to put an hundred of their number into the hands of his Lieutenants, to be ordered as they had deferved.

When this answer was brought to them, it raised their Spirits higher. The prafticing Clergy-men continued to inflame them. They persuaded them that the Chrisitian Religion would be very soon delaced, and taken away quite, if they did not vigorously defend it: That it would come to that, that no man should marry a Wife, receive any of the Sacraments, nor eat a piece of roft meat, but he should pay for it: That it were better to live under the Turk, than under fuch oppreffion. Therefore there was no caufe in which they could with more honour and a better conscience hazard their Lives, than for the Holy Faith. This encouraged and kept them together a little longer. They had forced many of the Gentry of the Countrey to go along with them. These fent a secret Message to the Duke of Suffolk, letting him know what ill affects the Kings rough answer had produced: That they had joyned with the people only to moderate them a little, and they knew nothing that would be fo effectual as the offer of a general pardon. So the Duke of Suffolk, as he moved towards them with the forces which he had drawn together, fent to the King to know his pleaffeure, and earnestly advised a gentle compofing of the matter without blood. At that fame time the King was advertised from the North, that there was a general and formidable Rising there. Of which he had the greater apprehensions, because of their neighbourhhood to Scotland; whose King, being the Kings Nephew, was the Heir presumptive of the Crown, since the King had Illegitimated both his Daughters. And though the Kings firm Alliance with France made him less apprehensive of trouble from Scotland, and their King was at this time in France, to marry the Daughter of Francis; yet he did not know how far a general Rising might invite that King, to fend orders to head and allift the Rebels in the North. Therefore he resolved first to quiet Lincolnshire. And as he had raifed a great force about London, with which he was marching in person against them; he fent a new Proclamation, requiring them to return to their obedience, with fecret affurances of mercy. By these means they were melted away. Thofe who had been carried in the Stream, submitted to the Kings mercy, and promifed all obedience for the future: Others, that were obstinate,
obstinate, and knew themselves unpardonable, fled Northward, and
joyed themselves to the Rebels there: Some of their other Leaders
were apprehended, in particular the Cobler, and were Executed.

But for the Northern Rebellion, as the parties concerned, being at
a greater distance from the Court, had larger opportunities to gather
themselves into a huge Body; so the whole Contrivance of it was
better laid. One Ask Commanded in chief. He was a Gentleman
of an ordinary condition, but underflood well how to draw on and
Govern a Multitude. Their march was called the Pilgrimage of Grace.
And to inveigle the people, some Priests marched before them with
Croffes in their hands. In their Banners they had a Crucifix with the
Five wounds, and a Chalice: and every one wore on his sleeve, as the
badge of the Party, an Emblem of the Five wounds of Chrifi, with
the name Jesus wrought in the midst. All that joyed to them
took an Oath, 'That they entered into this Pilgrimage of Grace, for
the love of God, the prefervation of the Kings perfon, and ifiue,
the purifying the Nobility, and driving away all bafe born and ill
Counfellors; and for no particular profit of their own, nor to do
displeasure to any, nor to kill any for envy; but to take before
them the Crofs of Chrifi, his Faith, the Reftitution of the Church,
and the Suppression of Hereticks, and their opinions. These were
specious pretences, and very apt to work upon a giddy and discontent-
ed multitude. So people flocked about their Croffes and Standards in
great numbers; and they grew to be 40000 strong. They went over
the Countrey without any great opposition. The Arch-Bifhop of Yorke
and the Lord Darcy were in Pomfret Caffle; which they yielded to
them, and were made to swear their Covenant. They were both
fuspected of being secret Promoters of the Rebellion: the latter suf-
fered for it, but how the former excused himself I cannot give any ac-
count. They also took York, and Hull; but though they summoned
the Castle of Skipton, yet the Earl of Cumberlond, who would not
degenerate from his Nolle Anceftors, held it out against all their force:
and though many of the Gentlemen, whom he had entertained at
his own cot, deferred him, yet he made a brave Refiftance. Scarbo-
rough Caffle was alfo long besieged; but there Sir Ralph Evers, that
Commanded it, gave an un-exampted infiftance of his fidelity and cou-
rage; for though his provifions fell short, so that for twenty days he
and his men had nothing but bread and water, yet they ftood out till
they were relieved.

This Riffing in Yorkshur encouraged those of Lancashire, the Bilhoprick
of Duref, and Wellmorland; to Arm. Againft thefie the Earl of Shrewsbu-
ry, that he might not fall fhort of the Gallantry and Loyalty of his
renown'd Anceftors, made head: though he had no Commiffion from
the King. But he knew his zeal and fidelity would easily procure
him a pardon, which he modestly asked for the fervice he had done.
The King fent him not only that, but a Commiffion to command in
chief all his forces in the North. To his Affiftance he ordered the
Earl of Derby to march; and fent Courtney Marquefs of Exeter, and
the Earls of Huntington, and Rutland, to joyn him. He alfo ordered
the Duke of Suffolk, with the force that he had led into Lincolns-
shire, to lye still there; left they, being but newly quieted, should
break

Which grew very formid-
bale.
break out again, and fall upon his Armies behind; when the Yorkshire men met them before.

On the 20th of October, he sent the Duke of Norfolk with more forces to join the Earl of Shrewsbury: But the Rebels were very numerous and desperate. When the Duke of Norfolk understood their strength, he saw great reason to proceed with much caution: for if they had got the least advantage of the Kings Troops, all the discontent in England would upon the report of that have broken out. He saw their numbers were now such, that the gaining some time was their ruin: for such a great Body could not subsist long together, without much provisions; and that must be very hard for them to bring in: So he set forward a Treaty. It was both honourable for the King to offer mercy to his distracted Subjects, and of great advantage to his affairs: for as their numbers did every day lessen; so the Kings forces were still increasing. He wrote to the King, that considering the season of the year, he thought the offering some fair conditions might persuade them to lay down their Arms, and disperse themselves: Yet when the Earl of Shrewsbury sent a Herald with a Proclamation, ordering them to lay down their Arms, and submit to the Kings mercy; Ask received him sitting in State, with the Arch-Bishop on the one hand, and the Lord Darcy on the other, but would not suffer any Proclamation to be made, till he knew the Contents of it. And when the Herald told what they were, he sent him away without suffering him to publish it. And then the Priests used all their endeavours, to engage the people to a firm resolution of not dispersing themselves, till all matters about Religion were fully settled.

As they went forward, they every-where repulsed the ejected Monks of their Houses; and this encouraged the rest, who had a great mind to be in their old Nefts again. They published also many stories among them of the growing burdens of the Kings Government, and made believe that Impostions would be laid on every thing that was either bought or sold. But the King hearing how strong they were, sent out a general Summons to all the Nobility to meet him at Northampton the 7th of November. And the forces sent against the Rebels advanced to Doncaster, to hinder them from coming further southward; and took the Bridge, which they fortified, and laid their forces along the River to maintain that Pafs.

The Writers of that time say, that the day of Battel was agreed on; but that the night before, excessive Rains falling, the River swelled, so that it was unpassable next day, and they could not force the Bridge. Yet it is not likely the Earl of Shrewsbury, having in all but 5000 men about him, would agree to a pitched Battel with those who were Six times his number, being then 30000. Therefore it is more likely that the Rebels only intended to pass the River the next day, which the Rain that fell hindred; But the Duke of Norfolk continued to press a Treaty, which was hearkened to by the other side; who were reduced to great straits; for their Captain would not suffer them to spoil the Country, and they were no longer able to subsist without doing that. The Duke of Norfolk directed some that were secretly gained, or had been sent over to them as Deserter
Defectors, to spread reports among them; that their Leaders were making Terms for themselves, and would leave the rest to be undone. This joyned to their necessities, made many fall off every day. The Duke of Norfolk finding his Arts had so good an operation, offered to go to Court, with any whom they would send with their demands, and to intercede for them. This he knew would take some time, and most of them would be dispersed before he could return. So they sent two Gentlemen, whom they had forced to go with them, to the King at Windsor. Upon this, the King discharged the Rendezvous at Northampton, and delayed the sending an answer as much as could be: But at last, hearing that though most of them were dispersed; yet they had engaged to return upon warning, and that they took it ill that no answer came; he sent the Duke of Norfolk to them with a general pardon, fix only excepted by name, and four others that were not named. But in this the Kings Councils were generally cenfured, for every one was now in fear, and the Rebels rejected the Proposition. The King also sent them word by their own Messengers. That he took it very ill at their hands, that they had chosen rather to rise in Arms against him, than to Petition him about those things which were uneafie to them. And to appease them a little, the King by new Injunctions, commanded the Clergy to continue the use of all the Ceremonies of the Church. This, it is like, was intended for keeping up the four Sacraments, which had not been mentioned in the former Articles. The Clergy, that were with the Rebels, met at Fomfield to draw up Articles to be offered at the Treaty that was to be at Doncaster: where three hundred were ordered to come from the Rebels to treat with the Kings Commissioners. So great a number was called, in hopes that they would disagree about their Demands, and so fall out among themselves. On the 6th of December they met to treat, and it seems had so laid their matter before, that they agreed upon these following Demands.

1. A general Pardon to be granted: a Parliament to be held at Tork; and Courts of justice to be there; that none on the North of Trent might be brought to London upon any Law-suit. They defired a Repeal of some Acts of Parliament: Those for the last Subsidy, for ufed, for making words misprison of Treason, and for the Clergies paying their Tenths and first Fruits to the King. They defired the Princes Mary might be restored to her right of Succession; the Pope to his wonted Jurisdiction, and the Monks to their Houles again: that the Lutherans might be punished, that Audley the Lord Chancellor, and Cromwell the Lord Privy-Seal, might be excluded from the next Parliament; and Lee and Leighton, that had visitfed the Monasteries, might be imprisoned for Bribery and Ex-tortion.

But the Lords, who knew that the King would by no means agree to these Propositions, rejected them. Upon which the Rebels took heart again, and were growing more enraged and desperate; so that the Duke of Norfolk wrote to the King, that if some content were not given them, it might end very ill; for they were much stronger than his Forces were; And both he, and the other Commanders of the Kings Forces, in their hearts wished that most of their Demands were granted.
granted; being persons, who though they complied with the King, and were against that Rebellion, yet were great Enemies to Lutheranism, and wished a Reconciliation with Rome; of which the Duke of Norfolk was afterwards accused by the Lord Darby, as if he had secretly encouraged them to insist on these Demands. The King seeing the humour was so obstinate, resolved to use gentler Remedies; and so sent to the Duke of Norfolk a general Pardon, with a promise of a Parliament, ordering him not to make use of these, except in extremity. This was no easy thing to do, since he might be afterwards made to answer for it, whether the extremity was really such, as to justify his granting these things. But the Rebels were become again as numerous as ever, and had resolved to cross the River, and to force the Kings Camp, which was still much inferior to theirs in number. But Rains falling the second time, made the Foords again unpassable. This was spoked of by the Kings Party, as little less than a Miracle, that Gods Providence had twice so opportunely interposed for the stopping of the progress of the Rebels: And it is very probable that on the other side, it made great impression on the Superflitious multitude; and both discouraged them, and disposed them, to accept of the offer of Pardon, and a Parliament to be soon called, for considering their other Demands. The King signed the Pardon at Richmond, the 9th of December: by which all their Treasons and Rebellion to that day, were pardoned, provided they made their submission to the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Shrewsbury, and lived in all due obedience for the future. 'The King sent likewise a long answer to their Demands, as to what they complained about the subversion of the Faith; He protested his zeal for the true Christian Faith, and that he would live and die in the defence and preservation of it. But the ignorant multitude were not to instruct him what the true Faith was, nor to presume to correct what he and the whole Convocation had agreed on. That as he had preferred the Church of England in her true Liberties, so he would do still; and that he had done nothing that was so oppressive, as many of his Progenitors had done upon lesser grounds. But that he took it very ill of them, who had rather one Churl or two should enjoy the Profits of their Monasteries, to support them in their dissolute and abominable course of living, than that their King should have them for defraying the great Charge he was at for their defence against Foreign Enemies. For the Laws, it was high presumption in a rude multitude to take on them to judge what Laws were good, and what not. They had more reason to think, that he after twenty eight years Reign should know it better than they could. And for his Government, he had so long preferred his Subjects in Peace and Justice, had so defended them from their Enemies, had so secured his Frontier, had granted so many general Pardons, had been so unwilling to punish his Subjects, and so ready to receive them into mercy; that they could shew no parallel to his Government among all their former Kings. And whereas it was said, That he had many of the Nobility of his Council, in the beginning of his Reign, and few now; he shewed them in that one instance how they were abused by the lying Flanders of some disaffected Persons: For when he came to the Crown, there were none that were born

Noble
Noble, of his Council, but only the Earl of Surrey, and the Earl of Shrewsbury; whereas now, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Marquesses of Exeter, the Lord Steward, the Earls of Oxford and Suffex, and the Lord Sands were of the Privy-Council: And for the Spiritualls, the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Winchester, Hereford and Chichester, were also of it: And he and his whole Council judging it necessary to have some at the board who understood the Law of England, and the Treaties with Foreign Princes; he had by their Unanimous advice brought in his Chancellor, and the Lord Privy-Seal. He thought it strange, that they who were but brutes, should think they could better judge who should be his Counsellors than himself and his whole Council: Therefore he would bear no such thing at their hands; it being inconsistent with the duty of good Subjects, to meddle in such matters. But if they or any of his other Subjects, could bring any just complaint against any about him, he was ready to hear it; and if it were proved, he would punish it according to Law. As for the complaints against some of the Prelates for preaching against the Faith, they could know none of these things but by the report of others; since they lived at such a distance, that they themselves had not heard any of them preach. Therefore he required them not to give credit to Lies, nor be misled by those who spread such Calumnies and ill reports: And he concluded all with a severe Expoulration; adding that such was his love to his Subjects, that imputing this Insurrection, rather to their folly and lightness, than to any malice or rancour, he was willing to pass it over more gently, as they would perceive by his Proclamation.

Now the people were come to themselves again, and glad to get off so easily; and they all cheerfully accepted the Kings offers, and went home again to their several dwellings. Yet the Clergy were no way satisfied, but continued still to practise amongst them, and kept the Rebellion still on foot; so that it broke out soon after. The Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Shrewsbury, were ordered to lie still in the Country with their Forces, till all things were more fully composed. They made them all come to a full submission; and first, to revoke all Oaths and Promises made, during the Rebellion, for which they asked the Kings Pardon on their knees; 2ly, To swear to be true to the King, and his Heirs and Successors; 3ly, To obey and maintain all the Acts of Parliament made during the Kings Reign. 4ly, Not to take Arms again but by the Kings Authority. 5ly, To apprehend all Seditious persons. 6ly, To remove all the Monks, Nuns, and Friars, whom they had placed again in the dissolved Monasteries. There were also Orders given to send Ask their Captain, and the Lord Darcey, to Court. Ask was kindly received, and well used by the King. He had shewed great conduct in Commanding the Rebels; and it seems the King had a mind, either to gain him to his service, or, which I suspect was the true Caufe, to draw from him a discovery of all those, who in the other parts of the Kingdom, had favoured or relieved them. For he suspected, not without cause, that some of the great Abbots had given secret supplies of Money to the Rebels: For which many of them were afterwards tried and attainted. The Lord Darcy was under great apprehensions, and studied to purge himself,
himself, that he was forced to a Compliance with them; but pleaded, that the long and important services, he had done the Crown for fifty years, he being then fourscore, together with his great Age and Infirmity, might mitigate the Kings displeasure. But he was made Prisoner. Whether this gave those who had been in Arms, new jealousies, that the Kings Pardon would not be inviolably observed; or whether the Clergy had of new, prevailed on them to rise in Arms, I cannot determine: But it broke out again, though not so dangerously as before. Two Gentlemen of the North, Musgrave and Tilby, raised a body of 8000 men; and thought to have surprized Carlisle; but were repulsed by those within. And in their return the Duke of Norfolk fell upon them, and routed them. He took many prisoners, and by Martial Law hanged up all their Captains, and Seventy other Prisoners on the Walls of Carlisle. Others at that same time thought to have surprized Hull; but it was prevented, and the leaders of that Party were also taken and Executed.

Many other Rifings were in several places of the Country, which were all soon repressed; the ground of them all was, that the Parliament which was promised, was not called: But the King said, they had not kept conditions with him, nor would he call a Parliament till all things were quieted. But the Duke of Norfolk's vigilance everywhere, prevented their gathering together in any great Body. And after several unsuccessful attempts, at length the Countrey was absolutely quieted in January following. And then the Duke of Norfolk proceeded according to the Martial Law against many whom he had taken. Ask had also left the Court without leave, and had gone amongst them, but was quickly taken. So he and many others were sent to several places, to be made publick Examples. He suffered at York, others at Hull, and in other Towns in Yorkshire. But the Lord Darcy, and the Lord Hussey, were arraigned at Westminster, and attainted of Treason: The former for the Northern, and the other for the Lincolnshire Insurrection. The Lord Darcy was beheaded at Towerhill; and was much lamented. Every body thought that considering his Merits, his Age, and former services, he had hard measure. The Lord Hussey was beheaded at Lincoln. The Lord Darcy in his Tryal, accused the Duke of Norfolk; that in the Treaty at Doncastier, he had encouraged the Rebels to continue in their demands. This the Duke denied, and desired a Tryal by Comitate, and gave some pre-{s}umptions to shew that the Lord Darcy bore him ill-will, and laid this out of Malice. The King either did not believe this, or would not seem to believe it: And the Dukes great diligence in the Suppression of these Commotions fit him beyond all jealousies. But after these Executions, the King wrote to the Duke in July next, to Proclaim an abfolute Amnestie over all the North; which was received with great joy; every body being in fear of himself: And so this threatening storm was dissipated without the effusion of much blood, save what the sword of justice drew. At the same time the King of Scotland returning from France with his Queen, and touching on the Coast of England; many of the people fell down at his feet, praying him to afit them, and he should have all. But he was, it seems, bound up by the French King: and so went home without giving them any
any encouragement. And thus ended this Rebellion, which was chiefly carried on by the Clergy, under the pretence of Religion.

And now the King was delivered of all his apprehensions that he had been in, for some years in fear of Stirs at home. But they being now happily compos'd; as he knew it would so overawe the rest of his discontented Subjects, that he needed fear nothing from them for a great while; so it encouraged him to go on in his other designs, of suppressing the rest of the Monasteries; and reforming some other Points of Religion. Therefore there was a new Visitation appointed for all the Monasteries of England. And the Visitors were ordered, to examine all things that related either to their Conversation, to their affection to the King, and the Supremacy, or to their Superflition, in their several Houses: To discover what Cheats and Imputations there were, either in their Images, Relicks, or other miraculous things, by which they had drawn people to their Houses on Pilgrimages, and gotten from them any great Presents. Also to try how they were affected during the late Commotions, and to discover every thing that was amiss in them, and report it to the Lord Vice-gerent. In the Records of the whole Twenty Eighth year of the Kings Reign, I find but one Original Surrender of any Religious House. The Abbot of Furnese in Lincolnshire valued at 960 l. with Thirty Monks resigning up that House to the King, on the 9th of April, which was very near the end of the year of the Kings Reign, for it comenced on the 22d of April. Two other Surrenders are enrolled that year. The one was of Bermondsey in Surrey, the first of June in the twenty eighth of the Kings Reign. The Preamble was, that they Surrendered in hopes of greater Benevolence from the King. But this was the effect of some secret practice, and not of the Act of Parliament. For it was valued at 543 l. and so fell not within the Act. The other was of Basingham or Bisham in Berkshire, made by Barlow Bishop of St. Davids, that was Commendator of it, and a great Promoter of the Reformation. It was valued at 327 l. But in the following year they made a quicker Progress, and found strange Enormities in the greater Houses. It seems all the Houses under 200 l. of Rent were not yet suppressed. For I find many within that value afterwards resigning their Houses. So that I am inclined to believe, that the first Visitation being made towards the Suppression of the lesser Monasteries, and that (as appears by their Instructions) being not to be finished till they had made a report of what they had done to the Court of Augmentations, who were after the report made to determine what pensions were to be referred to the Abbot and other Officers; (which report was to be made in the Octaves of St. Michael, and after that, a new Commission was to be given for their Suppression;) when that was done, they went no further at that time. So that I cannot think there were many Houses Suppressed when these Stirs began: and after their first rising, it is not likely that great Progress would be made in a business that was like to Inflame the people more, and encrease the number of the Rebels. Neither do I find any Houses suppressed by virtue of the former Act of Parliament till the twenty ninth year of the Kings Reign.

And yet they made no great hay this year. For there are but twenty

Some of the great Abbeys surrendered their Houses.
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1557: Examinations of Surrenders all this year, either in the Rolls, or Augmentation Office, and now, not only small Abbeys, but greater ones, were surrendered to the King. The Abbeys were brought to do it upon several Motives. Some had been faulty during the late Rebellion, and were liable to the Kings displeasure; and thefe to redeem themselves, compounded the matter by a reflation of their Houses. Others began to like the Reformation, and that made them the more willing to surrender their Houses; such as Barlow Bishop of St. Davids, who not only surrendered up his own House of Bofflebham, but prevailed on many others to do the like: Others were convicted of great disorders in their Conversation; and their not daring to stand a Tryal, were glad to accept of a Pension for life, and deliver up their House. Others were guilty of making great wafes and Dilapidations. For they all saw the Dissolution of their Houses approaching, and fo every one was induced to take all the care he could to provide for himself, and his kindred; so that the Visitors found in some of the Richeft Abbeys of England, as St. Albans, and Battel, such depredations made, that at St. Albans an Abbot could not subsist any longer, the rents were fo low; and in Battel, as all their furniture was old and torn, not worth an 100 lb. to both in House and Chappel they had not 400 Marks worth of Plate. In other Houses they found not above twelve or fifteen Ounces of Plate, and no furniture at all, but only such things as they could not embezal as the Walls, and Windows. Bells, and Lead. In other Houses, the Abbot and Monks were glad to accept of a Pension for themselves during life; and so being only concerned for their own particular Interest, resigned their House to the King. Generally, the Monks had eight Marks a year Pension, till they were provided for. The Abbeys Pensions were proportioned to the Value of their House, and to their Innocence. The Abbeys of St. Albans, and Tewksbury, had 400 Marks a year a piece. The Abbot of St. Edmundsbury was more Innocent, for the Visitors wrote from thence, that they could find no scandals in that House: So he (it seems) was not easily brought to Resign his House, and had 500 Marks Pension referred to him. And for their inferior Officers some had 30 fome 10. or 8. and the lowest 6 lb. Pension.

In other places, upon a vacancy, either by death, or deprivation, they did put in an Abbot only to resign up the House. For after the Kings Supremacy was established, all thoſe Abbeys that had been formerly confirmed by the Pope, were placed in this manner. The King granted a Conne d'élire to the Prior and Convent, with a Miffive Letter, declaring the name of the person whom they should choose: then they returned an election to the King, who, upon that, gave his affent to it by a Warrant under the great Seal, which was certificated to the Lord Vice-gerent; who thereupon Confirmed the Election, and returned him back to the King, to take the Oaths: upon which, the Temporalties were restored. Thus all the Abbeys were now placed by the King, and were generally pickt out to serve this turn. Others, in hope of advancement to Bishops, or to be Suffragan Bishops, as the inferior fort of them were made generally, were glad to recommend themselves to the Kings favour, by a quick and cheerful Surrender of their Monastery. Upon some of these inducements
ducements it was, that the greatest number of the Religious Houses were resigned to the King, before there was any Act of Parliament made for their Suppression. In several Houses, the Visitors, who were generally, either Masters of Chancery, or Auditors of the Court of Augmentations, studied not only to bring them to resign their Houses, but to Sign Confessions of there palled lewd and dissolute lives. Of these, there is only one now extant, which (it is like) escaped the general ruth and destruction of all Papers of that kind, in Queen Mary's time. But from the Letters that I have seen, I perceive there were such Confessions made by many other Houses. That Confession of the Prior and Beneficents of St. Andrews in Northampton is to be seen in the Records of the Court of Augmentations. In which, with the most aggravating expressions that could be devised, they acknowledged their past ill life, for which the Pit of Hell was ready to swallow them up. They confessed that they had neglected the Worship of God, lived in Idlenes, Gluttony, and Sensuality, with many other woful expressions to that purpose.

Other Houses, as the Monastery of Battle Abbey, resigned with this Preamble, 'That they did profoundly consider, that the manner and trade of living, which they, and others of their pretended Religion, had for a long time followed, consisted in some dumb ceremonies, and other Constitutions, of the Bishops of Rome, and other foreign Potentates; as the Abbot of Citeaux, by which they were blindly led, having no true knowledge of God's Laws; procuring exemptions from their Ordinary and Diocesan, by the power of the Bishop of Rome, and submitting themselves wholly to a foreign Power, who never came hither to reform their abuses, which were now found among them. But that now knowing the most perfect way of living is sufficiently declared by Christ and his Apostles; and that it was most fit for them to be Governed by the King, who was their Supreme Head on earth; they Submitted themselves to his Mercy, and surrendered up their Monastery to him on the 25th of September in the 30th year of his Reign. This writing was signed by the Abbot, the Sub-prior, and nine Monks. There are five other Surrenders to the same purpose; by the Gray, and White Friars of Stamford, the Gray-Friars of Coventry, Bedford, and Aylesbury, yet to be seen. Some are designed upon this Preamble, 'That they hoped the King would of new found their House; which was otherwise like to be ruined, both in Spirituals and Temporals. So did the Abbot of Chertsey in Surrey, with fourteen Monks, on the 14th of July, in the 29th year of this Reign, whose House was valued at 744 lib. I have some reason to think that this Abbot was for the Reformation, and intended to have had his House new founded to be a House of true and well regulated devotion: And so I find the Prior of great Malvern in Worcestershire offered such a Resignation. He was recommended by Bishop Latimer to Cromwell, with an earnest desire that his House might stand, not in Monastery, but so as to be converted to Preaching, Study, and Prayer. And the good Prior was willing to compound for his House by a Prefent of 500 Marks to the King, and of 200 to Cromwell. He is commended, for being an old worthy man, a good Housekeeper, and one that daily fed many poor people.
people. To this Latimer adds? Alas my good Lord! Shall we not see two or three in every fire change to such remedy.

But the Resolution was taken once to extirpate all. And therefore though the Visitors interceded earnestly for one Nunnery in Oxfordshire, Godwin, where there was great strictness of life; and to which were most of the young Gentlewomen of the Country were sent to be bred; so that the Gentry of the Country desired the King would spare the Houfe, yet all was uneffectual.

The General Form, in which most of these Resignations begins, is,

That the Abbot and Brethren, upon full deliberation, certain knowledge of their own proper motion, for certain just and reasonable causes, specially moving them in their Souls and Conciences, did freely, and of their own accord, give and grant their Houfe to the King. Others it seems did not so well like this preamble; and therefore did, without any reason or preamble, give away their Houses to the Visitors, as Peolees in truft for the Kings use. And thus they went on, procuring daily more surrenders. So that in the thirty-fifth year of the Kings Reigne there were 159 Resignations enrolled, of which the Originals of 1542 do yet remain. And for the Readers further satisfaction, he should find, in the Collection at the end of this Book, the means of all these Houfes so surrendered, with other particulars relating to them, which would too much weary him, if inserted in the thread of this Work. But there was no Law to force any to make such Resignations. So that many of the great Abbots would not comply with the King in this matter, and stood it out till after the following Parliament that was in the 31st year of his Reigne.

It was questioned by many, whether these surrenders could be good in Law, since the Abbots were but Trustees and Tenants for Life. It was thought they could not absolutely alienate, and give away their Houfe for ever. But the Parliament afterwards declared the Resignations, were good in Law. For by their Foundations all was truitorked to the Abbot and the Senior Brethren of the Houfe; who putting the Covent-Seal to any Deed, it was of force in Law. It was also said, that they thus surrendering, had forfeited their Charters and Foundations; and so the King might seize and possess them with a good Title, if not upon the Resignation, yet upon Forfeiture. But others thought, that whatsoever the Nicety of Law might give the King, yet there was no sort of equity in it, that a few Trustees, who were either bribed, or frightened, should pass away that which was none of theirs, but only given them in Trust and for Life. Other Abbots were more roughly handled. The Prior of Woburn was suspected of flattering the Rebels, for being against the Kings Supremacy, and for the Popes; and of being for the General Council then summoned to Mantua. And he was dealt with to make a submission and acknowledgment. In an account of a long Conference which he had with a Privy Counsellor under his own hand, I find that the great thing which he took offence at, was, That Latimer and some other Bishops preached against the Veneration of the Blessed Virgin, and the other Saints: and that the English Bible then sent out, differed in many things from the Latin, with several leffer matters. So that they looked on their Religion as changed,
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...changed, and wondered that the Judgments of God upon Queen Ann had not terrified others from going on to subvert the Faith: yet he was prevailed with, and did again submit to the King, and acknowledge his Supremacy; but he afterwards joined himself to the Rebels and was taken with them, together with the Abbot of Whalley, and two Monks of his House; and the Abbot of Garway, with a monk of his House; and the Abbot of Sawley in Lancashire, with the Prior of that House; and the Prior of Burlington; who were all attainted of High Treason, and Executed. The Abbots of Glastonbury and Reading, were men of great power and Wealth. The one was rated at 3508. l. and the other at 2116. l. They seeing the storm like to break out on themselves, sent a great deal of the Plate and Money that they had in their House, to the Rebels in the North. Which being afterwards discovered, they were attainted of High Treason a year after this; but I mention it here for the affinity of the matter: Further particulars about the Abbot of Reading I have not yet discovered. But there is an account given to Cromwell of the proceedings against the Abbot of Glastonbury in two Letters which I have seen, the one was writ by the Sheriff of the County, the other by Sir John Russell, who was present at his Trial, and was reputed a man of as great Integrity and Virtue as any in that time; which he seems to have left as an inheritance to that Noble Family that has descended from him. These inform, that he was indicted of Burglary, as well as Treason; for having broken the House in his Monastery where the Plate was kept, and taken it out, which as Sir William Thomas says, was sent to the Rebels. The evidence being brought to the Jury, who as Sir John Russell writes,) were as good and worthy men as had ever been on any Jury in that County; they found him guilty. He was carried to the place of Execution, near his own Monastery; where as the Sheriff writes he acknowledged his guilt, and begged God and the King pardon for it. The Abbot of Colchester was also attainted of High Treason. What the particulars were I cannot tell. For the Record of their Attainders is lost; But some of our own Writers deliver a severe cenure, who Write it was for denying the Kings Supremacy; whereas, if they had not undertaken to write the History without any information at all, they must have seen that the whole Clergy, but most particularly the Abbots, had over and over again acknowledged them Kings Supremacy.

For clearing which and discovering the Impudence of Sanders Relation of this matter, I shall lay before the Reader, the Evidences that I find of the Submission of these and all the other Abbots to the Kings Supremacy: First, in the Convocation, in the 22d year of this Reign, they all acknowledged the King, Suprem Head of the Church of England. They did all also swear to maintain the Act of the Secession of the Crown, made in the 25th year of his Reign, in which the Popes power was plainly condemned. For in the proceedings against More and Fisher, it was frequently repeated to them, that all the Clergy had sworn it. It is also entered in the Journal of the House of Lords, that all the members of both Houses swore it at their breaking up: And the same Journals inform us, that the Abbots of Colchester and Reading sat in that Parliament, and as there
there was no Protestation made against any of the Acts passed in that Session, so it is often entred, that the Acts were agreed to by the Unanimous consent of the Lords. It appears also by several Original Letters, that the heads of all the Religious Houses in England had Signed that Petition, that the Pope had no more Jurisdiction in this Kingdom, than any foreign Bishop whatsoever. And it was rejected by none but some Carthusians, and Franciscans of the Order, who were proceeded against, for refusing to acknowledge it: When they were so pressed in it, none can imagine that a Parliamentary Abbot would have been dispensed with. And in the last Parliament, in which the second Oath about the Succession to the Crown was enacted, it was added: that they should also swear the King to be the Suprem head of the Church. The Abbot of Glastonbury and Reading were then present, as appears by the Journals, and consented to it: So little reason there is for Imagining that they refused that, or any other Complacence that might secure them in their Abbies.

In particular, the Abbot of Reading had so got into Cromwell's good opinion, that in some differences between him and Shaxton Bishop of Salisbury, that was Cromwell's creature, he had the better of the Bishop. Upon which, Shaxton, who was a proud ill-natured man, wrote an high expostulating Letter to Cromwell, 'Complaining of an Injunction he had granted against him at the Abbots desire. He also flewed that in some contentions between him and his Representatives, and between him and the Major of Salisbury, Cromwell was always against him: he likewise challenged him, for not answering his Letters. He tells him, God will judge him for abusing his Power as he did; he prays God to have pity on him, and to turn his heart, with a great deal more provoking Language. He also adds many insolent praises of himself; and his whole Letter is as extravagant a piece of vanity and insolence, as ever I saw. To this Cromwell wrote an answer, that shews him to have been indeed a great man. The Reader will find it in the Collection, and see from it how modestly and discreetly he carried his Greatness.

But how jutly sooever these Abbots were attainted, the seizing on their Abbey-Lands, pursuant to thofe Attainders, was thought a great stretch of Law; since the Offence of an Ecclefaftical Incumbent is a Personal thing, and cannot prejudice the Church; no more than a secular man, who is in an Office, does by being Attainted, bring any diminution of the Rights of his Office on his Successors. It is true there were some words cast into the thirteenth Act of the Parliament, in the sixty year of this Reign, by which divers Offences were made Treafon, that seemed to have been designed for such a purpose. The words are, that whatsoever Lands any Traytor had of any Estate of Inheritance in use or possession, by any Right, Title or Means, should be forfeited to the King. By which, as it is certain, Estates in Tayl were comprehended, to the Lands that any Traytor had in Possession or use, seem to be included; and that the rather, because by some following words their heirs and Successors are for ever excluded. This either was not thought on when the Bishop of Rochester was Attainted, or perhaps was not claimed, since the
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the King intended not to lessen the number of Bishoprics, but rather to increase them. Besides, the words of the Statute seem only to belong to an Estate of Inheritance; within which Church-Benefices could not be included, without a great force put on them. 'Tis true the word Successor favoured these feizures, except be thought an expletory word put in, out of form, but still to be limited to an Estate of Inheritance. That word does also import, that such Criminals might have successors. But if the whole Abbey was forfeited these Abbots could have no successors: Yet it seems the feizures of these Abbies were founded on that Statute, and this Stretch of the Law occasioned that Explanation, which was added of the words Estate of Inheritance, in the Statute made in Edward the Sixth's Reign about Treasons: Where it is expressed, that Traitors should forfeit to the Crown, what Lands they had of any Estate of Inheritance, to which is added in their own Right, it seems, on design to cut off all Pretence for such Proceeding for the future, as had been in this Reign. But if there was any Illegality in these feizures, the following Parliament did at least tacitly justify them. For they excepted out of the Provisos made concerning the Abbies that were suppressed, such as had been forfeited and feiz'd on by any Attendants of Treason.

Another Surrender is not unlike these, but rather less Justifiable. Many of the Carthusian Monks of London were executed for their open denying of the Kings Supremacy, and for receiving Books from foreign parts against his Marriage and other proceedings divers also of the fame House, that favoured them, but so secretly, that clear proof could not be found to convict them, were kept prisoners in their Cells, till they dyed. But the Prior was a worthy man, of whom Thomas Bedyll, one of the Visitors, writes, that he was a man of such Charity that he had not seen the like, and that the eyes of the people were much on that House, and therefore he advised that the House might be converted to some good use. But the Prior was made to reign, with this Preamble, That many of that House had offended the King, so that their goods might be justly confiscated, and themselves adjudged to a fevere death: which they desired to avoid, by an humble Submission, and Surrender of their House to the King. But there were great Complaints made of the Visitors, as if they had practis'd with the Abbots and Priors to make these Surrenders: and that they had conspired with them to cheat the King, and had privately embezeled most of the Plate and furniture. The Abbess of Cheapflay complained in particular of Doctor London, one of the Visitors, that he had been corrupting her Nuns: and generally it was ey'd out, that under-hand and ill practices were used. Therefore to quiet these reports, and to give some colour to justifie what they were about, all the foul Stories that could be found out were published to defame these Houfes. Battell-Abbey was represented to be a little Sedom; so was Chrift Church in Canterbury, with several other Houfes. But for Whoredom and Adultery they found Infrances without number; and of many other unnatural practices and secret Lusts, with arts to hinder Conceptions and make Abortions. But no story became so publick, as a discovery made of the Prior of the Croffed Friars in London; who on a Friday at eleven a Clock in the day was found in bed
led with a Whore. He fell down on his knees, and prayed those who surprized him, not to publish his shame: But they had a mind to make some advantage by it, and asked him Money. He gave them 30 l. which he promised was all he had, but he promised them 30 l. more: yet failing in the payment, a Sure followed on it: and in a bill which I have been given to Cromwell, then Master of the Rolls, the cafe is related.

But all the stories of this kind served only to disgrace those Abbots or Monks that were so faulty. And the people generally said, these were personal crimes which ought to be punished: but they were no way satisfied with the Justice of the Kings proceedings, against whole Houses for the faults of a few. Therefore another way was thought on, which indeed proved more effectual, both for recovering the people out of the Superstitious fondness they had for their Images and Relicks, and for discovering the secret Impostures that had been long practic’d in these Houses. And this was, to order the Visitors to examine well all the Relicks, and feigned Images, to which Pilgrimages were wont to be made. In this, Doctor London did great service. From Reading he writes, ‘That the chief Relicks of Idolatry in the Nation was there: an Angel with one wing, that brought over the Spears head that pierced our Saviours side. To which he adds a long Inventory of their other Relicks, and says there were as many more as would fill Four Sheets of Paper. He also writes from other places that he had every-where taken down their Images and Trinkets. At St. Edmundsbury, as John ap Rice Informed, they found some of the Coals that Roasted St. Laurence, the Parings of St. Edmunds Toes, St. Thomas Becket’s Penknife, and Boots: with as many pieces of the Cros of our Saviour; as would make a large whole Cros. They had also Relicks against Rain, and for hindering weeds to spring. But to pursue this further were endless, the Relicks were so innumerable. And the value which the people had of them may be gathered from this; that a piece of St. Andrews finger set in an ounce of silver, was laid to pledge by the House of Welfare for 40 l. but the Visitors, when they suppressed that House, did not think fit to redeem it at so high a rate. For their Images, some of them were brought to London, and were there at St. Paul’s Cros in the light of all the people, broken; that they might be fully convinced of the jugling Impostures of the Monks. And in particular, the Crucifix of Boxley in Kent, commonly called the Rood of Grace; to which many Pilgrimages had been made, because it was observed sometimés to bow, and to lift it self up, to shake, and to fir the head, hands, and feet, to roll the eyes, move the lips, and bend the brows: All which were looked on by the abutted multitude, as the effects of a Divine Power. These were now publickly discovered to have been cheats. For the Springs were shewed, by which all these motions were made. Upon which John Hilsley then Bishop of Rochester, made a Sermon, and broke the Rood in pieces. There was also another famous Imposture discovered at Hales in Gloucestershire; where the blood of Christ was thowed in a vial of Chriftal, which the people sometimés saw, but sometimés they could not see it: So they were made believe, that they were
not capable of so signal a favour, as long as they were in Mortal sin; and so they continued to make presents, till they bribed Heaven to give them the right of so Blested a Relick. This was now discovered to have been the Blood of a Duck, which they renewed every week; and the one side of the Vial, was so thick that there was no seeing through it, but the other was clear and transparent: And it was so placed near the Altar, that one in a secret place behind, could turn either side of it outward. So when they had drain'd ed the Pilgrims that came thither, of all they had brought with them, then they afforded them the favour of turning the clear side outward; who upon that went home very well-satisfied with their journey and the expense they had been at. There was brought out of Wales a huge Image of wood, called Darvel Gatherew, of which one Eliz Price Visitor of the Diocess of St. Asaph gave this account. On the 6th of April 1537. 'That the people of the Country had a great Superstition for it, and many Pilgrimages were made to it: So that the day before he wrote, there were reckoned to be above five or six hundred Pilgrims there: Some brought Oxen and Cartel, and some brought Money; and it was generally believed, that if any offered to that Image, he had Power to deliver his Soul from Hell. So it was ordered to be brought to London, where it serv'd for fewel to burn Fryar Forrest. There was an huge Image of our Lady at Worcester, that was had in great reverence; which when it was stript of some veils that covered it, was found to be the Statue of a Bishop.

Barlow Bishop of St. Davids did also give many advertisements of the Superstition of his Countrey, and of the Clergy and Monks of that Diocess, who were guilty of Heathenish Idolatry, gross Impiety, and Ignorance, and of abusing the people with many evident forgeries: about which, he said, he had good evidence when it should be called for. But that which drew most Pilgrims and presents in those parts, was an Image of our Lady with a Taper in her hand; which was believed to have burnt nine years, till one forswearing himself upon it, it went out: and was then much Reverenced and Worshipped. He found all about the Cathedral so full of Superstitious conceits, that there was no hope of working on them; therefore he propost to the Translating the Episcopal Seat from St. Davids to Caermaerd, which he pressed by many Arguments, and in several Letters, but with no success. Then many rich Shrines of our Lady of Walthingham, of Ipswich, and Milton, with a great many more, were brought up to London, and burnt by Cromwells Orders.

But the richest Shrine in England, was that of Thomas Becket, called St. Thomas of Canterbury the Martyr: who being raised up by King Henry the 2d, to the Arch-Bishoprick of Canterbury, did afterwards give that King much trouble; by opposing his Authority, and exalt ing the Popes. And though he once contended to the Articles agreed on at Clarendon, for bearing down the Papal, and securing the Regal Power; yet he soon after repented, of that only piece of Loyalty, of which he was guilty all the while he was Arch-Bishop. He fled to the Pope, who received him as a Confessor for the dearest Article of the Roman Belief: The King and Kingdoms were Excommunicated.
cated, and put under an Interdict upon his Account. But afterwards,
on the Interception of the French King, King Henry and he were
reconciled, and the Interdict was taken off. Yet his unquiet Spirit
could take no rest, for he was no sooner at Canterbury, than he be-
gan to Embroil the Kingdom again: and was proceeding by Cenfures
against the Arch-Bishop of York, and some other Bishops, for Crown-
ing the Kings Son in his Absence. Upon the news of that, the King
being then in Normandy, said, If he had faithful Servants he would not
be so troubled with such a Priest; whereupon some zealous or offici-
cious Courtiers, came over and killed him: For which, as the King
was made to undergo a severe penance, so the Monks were not
wanting in their ordinary Arts to give out many miraculous stories
concerning his Blood. This soon drew a Canonization from Rome;
and he being a Martyr for the Papacy, was more extolled than all
the Apostles or Primitive Saints had ever been. So that for 300
years, he was accounted one of the greatest Saints in Heaven, as
may appear from the accounts in the Reger-Books, of the offerings
made to the three greatest Altars in Christ's Church in Canterbury.
The one was to Christ, the other to the Virgin, and the third to St.
Thomas. In one year there was offered at Christ's Altar, 3 lib. 2 s. 6 d.
To the Virgins Altar, 6 3 lib. 5 s. 6 d. But to St. Thomas's Altar 8 lib.
12 s. 3 d. But the next year the odds grew greater; for there was
not a penny offered at Christ's Altar, and at the Virgins, only 4 lib. 1 s. 6 d.
But at St. Thomas's 95 4 lib. 6 s. 3 d. By such offerings it came, that
his Shrine was of inestimable value. There was one Stone offered
there by Lewis the 7th of France, who came over to visit it, in a
Pilgrimage, that was believed the Richest in Europe. Nor did they
think it enough to give him one day in the Calendar the 29th of
December; but unusual honours were devis'd, for this Martyr of the
liberties of the Church greater than any that had been given to the
Martyrs for Christianiety. The day of raising his body, or as they
called it, of his Translation, being the 7th of July, was not only a
holy-day, but every 5th year, there was a Jubilee for 15 days to-
gether, and Indulgence was granted, to all that came to visit his
shrine: as appears from the Record of the sixth Jubilee, after his
Translation, Anno. 1420; which bears, that there were then about
an hundred thousand strangers come to visit his Tomb. The Jubilee
began at twelve a clock on the Vigil of the Feast, and lasted fifteen
days, by such Arts they drew an incredible deal of wealth to his
shrine. The Riches of that, together with his idolatrous practices, made
the King resolve both to un-shrine and un-Saint him at once. And
then his skull, which had been much worshipped, was found an Im-
poſture. For the true skull was lying with the rest of his bones in
his grave. The shrine was broken down, and carried away; the Gold
that was about it, filling two Chests, which were so heavy that
they were a load to Eight strong men to carry them out of the Church.
And his bones were as some say burnt, so it was underfoot at Rome,
but others say they were so mixed with other dead bones, that it would
have been a Miracle indeed to have distinguished them afterwards.
The King also ordered his name to be struck out of the Kalendar,
and the office for his Fests to be daft out of all Breviaries. And
Yet the King took care to qualify the dislike which the Articles published the former year had given. And though there was no Parliament in the year 1537, yet there was a Convocation, upon the Conclusion of which, there was printed an Explanation of the chief points of Religion, signed by nineteen Bishops, eight Arch-Deacons, and seventeen Doctors of Divinity and Law. In which there was an Exposition of the Creed, the seven Sacraments, the ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer, and the Salutation of the Virgin, with an Account of Justification and Purgatory. But this work was put in a better form afterwards, where the Reader will find a more particular account of it. When all these Proceedings of the Kings were known at Rome, all the Satirical Pens there were employed to paint him out, as the most Infamous Sacrilegious Tyrant that ever was. They represented him as one that made War with Heaven and the Saints that were there: That committed outrages on the bodies of the Saints, which the Heathenish Romans would have punished severely for any that committed the like on those that were dead, how mean or bad forever they had been. All his proceedings against the Priests or Monks that were Attainted and Executed for High Treason, were represented as the effects of Favage and barbarous Cruelty. His Suppelling the Monasteries, and devouring what the Devotion of former Ages had Confecrated to God, and his Saints, was called Ravenous and Impious Sacrilege; nor was there any thing omitted that could make him appear to posterity, the blackest Tyrant that ever wore a Crown.

They compared him to Pharaoh, Nabuchadonosor, Belshazar, Nero, Domitian, and Diocletian; but chiefly to Julian the Apostle. This last Parallel liked them best, and his Learning, his Apoltacy, and pretence of Reforming, were all thought copied from Julian; only they said his manners were worse. These things were every day printed at Rome, and the Information that were brought out of England were generally addressed to Cardinal Pool, whose style was also known in some of them: All which poffeft the King with the deepest and most implacable hatred to him that ever he bore to any perfon, and did provoke him to all those severities that followed on his Kindred and Family.

But the malice of the Court of Rome did not stop there. For now the Pope published all these Thunders which he had threatened three years before. The Bull of Deposition is printed in Chorus Bullarum Romanum, which since many have the confidence to deny matters of fact; though most publicly acted, should be found in the Collection Papers, the substance of it is as follows. 'The Pope being God's Vicar on Earth; and according to Jeremiah Prophecy, set over Nations and Kingdoms, to root out and destroy; and having the supreme power over all the Kings in the whole World; was bound to proceed to due correction, when milder courses were ineffectual; therefore since King Henry, who had been formerly a Defender of the Faith; had fallen from it; had contrary to an Inhibition made, put away his Queen, and married one Anne Bollein, and had made impious and hurtful Laws; denying the Pope to be the Supream Head of
The Church, but assuming that Title to himself; and had required
all his Subjects under pain of death to swear it; and had put the
Cardinal of Rockeffer to death, because he would not consent to
thee Hereties; and by all these things had rendered himself unwor-
thy of his Regal Dignity; and had hardened his heart (as Pharaoh
did against all the Admonitions of Pope Clement the 7th; there-
fore since these his crimes were so notorious, he in imitation of what
the Apostle did to Elinas the Magician, proceeds to such Cenfures
as he had deferred; and with the advice of his Cardinals, does
first exhort him and all his Complices, to return from their errors,
to annul the Acts lately made; and to proceed no farther upon
them: which he requires him and them to do, under the pains of
Excommunication and Rebellion, and of the Kings losing his King-
dom; whom he required within 90 days, to appear at Rome, by
himself or Proxy, and his Complices within 60 days, to give an
account of their Actions; otherwise he would then proceed to a fur-
ther sentence against them. And Declares, that if the King and his
Complices do not appear, he has fallen from the right to his Crown,
and they from the right to their Estates; and when they die, they
were to be denied Christian Burial. He puts the whole Kingdom
under an Interdiction; and declares all the Kings Children by the said
Anne, and the Children of all his Complices, to be under the
same pains, though they be now under age; and Incapacitates them
for all honours or employments; and declares all the Subjects or
Vassals of the Kings or his Complices, abjured from all Oaths or
Obligations to them, and requires them to acknowledg them no
more. And declares him and them Infamous, so that they might nei-
ther be witnesses nor make Wills. He requires all other persons
to have no dealings with him or them, neither by Trading, nor any
other way, under the pain of Excommunication; the annulling their
Contraets, and the exposing goods so Traded in, to all that should
catch them. And that all Clergy-men should within five days after
the expiration of the time prefixed, go out of the Kingdom; (leav-
ing only so many Priests as would be necessary for Baptizing In-
fants, and giving the Sacrament to such as died in Penitence) un-
der the pains of Excommunication and Deprivation. And Charges
all Noble-men and others in his Dominions, under the same pains,
to rise up in Arms against him, and to drive him out of his King-
dom; and that none should take Arms for him, or any way assist
him: and Declares all other Princes abjured from any Confede-
racies made, or to be made, with him; and earnestly oblieth the Em-
peror and all Kings, and requires other Princes under the former
pains, to trade no more with him; and in case of their disobedience
he puts their Kingdoms under an Interdiction. And requires all
Princes and Military persons, in the virtue of Holy Obedience, to
make War upon him, and to force him to return to the Obedience
of the Apoftolick See; and to seize on all Goods, or Merchandizes
belonging to the King or his Complices, where-ever they could find
them; and that such of his Subjects that were seized on, should
be made Slaves. And requires all Bishops, Three days after the
time that was set down was clapsed, to intimate this Sentence in all
their
their Churches, with putting out of Candles, and other Ceremonies that ought to be used, in the most solemn and publick manner that might be. And all who hindered the Publication of this Sentence, are put under the same Pains. He ordained this Sentence to be affixed at Rome, Tournaic, and Dunkirk; which should stand for a sufficient publication; and concludes, that if any should endeavour to oppose, or enervate any of the premisses, he should incur the indignation of Almighty God, and the Holy Apostles, St. Peter and Paul.

Dated at Rome the 30th of August, 1535. But the Pope found the Princes of Christendom liked the precedent, of using a King in that manner, so ill, that he suspended the Execution of this Bull till this time, that the suppression ofABBies, and the burning of Thomas Becket's Bones (for it was so represented at Rome, though our writers say they were buried;) did so inflame the Pope, that he could forbear no longer; and therefore by a new sentence he did all he could to shake him in his Throne.

The Preamble of it was, That as our Saviour had pity on St. Peter after his fall, so it became St. Peters successors to imitate our Saviour in his Clemency; and that therefore though he having heard of King Henry's crimes, had proceeded to a sentence against him; (Here the former Bull was recited.) Yet some other Princes who hoped he might be reclaimed by gentler methods, had interposed for a suspension of the Sentence: and he being eafe to believe, what he so earnestly desired, had upon their Intercession suspended it. But now he found they had been deceived in their hopes, and that he grew worse and worse; and had done such dishonour to the Saints, as to raise St. Thomas of Canterbury's body, to array him of High Treason, and to burn his Body, and Sacrilegiously to rob the Riches that had been offered to his Shrine, as also to suppress St. Austin's Abbey in Canterbury; and that having thrust out the Monks, he had put in wild Beasts into their grounds, having transformed himself into a Beast. Therefore he takes off the Suspension, and publishes the Bull, commanding it to be executed: Declaring that the affixing it at Dieppe or Bulloign in France, at St. Andrews or Calisfren, (that is Callisfren, a Town near the border of England, in Scotland or Tuam, or Artisfert in Ireland, or any two of these, should be a sufficient publication. Dated the 17th of December, Anno Dom. 1538.

No man can read these Bulls, but he must conclude that if the Pope be the Infallible and Univerfal Pastor of the Church, whom all are bound to obey, he has a full authority over all Kings, to proceed to the highest Censures possible: and since the matters of fact, enumerated in the Sentence as the grounds of it, were certainly true; then the Pope is either clothed with the powers of Depositing Princes, or otherwise, he lied to the world when he pretended to it thus, and taught false Doctrine, which cannot stand with Infallibility: And the pretended grounds of the sentence as to matter of fact, being evidently true, this must be a just Sentence; and therefore all that acknowledged the Infallibility of that See, were bound to obey it, and all the Rebellions that followed, during the reign of the King or his Children, were founded on this sentence, and must be justified by it; otherwise the Popes
Popes Infallibility must fall to the ground. But this was to be said for the Pope, that though he had raised the several branches of this Sentence, higher than any of his Predecessors had ever done; yet as to the main he had very good and Authentick Precedents for what he did from the Depositions of Emperours or Kings; that were made by former Popes for about 500 years together. This I thought needful to be more fully opened, because of the present Circumstances we are now in; since hereby every one that will consider things, must needs see that the belief of the Popes Infallibility does necessarily inter the acknowledgment of their power of deposing Heretical Kings. For it is plain, the Pope did this ex Cathedra, and as a Pastor Feeding and Correcting his Flock.

But not content with this he also Wrote to other Princes, inflaming them against the King; Particularly to the Kings of France, and Scotland. To the last of these he sent a Breve; declaring King Henry a Heretic, a Schismatik, a manifest Adulterer, a publick Murtherer, a Rebel, and convict of High Treason against him, the Pope his Lord; for which Crimes he had deposed him, and offered his Dominions to him, if he would go and Invade them. And thus the breach between him and the Pope was past reconciling; and at Rome it was declared equally meritorious to fight against him, as against the Turk. But Card. Pool made it more meritorious in his Book. Yet the Thunders of the Vatican had now loft their force; so that these had no other effect but to enraged the King more against all such as were suspected to favour their interests, or to hold any correspondence with Cardinal Pool. Therefore he first procured a Declaration against the Popes pretentions, to be Signed by all the Bishops of England: In which, after they declared against the Popes Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, upon the grounds formerly touched, they concluded, 'That the People ought to be instructed, that Christ did expressly forbid his Apostles or their Successors to take to themselves the power of the Sword, or the Authority of Kings. And that, if the Bishop of Rome, or any other Bishop assumed any such power, he was a Tyrant and Utpurper of other mens Rights, and a Subverter of the Kingdom of Christ. This was subseribed by 19 Bishops, (all that were then in England,) and 25 Doctors of Divinity and Law. It was at some time before May 1538. For Edward Fox Bishop of Hereford who was one that signed it died the 8th of May that year. There was no Convocation called by Writ for doing this. For as there is no mention of any Such Writ in the Register, so if it had been done by Convocation, Cromwell had signed it first; but his hand not being at it, it is more probable that a meeting of the Clergy was called by the Kings Missive Letters; or that as was once done before; the Paper was drawn at London, and sent over the Kingdom to the Episcopal Sees, for the Bishops hands to it.

There is another original Paper extant, Signed at this time by eight Bishops: from which I conjecture those were all that were then about London. It was to lhew, 'That by the Commision which Christ gave to Church-men, they were only Ministers of his Gospel, to Instruct the people in the purity of the Faith: But that by other places of Scripture, the Authority of Christian Princes over all
all their Subjects, as well Bishops and Priests, as others, was also clear. And that the Bishops and Priests have charge of Souls with-
in their Cures, Power to administer Sacraments, and to teach the word of God: To the which word of God, Christian Princes ac-
knowledge themselves subject; and that in case the Bishops be neg-
ligent, it is the Christian Princes Office to see them do their du-
ty. This, being Signed by John Hussy Bishop of Rochester, must be after the year 1537, in which he was Confeederated; and at the time and Stuxton also Signing, it must be before the year 1539, in which they resigned. But I believe it was Signed at the same time that the other was: And the design of it was to refute those Calumnies spread at Rome, as if the King had wholly Suppressed all Ecclefaftical Offices, and denied them any divine Authority, making them wholly dependent on the Civil Power, and Acting by Commi

The King did also set forward the Printing of the English Bible, which was finished this year, at London, by Grafton the Printer, who printed 1500 of them at his own Charge. This Bible Crom-

The Bible is dated 1638.

wel presented to the King, and procured his Warrant, allowing all his Subjects in all his Dominions to read it, without controul or hazard. For which, the Arch-Bishop wrote Cromwel a Letter of most hearty thanks, dated the 13th of August. Who did now rejoice that he had this day of Reformation, which he concluded was now rifen in England, since the Light of Gods word did shine out in it with-

out any Cloud. The Translation had been sent over to France to be printed at Paris: the workmen in England not being judged able to do it, as it ought to be. Therefore in the year 1537, it was recommended to Bonners care, who was then Amba邰lor at Paris, and was much in Cromwells favour, who was setting him up against Gardiner. He procured the King of France's leave to print it at Pa-

for injunc-

Numb. 11.
works of Charity, Mercy, and Faith: and not to trust in other
mens works, or Pilgrimages, to Images, or Relicks, or saying o-
ver Beads, which they did not understand; since these things tend-
ed to Idolatry and Superstition, which of all offences did most pro-
voke Gods Indignation. They were to take down all Images, which
were abused by Pilgrimages, or offerings made to them; and to
suffer no Candles to be set before any Image; only there might be
Candles before the Cross, and before the Sacrament, and about the Se-
pulchre: And they were to Instruct the people, that Images fer-
vied only as the Books of the un-learned, to be remembrances of the
Conversations of them whom they represented: but if they made
any other use of Images, it was Idolatry: for remedying whereof,
the King had already done in part, so he intended to do more
for the abolishing such Images, which might be a great offence to
God, and a danger to the Souls of his Subjects. And if any of
them had formerly Magnified such Images, or Pilgrimages, to such
purposes; They were ordered openly to recant, and acknowledg,
that in saying such things they had been led by no ground in Scrip-
ture; but were deceived by a vulgar error, which had crept in
the Church, through the Avarice of those who had profit by
it. They were also to discover all such as were Letters of the read-
ing of Gods word in English, or hindered the Execution of these
Injunctions. Then followed orders for keeping of Register in their
Parishes, for Reading all the Kings Injunctions once every quarter
at least: That none were to alter any of the Holy-days without di-
rections from the King: And all the Eves of the Holy-days for-
merly abrogated, were declared to be no Fasting-days: The
Commemoration of Thomas Becket was to be clean omitted: The
kneeling for the Avies after Sermon were also forbidden; which
were laid in hope to obtain the Popes Pardon. And whereas in their
Proceedings he used to say so many Suffrages with an Ora pro nobis
to the Saints, by which they had not time to say the Suffrages to God
himself, they were to teach the people, that it were better to omit
the Ora pro nobis, and to sing the other Suffrages which were most
necessary and most effectual.

These Injunctions struck at three main Points of Popery: contain-
ing encouragements to the vulgar, to Read the Scriptures in a known
tongue, and putting down all worship of Images, and leaving it free
for any Curate to leave out the Suffrages to the Saints. So that
they were looked on as a deadly blow to that Religion. But now
those of that party did so Artificially comply with the King, that
no advantages could be found against any of them for their disobe-
dience. The King was Mafter at home, and no more to be dis-
beled. He had not only broken the Rebellion of his own Subjects,
and secured himself by Alliance from the dangers threatened him by
the Pope; but all their expectations from the Lady Mary were now
clouded: For on the 12th of October 1537. Queen Jane had born him
a Son; who was Christned Edward; the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury
being one of his God-Fathers. This very much encouraged all that
were for Reformation, and disheartned those who were against it.
But the joy for this young Prince was qualified by the Queens death,
two days after; which afflicted the King very much: for of all his Wives, she was the dearest to him. And his grief for that loss is given as the reason, why he continued two years a Widdower. But others thought he had not so much tenderness in his Nature, as to be much or long troubled for any thing. Therefore the skewness of his Marrying was ascribed to some reasons of State. But the Birth of the Prince was a great disappointment to all those whose hopes rested on the Lady Mary's succeeding her Father: Therefore they submitted themselves with more than ordinary Compliance to the King.

Gardiner was as busy as any in declaiming against the Religious Houses, and took occasion in many of his Sermons to commend the King for suppressing them: The Arch-Bishop of York had recovered himself at Court: And I do not find that he interposed in the suppression of any of the Religious Houses, except Hexham, about which he wrote to Cromwell, that it was a great Sanctuary when the Scots made Inroads: And so he thought that the continuing it might be of great use to the King. He added in that Letter, 'that he did carefully silence all the Preachers of Novelties. But some of these boastful, that they would shortly have Licences from the King, as he heard they had already from the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury; but he directed Cromwell to prevent that mischief.' This is all that I find of him.

There is a Pardon granted to Stokely Bishop of London, on the 3d of July, in the 30th year of his Reign being this year, for having Acted by Commiision from Rome, and laid out Bulls from thence. If these crimes were done before the Separation from Rome, they were remitted by the General Pardon. If he took a particular Pardon, it seems strange that it was not enrolled till now. But I am apt to believe it was rather the Omission of a Clerk, than his being guilty of such a Transgression about this time; for I see no caule to think the King would have Pardoned such a Crime in a Bishop in those days. All that Party had now by their compliance and Submission gained so much on the King, that he began to turn more to their Councils, than he had done of late years. Gardiner was returned from France, where he had been Ambassador for some years: He had been also in the Emperors Court, and there were violent presumptions that he had secretly reconciled himself to the Pope, and entered into a Correspondence with him. For one of the Legates Servants discourse of it at Ratisbome, to one of Sir Henry Knevets retinue (who was joined in the Embassys with Gardiner,) whom he took to be Gardiners Servant, and with whom he had an old acquaintance. The matter was traced, and Knevets spoke with the Italian that had first let it fall, and was persuaded of the truth of the thing: But Gardiner smelting it out, said, That Italian upon whose Testimony the whole matter depended, was corrupted to ruin him; and complained of it to the Emperors Chancellor Granvel: Upon which Ludovico (that was the Italian name,) was put in Prison. And it seems the King either looked on it as a Contrivance of Gardiners enemies, or at least seemed to do so, for he continued still to employ him. Yet on many occasions he expressed great contempt of him, and used him not
not as a Councillor, but as a slave. But he was a man of great running, and had observed the Kings temper exactly, and knew well to take a fit occasion for moving the King in any thing, and could improve it dextrously. He therefore reprented to the King, that nothing would so secure him both at home, and abroad, against all the mischief the Pope was contriving, as to shew great zeal against Heretics, chiefly the Sacramentaries, (by that name they branded all that denied the Corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist.) And the King being all his life, zealous for the belief of the Corporal presence, was the more easily persuaded to be severe on that Head: And the rather because the Princes of Germany, whose friendship was necessary to him, being all Lutherans, his proceedings against the Sacramentaries would give them no offence.

An occasion at that time presented it self as opportunely as they could have wished, one John Nicolson, alias Lambert, was then questioned by the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury for that opinion. He had been Minister of the English Company at Antwerp; where being acquainted with Tindal and Frith, he improved that knowledge of Religion, which was first infused in him by Ridley: But Chancellor More ordered the Merchants to dismiss him; so he came over to England, and was taken by some of Arch-Bishop Warham's Officers, and many Articles were objected to him. But Warham died soon after, and the change of Counsels that followed occasioned his Liberty. So he kept a School at London, and hearing Doctor Taylor, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, Preach of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, he came to him upon it, and offered his reasons why he could not believe the Doctrine he had Preached: Which he put in Writing, digging them into ten Arguments. Taylor shewed this to Doctor Barnes, who as he was bred among the Lutherans, so had not only brought over their opinions, but their temper with him: He thought that nothing would more obstruct the progress of the Reformation than the venting that Doctrine in England. Therefore Taylor and he carried the Paper to Cranmer, who was at that time also of Luther's opinion, which he had drunk in from his friend Osiander. Latimer was of the same belief. So Lambert was brought before them, and they studied to make him retract his Paper: But all was in vain, for Lambert by a fatal resolution appealed to the King.

This Gardiner laid hold on, and persuaded the King to proceed solemnly and severely in it. The King was soon prevailed with, and both Interprety and Vanity concurred to make him improve this opportunity, for shewing his zeal and Learning. So Letters were written to many of the Nobility and Bishops, to come and see this Tryal; in which the King intended to sit in Person, and to manage some part of the Argument. In November, on the day that was prefixed, there was a great appearance in Westminster-Hall, of the Bishops, and Clergy, the Nobility, Judges, and the Kings Council; with an incredible number of Spectators. The Kings Guards were all in White, and so was the Cloth of State.

When the Prisoner was brought to the Bar. The Tryal was opened by a Speech of Doctor Dus, which was to this effect: 'That this Assembly was not at all convened to dif-
pure about any Point of Faith; but that the King being Supreme
Head, intended openly to condemn and confute that man Herefi
in all their presence. Then the King commanded him to declare
his opinion about the Sacrament. To which Lambert began his an-
twer with a Prelace, acknowledging the Kings great goodness, that
he would thus hear the Causes of his Subjects, and commending his
great Judgment and Learning. In this the King interrupted him,
telling him in Latin, that he came not there to hear his own praises
set forth, and therefore commanded him to speak to the matter. This
he uttered with a stern Countenance; At which Lambert being a little
disordered, the King asked him again, whether was Christ's body in
the Sacrament or not? He answered in the Words of St. Auffine,
It was his Body in a certain manner. But the King bade him ans
ly, whether it was Christs Body or not? So he answered, That it was
not his Body. Upon which the King urged him with the words of
Scripture, This is my Body; and then he commanded the Arch-Bishop
to confute his Opinion, who spoke only to that part of it, which was
grounded on the Impossibility of a Bodies being in two places at once.
And that he confuted from Christs appearing to St. Paul; shewing
that though he is always in Heaven, yet he was seen by St. Paul in
the Air. But Lambert affirmed, that he was then only in Heaven;
and that St. Paul heard a Voice, and saw a Vision, but not the very body
of Christ. Upon this they disputed for some time: in which it seems
the Bishop of Winchester thought Cranmer argued but faintly, for he in-
terposed in the Argument.

Toynbys Arguments run all upon Gods Omnipotency, that it was not
to be limited by any appearances of difficulties, which flowed from
our want of a right understanding of things; and our Faculties being
weak, our notions of Impossibilities were proportioned to these.
But Stokely thought he had found out a Demonstration that might
put an end to the whole Controversie; for he shewed, that in Nature
we see one substance change into another, and yet the accidents remain.
So when Water is boyled, till it evaporates into Air, one substance
is changed into another, and moysture that was the accident remains,
it being still moyst. This (as one of the eye-witenesses relates) was
received with great applause, and much joy appeared in the Bishops
looks upon it. But whether the Spectators could distinguish well
between Laughter for Joy, and a scornful smile, I cannot tell: For
certainly this Crochet must have provoked the latter rather; since it
was a Sophism, not to be forgiven any above a Junior Sophister; thus
from an accidental conversation, where the Substance was still the same,
only altered in its Form and Qualities, (according to the Language
of that Philofophy, which was then most in vogue,) to inter a sub-
flantial mutation, where one substance was annihilated, and a new one
produced in its place. But these arguments it seems disorder'd Lam-
bert somewhat; and either the Kings stern looks, the variety of the
Disputants, ten, one after another, engaging with him, or the great-
ness of the presence, with the length of the action, which continued
five hours, put him in some confusion; it is not improbable but they
might in the end bring him to be quite silent. This one that was pre-
sent said, flowed from his being spent and wearied; and that he saw
what
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what he said was little considered; but others ascribed it to his being confounded with the arguments that were brought against him. So the general applause of the Hall, gave the victory on the Kings side. When he was thus silent, the King asked him if he was convinced by these arguments, and whether he would live or die? He answered, That he committed his Soul to God, and submitted his Body to the Kings Clemency. But the King told him, if he did not recant he must die, for he would not be a Patron of Heretics; and since he would not do that, the King ordered Cromwel to read the Sentence, (which he as the Kings Vice-gerent did,) declaring him an Incorrigible Heretic, and condemning him to be burnt. Which was soon after executed in Smithfield, in a most barbarous manner; for when his Legs and Thighs were burnt to the Stumps, there not being fire enough to consume the rest of him suddenly, two of the Officers raised up his body on their Halberds, he being yet alive, and crying out, None but Christ, none but Christ; and then they let him fall down into the Fire, where he was quickly consumed to ashes. He was a learned and good man. His answers to the Articles objected to him by Warbur, and a Book which in his Imprisonment he wrote for justifying his opinion, which he directed to the King; do shew both great Learning for those times, and a very good Judgment.

This being done, the party that opposed the Reformation, persuaded the King that he had got so much reputation to himself by it, that it would effectually refute all aspersions, which had been cast on him, as if he intended to change the Faith: neither did they forget to set on him in his weak side, and magnifie all that he had said, as if the Oracle had uttered it: By which they said, it appeared he was indeed a Defender of the Faith, and the Suprem Head of the Church. And he had so good a conceit of what was then done, that he intended to pursue those severities further; and therefore soon after he resolved on Summoning a Parliament, partly for confirming what he had done, and compleating what remained to be done further, in the suppression of the Monasteries; and likewise for making a new Law for punishing some Opinions, which were then spreading about the Sacrament, and some other Articles, as will soon appear.

Now the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury's Interef at Court, suffered a great diminution. His chief friend among the Bishops, was Fox Bishop of Hereford, who was much esteemed, and employed by the King. He was a Privy-Councillor, and had been employed in a Negotiation with the Princes of Germany, to whom he was a very acceptable Minister. They proposed, That the King would receive the Ansbarg Confession, except in such things as should be altered in it by common Consent, and defend it in a free Council, if any such were called; and that neither of them should acknowledge any Council called by the Pope: That the King should be called the Patron of their League, and they should mutually assist one another, the King giving 10,000 Crowns a year towards the defence of the League.

The Bishop of Winchester being then in France, did much dissuade the King from making a Religious League with them; against which he
he gave some plausible politick reasons, for his Conscience never frugled with a maxim of State. But the King liked most of the propositions; only he would not accept the Title of Defender of their League, till some differences in the Doctrine were agreed. So they were to have sent over Sturmius as their Agent; and Melanthon, Bucer, and George Duce, to confer with the Kings Divines. But upon Queen Ann's fall this vanished; and though the King entered into a Civil League with them, and had frequently a mind to bring over Melanthon, for whom he had a great value, yet it never took effect. There were three things in which the Germans were more positive than in any other point of Reformation. These were, the Communion in both kinds, the worship in a known Tongue, and an allowance for the marriage of the Clergy. All the people had got these things in their heads; so that it was generally believed, that if the Pope had in time conformed to them, the Progress of the Reformation had been much stopped. The express words of the Institution, and the Novelty of the contrary practice, had engaged that Nation very early for Communion in both kinds. Common sense made them all desire to understand what they did and said in the Worship of God; and the lewd and dilatory practices of the unmarried Clergy, were so publick, that they thought the honour of their Families, of which that Nation is extremely sensible, could not be secured, unless the Clergy might have Wives of their own. But at these the King stuck more, than at other things that were more disputable. For in all other points that were material, he had set up the Doctrine of the Augsburg Confession; and there was good ground to hope that the Evidence of at least two of these would have brought over the King to a fuller Agreement, and firmer Union with them. But the Bishop of Hereford's death gave a great blow to that design. For though that party thought they had his room well filled, when they had got Bonner to be his Successor; yet they found afterwards what a fatal mistake they committed, in railing him now to Hereford, and translating him within a few months to London, vacant by Stokelsey's death. But during the vacancy of the See of Hereford, Cranmer held a Visitation in it, where he left some Injunctions (to be found in the Collection) which chiefly related to the encouraging of reading the Scriptures, and giving all due obedience to the Kings Injunctions. For the other Bishops that adhered to Cranmer, they were rather clogs than helps to him. Latimers simplicity and weakness made him be delphied: Shaxtou's proud and litigious humour drew hatred on him: Barlow was not very different; and many of the Preachers whom they cherished, whether out of an unbridled forwardness of temper, or true zeal that would not be managed and governed by politick and prudent measures, were flying at many things that were not yet abolished. Many complaints were brought of these to the King. Upon which, Letters were sent to all the Bishops in the Kings name, to take care that as the People should be instructed in the truth, so they should not be unwarily charged with too many novelties; since the publishing these, if it was not tempered with great discretion, would raise much contention, and other inconveniences that might be of dangerous consequence. But it seems this Caveat did not produce what was designed.
by it, or at least the opposite party were still bringing in new Com-
plaints: for I have seen an original Letter of Cromwell to the Bishop of
Landaff, bearing date the 6th of January: In which he makes men-
tion of the King’s Letters sent to that purpose, and requires him to
look to the Execution of them, both against the violence of the new
Preachers, and against those that secretly carried on the pretended
authority of the Bishop of Rome; otherwife he threatens to proceed
againft him in another manner. All these things concurred to leffen
Cromwell’s interest in the Court; nor had he any firm friend there but
Cromwell, who was also careful to preveve himself: There was not a
Queen now in the Kings bosom to favour their motions. Queen
Anne had been their friend, though she came in Anne Boleyn’s room
that had supported them moft. The King was observed to be much
guided by his Wives, as long as they kept their interest with him.
Therefore Cromwell thought the only way to retrieve a design that was
almost loft, was to engage the King in an Alliance with some of the
Princes of Germany; from whence he had heard much of the Beauty
of the Lady Anne of Cleve, the Duke of Cleve’s Sister, whose elder
sister was married to the Duke of Saxony.

But while he was fetting this on foot, a Parliament was summoned
to meet the 25th of April. To which all the Parliamentary Abbots
had their Writs. The Abbots of Westminster, St. Albans, St. Edmund-
bury, St. Mary York, Glastonbury, Gloucester, Ramfey, Evesham, Peter-
borough, Reading, Malmsbury, Crowland, Selby Thorny Wincelcom, Wal-
tham, Cirencefer, Tekebury, Colebefer and Tavelslake, fate in it. On
the 5th of May, the Lord Chancellour acquainted them, that the
King being most defirous to have all his Subjects of one mind in Re-
ligion; and to quiet all Controversies about it, had commanded him
to move to them, that a Committee might be appointed for examining
these different opinions, and drawing up Articles for an agreement,
which might be reported and confidered by the Houfe. To this the
Lords agreed, and named for a Committee, Cromwell the Vice-gerent,
the two Arch-Bifhops, the Bifhops of Durefne, Bath and Wells, Ely,
Bangor, Carlifte and Worcefier: Who were ordered to go about it with
all haffe, and were difpended with for their attendance in the Houfe,
till they had ended their business. But they could come to no agree-
ment; for the Arch-Bifhop of Canterbury, having the Bifhops of Ely
and Worcefier to second him, and being favoured by Cromwell, the o-
ther five could carry nothing againft them: Nor would either party
yield to the other, fo that 11 days passed in these debates.

On the 16th of May, the Duke of Norfolk told the Lords, That
the Committee that was named had made no progres, for they were
not of one mind; which some of the Lords had objected, when they
were first named. Therefore he offered some Articles to the Lords’
confideration, that they might be examined by the whole Houfe, and
that there might be a perpetual Law made for the obervation of them,
after the Lords had freely delivered their minds about them. The Ar-
ticles were.

‘First, Whether in the Eucharift, Chrif’s real Body was prefent
without any Tranfubftantiation? (fo it is in the Journal abfque
Transubftantiatione) it feems to the Corporal Prefence had been
efftablifhed,
established, they would have left the manner of it indefinite.

Secondly, Whether that Sacrament was to be given to the Laity in both kinds?

Thirdly, Whether the Vows of Chastity, made either by men or Women, ought to be observed, by the Law of God?

Fourthly, Whether by the Law of God private Masses ought to be celebrated?

Fifthly, Whether Priests by the Law of God might marry?

Sixthly, Whether Auricular Confession were necessary by the Law of God?

Against these the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury argued long. For the first, he was then in his opinion a Lutheran, so he was not like to say much against it. But certainly he opposed the second much; since there was not any thing for which those with whom he held correspondence were more earnest, and seemed to have greater advantages, both from Christ's own words in the Institution, and the constant practice of the Church for 12 ages.

For the Third, It seemed very hard to suppress so many Monasteries, and yet bind them up to Chastity. That same Parliament by another Act, absolved them from their vow of Poverty, giving them Power to purchase Lands: now it was not reasonable to bind them up to some parts of their Vow, when they absolved them from the rest. And it was no ways prudent to bind them up from Marriage, since, as long as they continued in that State, they were still capable to re-enter into their Monasteries, when a fair occasion should offer; whereas they upon their Marrying did effectually lay down all possible pretensions to their former Houses.

For the Fourth, The Asserting the Necessity of private Masses, was a plain Condemnation of the Kings proceedings in the Suppression of so many Religious Houscs, which were Societies chiefly dedicated to that purpose. For if these Masses did profit the Souls departed, the destroying so many Foundations could not be justified. And for the living, these private Masses were clearly contrary to the first Institution, by which that which was blessed and consecrated was to be distributed: And it was to be a Communion, and so held by the Primitive Church, which admitted none, so much as to see the Celebration of that Sacrament, but those who received it: Laying Cenufures upon such as were present at the rest of that office, and did not stay and Communicate.

For the Fifth, it touched Cranmer to the quick, for he was then Married. The Scripture did in no place enjoyn the Celibat of the Clergy. On the contrary Scripture speaks of their Wives, and gives the Rules of their living with them. And St. Paul in express words condemns all men leaving their Wives, without exception, saying That the man hath not Power over his own body but the Wife. In the Primitive Church, though those that were in Orders did not Marry, yet such as were Married before Orders, kept their Wives, of which there were many Instances, and when some moved in the Council of Nice, that all that had been Married, when they entered into Orders, should put away their Wives, it was rejected, and ever since the

Greek
Greek Churches have allowed their Priests to keep their Wives. Nor was it ever commanded in the Western Church, till the Popes began their Usurpation. Therefore the prohibition of it being only grounded on the Papal Constitutions, it was not reasonable to keep it up, since that Authority on which it was built was now overthrown.

What was said concerning Auricular Confession, I cannot so easily recover. For though Cranmer argued three days against these Articles, I can only gather the substance of his Arguments from what himselt wrote on some of these Heads afterwards. For nothing remains of what passed there, but what is conveyed to us in the Journal, which is short and defective.

On the 24th of May the Parliament was Prorogued to the 36th, upon what reason it does not appear. It was not to set any of the Bills backward; for it was agreed, that the Bills should continue in the State in which they were then, till their next meeting. When they met again; on the 36th of May being Friday, the Lord Chancellor intimated to them, that not only the Spiritual Lords, but the King himself, had taken much pains to bring things to an agreement which was effected. Therefore he moved in the Kings name, that a Bill might be brought in for punishing such as offended against these Articles. So the Lords appointed the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, and St. Davids, and Doctor Petre, a master of Chancery, (afterwards Secretary of State, ) to draw one Bill; and the Arch-Bishop of York, the Bishop of Duresin, and Winchester, and Doctor Tregonnel, another Master of Chancery, to draw another Bill about it; and to have them both ready, and to offer them to the King by Sunday next. But the Bill that was drawn by the Arch-Bishop of York, and those with him, was best liked: yet it seems the Matter was long contested, for it was not brought to the House before the 7th of June; and then the Lord Chancellor offered it, and it was read the first time. On the 9th of June it had the second reading, and on the 10th it was engrossed and read the third time. But when it passed, the King directed the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury to go out of the House, since he could not give his consent to it; but he humbly excused himself, for he thought he was bound in conscience to stay and vote against it. It was sent down to the House of Commons, where it met with no great opposition; for on the 14th it was agreed to, and sent up again: And on the 28th it had the force of a Law by the Royal Assent.

The Title of it was, An Act for abolishing Diversity of opinions in certain Articles concerning Christian Religion. It is said in the Preamble, that the King, considering the bleffed effects of union, and the mischief of discord, since there were many different opinions, both among the Clergy and Laity, about some points of Religion, had called this Parliament, and a Synod at the same time, for removing these differences, where six Articles were proposed, and long debated by the Clergy: And the King himself had come in person to the Parliament, and Council, and opened many things of high Learning and great knowledge about them, And that he, with the Assent of both Houses of Parliament, had agreed on the following Articles.
First, That in the Sacrament of the Altar after the Consecration there remained no Substance of Bread and Wine, but under these forms, the Natural Body and Blood of Christ were present. Secondly, That Communion in both kinds was not necessary to Salvation to all persons by the Law of God; but that both the Flesh and Blood of Christ were together in each of the kinds. Thirdly, That Priests after the Order of Priesthood might not Marry by the Law of God. Fourthly, That vows of Chastity ought to be observed by the Law of God. Fifthly, That the use of private Masses ought to be continued; which as it was agreeable to Gods Law, so men received great benefit by them. Sixthly, That Auricular Confession was expedient, and necessary, and ought to be retained in the Church. The Parliament thanked the King, for the pains he had taken in these Articles: And Enacted, that if any after the 12th of July, did speak, preach, or write against the first Article, they were to be judged Heretics, and to be burnt without any abjuration; and to forfeit their real and personal Estates to the King. And those who preached or ostentatiously disputed against the other Articles, were to be judged Felons; and to suffer death as Felons, without benefit of Clergy. And those who either in word or writing, spake against them, were to be Prisoners during the Kings pleasure, and forfeit their Goods and Chattels to the King, for the first time: And if they offended so the second time, they were to suffer as Felons. All the Marriages of Priests are declared void; and if any Priest did still keep any such Woman, whom he had so Married, and lived familiarly with her, as with his Wife, he was to be judged a Felon: And if a Priest lived carnally with any other Woman, he was upon the first Conviction to forfeit his Benefices, Goods, and Chattels, and to be Imprisoned during the Kings pleasure; and upon the second Conviction, was to suffer as a Felon. The Women so offending, were also to be punished in the same manner, as the Priests; and those who contemned, or abstained from Confession, or the Sacrament, at the accustomed times, for the first offence were to forfeit their Goods and Chattels, and be Imprisoned; and for the second, were to be adjudged of Felony. And for the Execution of this Act, Commissions were to be issued out to all Arch-Bishops and Bishops, and their Chancellors and Commisaries, and such others in the several Shires as the King shall name, to hold their Sessions quarterly, or oftener; and they were to proceed upon presentments, and by a Jury. Those Commissioners were to swear, that they should execute their Commission indifferently, without favour, affection, corruption, or malice. All Ecclesiastical incumbents were to read this Act in their Churches once a quarter. And in the end a Provise was added, concerning vows of Chastity. That they should not oblige any, except such as had taken them at or above the age of 21 years; or had not been compelled to take them. This Act was received, by all that secretly favoured Popery, with great joy; for now they hoped to be revenged on all those who had hitherto set forward a Reformation. It very much quieted the Bigors; who were now persuaded that the King would not set up He-
An Act about the Suppression of the Monasteries.

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relie, since he passed fo severe an Act against it; and it made the total Suppression of Monasteries go the more easily thorough. The Popish Clergy liked all the Act very well, except that severe branch of it against their unclerft practices. This was put in by Cromwell to make it cut with both edges. (Some of our inconsiderate Writers, who never perused the Statutes, tell us it was done by a different Act of Parliament; but greater faults must be forgiven them who write upon hearsay.) There was but one comfort that the poor Reformers could pick out of the whole Act, that they were not left to the Mercy of the Clergy, and their Ecclesiastical Courts, but were to be tried by a Jury; where they might expect more candid and gentle dealing. Yet the denying them the benefit of Abjuration, was a severity beyond what had ever been put in practice before: So now they began to prepare for new storms and a heavy persecution.

The other chief business of this Parliament was the Suppression of Monasteries. It is said in the Preamble of that Act, 'That divers Abotts, Priores, and other Heads of Religious Houses, had, since the 4th of February in the 27th year of the Kings Reign, without contraint, of their own accord, and according to the due course of the Common Law, by sufficient writings of Record, under their Covent-Seals, given up their Houses and all that belonged to them to the King. Therefore all Houses that were since that time suppressed, dissolved, relinquished, forfeited, or given up, are Confirmed to the King and his Successors for ever: And all Monasteries that should thereafter be suppressed, forfeited, or given up, are also Confirmed to the King and his Successors. And all these Houses, with the Rents belonging to them, were to be disposed of by the Court of Augmentations for the Kings profit; excepting only such as were come into the Kings hands by Attainders of Treason, which belonged to the Exchequer. Referring to all persons, except the Patrons, Founders, and Donors of such Houses, the same right to any parts of them, or Jurisdiction in them, which they could have claimed if that Act had never been made. Then followed many Clauses for Annulling all Deeds and Leafes, made within one year before the Suppression of any Religious House, to the prejudice of it, or different from what had been granted formerly. And all Churches or Chappels, which belonged to these Monasteries, and were formerly exempted from the Visitation or Jurisdiction of their Ordinary, are declared to be within the Jurisdiction of the Bishop, of the Dioces, or of any other that should be appointed by the King.

This Act passed in the House of Peers, without any Protestation made by any of the Abbots, though it appears by the Journal that at the first reading of it, there were eighteen Abbots present, at the second reading twenty, and seventeen at the third reading, and the Abbots of Glastonbury, Colebeftor, and Reading, were among those who were present; so little reason there is to think they were attainted for any open withstanding the Kings proceedings, when they did not protest against this Act, which was so plainly levelled at them. It was soon dispatched by the Commons; and offered to the Royal Assent. By it, no Religious Houses was suppressed, as is generally taken for granted; but only the Surrenders, that either had been, or were to
be made, were Confirmed. The last Proviso for Annulling all Ex-
ceptions of Churches and Chappels, had been a great happiness to
the Church, if it had not been for that Clause; That the King might
appoint others to visit them; which in a great degree did enervate it.
For many of those who afterwards purchased these Lands with the
Impropriated Tithes, got this likewise in their Grants, that they should
be the Visitors of the Churches and Chappels formerly exempted:
from whence great disorders have since followed in these Churches,
which not falling within the Bishops Jurisdiction, are thought not lia-
able to his Censures; so that the Incumbents in them, being under no
restraints, have often been scandalous to the Church; and given oc-
casion to those who were disaffected to the Hierarchy, to confume the
Prelates, for these offences which they could not punish; since the
offenders were thus excepted out of their Jurisdiction. This abuse,
which first sprang from the Ancient Exceptions that were Confirmed
or Granted by the See of Rome, has not yet met with an effectual Re-
medy.

Upon the whole matter, this Suppression of Abbies was universally
censured, and besides the common Exceptions which those that
favoured the old Superstition, made, it was questioned whether the
Lands that formerly belonged to Religious Houses, ought to have re-
turned to the Founders and Donors by way of Reverter, or to have
fallen to the Lords of whom the Lands were holden by the way of Ef-
cheat, or to have come to the Crown. It is true, by the Roman
Law, or at least by a Judgment of the Senate in Theodosius's time,
the Endowments of the Heathenish Temples were upon a full de-
bate, whether they should return to the right Heirs, or be Confi-
dated, in the end adjudged to the Fife or the Emperors Exchequer;
upon this reason, that by the will of the Donors, they were totally
alienated from them and their Heirs. But in England it went oth-
erwise. And when the Order of the Knights-Templars was dissolv-
ed, it was then judged in favour of the Lord by Escheat. For
though the Founders and Donors had totally alienated these Lands
from themselves and their Heirs, yet there was no reason from thence
to conclude any thing that might wrong the Superior Lord of his
Right in the cafe of an Escheat. And this must have held good, if
those alienations and Endowments had been absolute without any con-
dition. But the Endowments being generally rather of the Nature of
Covenants and Contracts, and made in consideration of so many Mas-
cles to be paid for their Souls, then it was most just, that, upon
a non-performance of the Condition, and when that publick Error
and Cheat which the Monks had put upon the World was discovered,
the Lands should have returned to the Founders and Patrons and their
Heirs and Successors. Nor was there any grounds for the Lords to
pretend to them by Escheat, especially where their Ancestors had con-
fented to, and confirmed those Endowments. Therefore there was
no need of Excluding them by any special Proviso. But for the Fou-
ders and Donors, certainly if there had not been a particular Provi-
so made against them, they might have recovered the Lands which
their Ancestors had superstitiously given away; and the Surrenders
which Religious Persons made to the Crown, could not have cut off
their Title. But this Act did that effectually. It is true, many of the greatest of them were of Royal Foundation, and these would have returned to the Crown without Dispute.

On the 23. of May, in this Session of Parliament a Bill was brought in by Cromwell, for giving the King Power to Erect new Bishoprics by his Letters Patents. It was read that day for the first, second, and third time; and sent down to the Commons. The Preamble of it was, 'That it was known what slothful and ungodly Life had been led by those who were called Religious. But that these Houses might be converted to better ues; that Gods word might be better set forth, Children brought up in Learning, Clarks nourished in the Universities, and that old decayed Servants might have Livings, poor people might have Alms-Houses to maintain them, Readers of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, might have good Stipend, daily Alms might be Miniftrained, and Allowance might be made for mending of the High-ways, and Exhibition for Ministers of the Church, for thofe ends, if the King thought fit to have more Bishopricks or Cathedral Churches erected out of the Rents of these House; full Power was given to him to erect, and found them; and to make Rules and Statutes for them, and such Translations of Sees or divisions of them as he thought fit. But on this Act I must add a singular Remark. The Preamble and material parts of it, were drawn by the King himself; and the first draught of it under his hand is yet extant; which shews his extraordinary application and understanding of business. But in the fame Paper there is a Lift of the Sees which he intended to found; of which what was done afterwards came so far short, that I know nothing to which it can be so reasonably imputed, as the declining of Crammers Interest at Court; who had proposed the Erecting of new Cathedrals and Sees, with other things mentioned in the Preamble of the Statute, as a great mean for Reforming the Church. The Sees which the King then designed, with the Abbies out of which they were to be Erected, follow, as it is in the Paper under the Kings own hand.

Essex Waltham. Hartford. 

Bedfordshire Dunstable. Oxford 
and Newenham. and Osnay


and Huntington. 

Leicestershire 


Rutland. 

Lancashire Fountains and the Arch-deaconry of Richmond.

Suffolk Edmonds-bury. Stafford 

and Shrewsbury. 

Nottingham Welbeck. 

and Wexfop. Cornwall 

Derby. 

Thurgarton. 

Lancetfon. 

Bedmynne. Wardreth. 

Over
Over these is written, The Bishopricks to be made. In another corner of the Page he writes as follows.

* Places to be altered according to our device, which have Seats in them. * Chrifl's-Church in Canterbury, St. Swithinis, Ely, Dunfer, Rochester, with a part of Leeds, Worcester, and all others having the same. Then a little below. Places to be altered into Colledges and Schools. Burton super Trent. * More is not written in that Paper. But I wonder much that in this Lift Cheffer was forgotten. Yet it was Erected before any of them. For I have seen a Communion under the Privy Seal to the Bishop of Chester, to take the Surrender of the Monaftry of Hamond in Shropshire, bearing date the 24th. of August this year. So it seems the See of Chester was Erected and endowed before the Act passed, though there is among the Rolls a Charter for Endowing and founding of it afterwards. Briflow is not mentioned in this Paper, though a See was afterwards Erected there. It was not before the end of the next year that these Sees were founded; and there was in that interval so great a Change made, both of the Counselled and Mi

Another Act passed in this Parliament, concerning the obedience due to the Kings Proclamations. There had been great exceptions made to the Legality of the Kings proceedings, in the Articles about Religion, and other Injunctions published by his Authority, which were complained of as contrary to Law; since by these the King had without consent of Parliament, altered some Laws, and had laid Taxes on his Spiritual Subjects. Upon which an Act passed, which lets forth in the Preamble, the contempt and disobedience of the Kings Proclamations, by some who did not consider what a King by his Royal power might do; which if it continued, would tend to the disobedience of the Laws of God, and the dishonour of the Kings Majesty, (who may full ill bear it.) Considering also, that many occasions might require speedy Remedies, and that delaying these till a Parliament met, might occasion great prejudices to the Realm; and that the King by his Royal power given of God, might do many things in such cases; Therefore it is Enacted, That the King for the time being, with advice of his Council, might set forth Proclamations with pains and penalties in them, which were to be obeyed as if they were made by an Act of Parliament. But this was not to be so extended, that any of the Kings Subjects should suffer in their Estates, Liberties, or Persons, by virtue of it: Nor that by any of the Kings Proclamations, Laws or Custom were to be broken and subverted. Then follow some Claufls about the publishing of Proclamations, and the way of persecuting those who contemned and dis obeyed them. It is also added, That if any offended against them, and in further contempt went out of the Realm, he was to be adjudged a Traitor. This also gave power to the Counsellors of the Kings Successor, if he were under age, to set forth Proclamations in his Name, which were to be obeyed in the same manner with them set forth by the King himself. This Act gave great power to the Judges, since there were such Restrictions in some branches of it, which seemed to lessen the great extent of
of the other parts of it; so that the Expositors of the Law had much
referred to them: upon this Act were the great changes of Religion in
the Non-age of Edward the 6th grounded.

There is another Act, which but collaterally belongs to Ecclesiasti-
cal affairs; and therefore shall be but slightly touched. It is the Act
of the Precedency of the Officers of State, by which the Lord Vice-
gerent has the Precedence of all Persons in the Kingdom next the
Royal Family: and on this I must make one Remark, which may
seem very improper for one of my profession; especially when it is
an animadversion on one of the greatest men that any age has pro-
duced, the most Learned Mr. Selden. He in his Titles of Honour,
says, 'That this Statute was never printed in the Statute-Book, and
but incorrectly by another, and that therefore he infers it Literally as
is in the Record. In which there are two mistakes. For it is
Printed in the Statute-Book, that was set out in that King's Reign,
thought left out in some latter Statute-Books; and that which he
prints, is not exactly according to the Record. For as he prints it, the
Bishop of London is not named in the precedency; which is not accord-
ing to the Parliament-Roll, in which the Bishop of London has the
precedence next the Archbishops of York; and though this is corrected
in a Posthumous edition; yet in that set out by himself, it is want-
ing: Nor is that Omission among the Errors of the Press, for
though there are many of these gathered to be amended, this is none
of them. This I do not take notice of out of any vanity, or humour
of Censuring a man so great in all sorts of Learning; but my de-
sign is only to let ingenious persons see, that they ought not to take things on trust easily, no not from the greatest Au-

Some Acts of
Attainders.

These are all the public Acts that relate to Religion, which were
passed in this Parliament. With these there passed an Act of Attain-
dor of the Marquess of Exeter, and the Lord Montacute, with many
others, that were either found to have had a great hand in the late
Rebellion; or were discovered to hold Correspondence with Cardinal
Pool, who was then trafficking with Foreign Princes, and projecting
a League among them against the King. But of this I shall give a
more full account at the end of this Book; being there to open the
grounds of all the Attainders that were passed in the last years of the
Kings Reign. There is one remarkable thing that belongs to this
Act.

Some were to be attained in abeyance; others they had no mind to
bring to make their answer, but yet design'd to attain them. Such
were the Marchioness of Exeter, and the Countess of Sarum, Mother
to Cardinal Pool, whom by a gross mistake, Speed fancied to have been
condemned without Arraignment or Trial, as Cromwell had been by
Parliament. For she was now condemned a year before him. About
the Justice of doing this, there was some debate; and to clear it, Crom-
well sent for the Judges, and asked their opinions. Whether a man
might be attained in Parliament without being brought to make
his answer? They said it was a dangerous question. That the Parlia-
ment ought to be an example to all inferior Courts; and that when
any person was charged with a Crime, lie, by the common Rule of
Justice
Book III. of the Church of England.

Justice and Equity should be heard to plead for himself. But the Parliament being the Suprem Court of the Nation, what way soever they proceed, it must be good in Law; and it could never be questioned, whether the party was brought to answer or not. And thus a very ill president was made, by which the most innocent person in the world might be ruined. And this, as has often been observed in the like cases, fell very soon heavily on the Author of the Counsel, as shall appear.

When the Parliament was Prorogued, on the 28th of June, the King apprehended that the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury might be much cast down with the Act for the six Articles, sent for him and told him: That he had heard how much, and with what Learning he had argued against it, and therefore he desired he would put all his arguments in writing, and bring them to him. Next day he sent the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the Lord Cromwell, to dine with him. Ordering them to assure him of the Kings confiant and unshaken kindness to him, and to encourage him all they could. When they were at Table with him at Lambeth, they run out much on his commendation, and acknowledged he had opposed the Act with so much Learning, Gravity and Eloquence; that even those that differed from him were much taken with what he said, and that he needed fear nothing from the King. Cromwell saying, that this difference the King put between him, and all his other Counsellors; that when complaints were brought of others, the King received them, and tried the truth of them; but he would not so much as hearken to any complaint of the Arch-Bishop. From that he went on to make a Parallel between him and Cardinal Wolsey: That the one lost his Friends by his haughtiness and pride, but the other gained on his Enemies by his gentleness and mildness. Upon which the Duke of Norfolk said, he might beft speak of the Cardinal, for he knew him well, having been his man. This nettled Cromwell, who answered, that though he had served him, yet he never liked his manners: and that though the Cardinal had designed, (if his attempt for the Popedom had been successful,) to have made him his Admiral; yet he had resolved not to accept of it, nor to leave his Country. To which the Duke of Norfolk replied with a deep Oath, That he Lied; with other reproachful language. This troubled Cranmer extreamely, who did all he could to quiet and reconcile them. But now the Enmity between those two great Ministers broke out to that height, that they were never afterwards hearty friends.

But Cranmer went about that which the King had commanded: and made a Book of the reasons that led him to oppose the six Articles in which the places out of the Scriptures, the Authorities of the ancient Doctors, with the arguments drawn from these, were all digested in a good method. This he commanded his Secretary to write out in a fair hand, that it might be given the King. The Secretary returning with it from Croydon, where the Arch-Bishop was then, to Lambeth, found the Key of his Chamber was carried away by the Arch-Bishops Almoner: So that he being obliged to go over to London, and not daring to trust the Book to any others keeping, carried it with himself; where both he and the Book met with an unlook-
for encounter. Some others that were with him in the Wherry, would needs go to the Southwark side, to look on a Bear-baiting that was near the River, where the King was in Peron. The Bear broke loose into the River, and the Dogs after her. They that were in the Boat leaped out, and left the poor Secretary alone there. But the Bear got into the Boat, with the Dogs about her, and funk it. The Secretary apprehending his life was in danger, did not mind his Book, which he left in the water. But being quickly rescued, and brought to land, he began to look for his Book, and saw it floating in the River. So he desired the Bear-ward to bring it to him; who took it up, but before he would restore it, put it into the hands of a Priest that flood there, to see what it might contain. The Priest reading a little in it found it a Confutation of the six Articles: and told the Bear-ward that whoever claimed it, would be hanged for his pains. But the Arch-Bishops, Secretary thinking to mend the matter, said it was his Lords Book. This made the Bear-ward more intractable, for he was a spiteful Papist, and hated the Arch-Bishop; so that no offers nor entreaties could prevail with him to give it back. Whereupon Morice, (that was the Secretaries name,) went and opened the matter to Cromwell the next day, Cromwell was then going to Court, and he expected to find the Bear-ward there, looking to deliver the Book to some of Cranmers Enemies; he therefore ordered Morice to go along with him. Where, as they had expected, they found the fellow with the Book about him; upon whom Cromwell called, and took the Book out of his hands, threatening him severely for his presumption in medling with a Privy Councillors Book.

But though Cranmer escaped this hazard, yet in London the storm of the late Act was falling heavily on them that were obnoxious. Saxon and Latimer, the Bishops of Salisbury and Worcester, within a week after the Session of Parliament, as it appears, resigned their Bishoprics. For on the 7th of July the Chapters of these Churches Petitioned the King for his leave to fill those Sees, they being then vacant by the free Resignation of the former Bishops. Upon which the Council of Elire for both was granted. Nor was this all, but they being presented as having spoken against the six Articles, were put in Prison, where the one lay till the King died, and the other till a little before his death, as shall be shewn in its proper place. There were also Commissions issu'd out, for proceeding upon that Statute: and those who were Commissioned for London, were all secret favourers of Poverty; so they proceeded most severely, and examined many Witnesses against all who were presented: whom they Interrogated not only upon the express words of the Statute, but upon all such collateral or presumptive circumstances, as might entangle them, or conclude them guilty. So that in a very little while 500 persons were put in Prison, and involved in the breach of the Statute. Upon this not only Cranmer and Cromwell, but the Duke of Suffolk, and Audley the Chancellor represented to the King how hard it would be, and of what ill consequence, to execute the Law upon so many persons. So the King was prevailed with to pardon them all; and I find no further proceeding upon this Statute till Cromwell fell.

But the opposite Party used all the Arts possible to infinuate themselves
felves into the King. And therefore, to shew how far their com-
pliance would go, Bonner took a strange commissiun from the King, on
the 12th of November this year. It has been certainly Enrolled; but
it is not there now, so that I judge it was razed in that suppression
of Records, which was in Queen Mary's time. But, as men are com-
monly more careful at home, Bonner has left it on Record in his own
Register. Whether the other Bishops took such Commissions from
this King, I know not. But I am certain there is none such in Cra-
mers Register: and it is not likely, if any such had been taken out by
him, that ever it would have been razed. The Communion itself
will be found in the Collection of Papers at the end. The substance
of it is, 'That since all Jurisdictions both Ecclesiastical and Civil,
flowed from the King as Supreme Head, and he was the foundation
of all power; it became those who exercised it only (Pecunia) at the
Kings Courtes, gratefully to acknowledge, that they had it only of
his bounty; and to declare that they would deliver it up again, when
it should please him to call for it. And since the King had con-
templated the Lord Cromwel his Vice-gerent in Ecclesiastical affairs; yet
because he could not look into all those Matters, therefore the King,
upon Bonners petition, did Empower him, in his own Head, to ordain
such as he found worthy, to prevent and give infallibility, with all
the other parts of Episcopal Authority, for which he is duly Com-
missioned; and this to last during the Kings pleasure only. And,
all the parts of the Episcopal Function being reckoned up, it con-
cluded with a strict Charge to the Bishop to Ordain none but such
of whole Integrity, good life and learning he had very good affin-
ity. For as the Corruptions of the Chrisitian Doctrine, and of
mens manners, had chiefly proceeded from ill Paftours; so it was
not to be doubted, but good Paftours well-chozen would again reform
the Chrisitian Doctrine, and the Lives of Christians. After he had
taken this Communion, Bonner might have been well called one of the
Kings Bishops. The true reason of this profound Compliance, was,
That the Popish party apprehended that Cranmers great interest with
the King, was chiefly grounded on some opinions he had, of the Ec-
clesiastical Officers being as much subject to the Kings power as all
other Civil Officers were. And this having endeared him so much to
the King, therefore they resolved to out-do him in that point. But
there was this difference, that Cranmer was once of that opinion, and
if he followed it at all, it was out of Conscience; but Bonner, against
his Conscience, (if he had any,) complied with it.

Now followed the final dissolution of the Abbeys; there are 57
Surrenders upon Record this year. The originals of about 30 of these
are yet to be seen. Thirty seven of them were Abbeys or Priories,
and 20 Nunneries. The good House of Godfrey now fell with the
rest, though among the last of them. Now the great Parliament Ab-
beys surrendered apace; as those of Westminster, St. Albans, St. Ed-
mundsbury, Canterbury, St. Mary in York, Selby, St. Peters in Glocester,
Cirencester, Waltham, Winceombe, Malmsbury and Battel. Three others
were attained; Glafebury, Reading, and Colchefer. The Deeds of the
rest are lost. Here it will not be unacceptable to the Reader, to know
who were the Parliamentary Abbeys. There were in all 28, as they
were

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Diffolution

of the

great

Abbeys.
were commonly given. Fuller has given a Catalogue of them in three places of this History of Abbies; but as every one of these differs from the others; so none of them are according to the Journals of Parliament; The Lord Herbert is also mistaken in his account. I shall not rise higher in my enquiry than this Reign, for anciently many more Abbots and Priors fate in Parliament, beside other Clergy that had likewise their Writs; and of whose right to sit in the House of Commons, there was a question moved in Edward the sixths Reign, as shall be opened in its proper place. Much les will I presume to determine of great a point in Law, whether they fate in the House of Lords, as being a part of the Ecclesiastical state, or as holding their Lands of the King by Baronage? I am only to observe the matter of fact, which is, That in the Journals of Parliament in this Reign, these 28 Abbots had their Writs, Abington, St. Albans, St. Asytins Canterbury, Battle, St. Bennets in the Holm, Berdeny, Circehester, Colehester, Coventry, Croyland, St. Edmundsbury, Evesham, Glafenny, Gloucester, Hide, Malmsbury, St. Maryes in York, Peterborough, Ramfey, Reading, Selby, Shrewsbury, Tavemock, Tenksbury, Thorney, Waltham, Wellminster and Winchester; to whom also the Prior of St. John is may be added. But besides all these, I find that in the 28 year of this King, the Abbot of Burton upon Trent fate in Parliament. Generally Coventry and Burton were held by the same man, as one Bishop held both Coventry and Lichfield, though two different Bishopricks; but in that year they were held by two different persons, and both had their Writs to that Parliament. The method used in the suppression of these Houses will appear by one compleat Report made, of the Suppression of the Abbey of Tenksbury, which out of many I copied, and is in the Collection. From it the Reader will see, what provision was made for the Abbot, the Prior, the other Officers, and the Monks, and other servants of the House; and what Buildings they ordered to be defaced and what to remain; and how they did estimate the Jewels, Plate, and other Ornaments. But Monasteries were not sufficient to stop the appetite of some that were about the King; for Hospitals were next lookt after. One of these was this year surrendred by Thomas Thirleby with two other Priefts; he was Master of St. Thomas Hospital in Southwark, and was designd Bishop of Wellminster, to which he made his way by that Resignation. He was a learned and mead man, but of so fickle or cowardly a temper, that he turned always with the Stream in every change that was made, till Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown; but then, being ashamed of so many turns, he resolvd to shew he could once be firm to some what.

Now were all the Monasteries of England suppresed, and the King had then in his hand the greatest opportunity of making Royal and Noble Foundations, that ever King of England had. But whether out of policy to give a general Content to the Gentry, by selling them at low rates, or out of eafiness to his Courtiers, or out of an unmeasured lavifhness in his expence, it came far short of what he had given out he would do, and what himself seemed once to have design ed. The clear yearly value of all the Suppresed Houses is call up, in an account then flated to be viz. 131607. lib. 6. s. 4. d. as the Rents were

Collec.
Numb. 3.
\[\text{...}\]

Some Hospit.
als surrendred.\[\text{...}\]

The Abbeys sold or given away.\[\text{...}\]
were then rated, but was at least ten times so much in true value. Of which he designed to convert 18000. li. into a Revenue for eighteen Bischopricks and Cathedrals. But of these he only erected six, as shall be afterwards shewn. Great sums were indeed laid out on building and fortifying many Ports, in the Channel, and other parts of England, which were raised by the Sale of Abbey-Lands.

At this time many were offering projects for Noble Foundations, on which the King seemed very earnest: But it is very likely, that before he was aware of it, he had so out-run himself in his Bounty, that it was not possible for him to bring these to any effect. Yet I shall set down one of the projects, which shews the greatness of his mind that designed it; that is, of Sir Nicholas Bacon, who was afterwards one of the wisest Ministers that ever this Nation bred. The King designed to found a House for the Study of the Civil Law, and the purity of the Latine and French Tongues: So he ordered Sir Nicholas Bacon, and two others, Thomas Denton, and Robert Cary, to make a full project, of the nature, and orders of such a House, who brought it to him in a writing; the original whereof is yet extant. The design of it was, that there should be frequent pleadings, and other exercises in the Latine and French tongues: and when the Kings Students were brought to some ripeness, they should be sent with his Ambassadors to Foreign parts, and trained up in the knowledge of foreign Affairs; and so the House should be the Nursery for Ambassadors. Some were also to be appointed to write the History of all Embassies, Treaties, and other foreign Transactions: as also of all Arraignments, and publick Tryals at home. But before any of them might write on these Subjects, the Lord Chancellor was to give them an Oath, that they should do it truly, without respect of persons, or any other corrupt affection. This noble Design miscarried. But if it had been well laid and regulated, it is eafe to gather what great and publick advantages might have flowed from it. Among which, it is not inconsiderable, that we should have been delivered from a Rabble of ill-Writers of History, who have without due care or enquiry, delivered to us the Transactions of that time so imperfectly, that there is still need of enquiring into Registers and Papers for these matters. Which in such a House had been more certainly and clearly conveyed to posterity, than can be now expected, at such a distance of time; and after such a rashure of Records, and other confusions, in which many of these Papers have been lost. And this help was the more necessary, after the suppression of Religious Houses: in most of which a Chronicle of the times was kept, and still filled up as new Transactions came to their knowledge. It is true, most of these were written by men of weak Judgments, who were more partial in delivering Fables and Trifes, than in opening observable Transactions. Yet some of them were men of better understandings; and it is like were directed by their Abbots, who being Lords of Parliament, understood affairs well: only an invincible humor of lying, when it might raise the credit of their Religion, or Order, or House, runs through all their Manuscripts.

One thing was very remarkable, which was this year granted, at

1539.

A project of a Seminary for Ministers of State.

Pierpoint.
Cranmer's Intercession. There was nothing could so much recover the Reformation, that was declining so fast, as the free use of the Scriptures; and though these had been set up in the Churches a year ago, yet he prevailed, and now procured leave, for private persons to buy Bibles, and keep them in their Houses. So this was granted by Letters Patents directed to Cromwell, bearing date the 13th of November. The substance of which was, That the King was desirous to have all his Subjects attain the knowledge of God's word, which could not be effected by any means so well, as by granting them the free and liberal use of the Bible in the English tongue; which to avoid distinction, he intended should pass among them only by one Translation. Therefore Cromwell was charged to take care, that for the space of five years there should be no Impression of the Bible, or any part of it, but only by such as should be assigned by him. But Gardiner opposed this, all he could: and one day, in a Conference before the King, he provoked Cranmer to shew any difference between the Authority of the Scriptures, and of the Apostolical Canons, which he pretended were equal to the other writings of the Apostles. Upon which, they disputed for some time. But the King perceived solid Learning tempered with great Modesty in what Cranmer said; and nothing but vanity and affectation in Gardiner's reasonings. So he took him up sharply; and told him, that Cranmer was an old and experienced Captain, and was not to be troubled by fresh-men and Novices.

The great matter of the Kings Marriage came on at this time. Many reports were brought the King of the beauty of Anne of Cleve, so that he inclined to ally himself with that Family. Both the Emperor, and the King of France, had courted him to Matches which they had projected. The Emperor proposed the Dutchess of Milan, his kinswoman, and Daughter to the King of Denmark. He was then designing to break the League of Smalcald, and to make himself master of Germany: And therefore he took much pains with the King, to divide him from the Princes there; which was in great part effected by the Statute for the six Articles: Upon which the Ambassadors of the Princes had complained, and said, That whereas the King had been in so fair a way of union with them, he had now broke it off, and made so severe a Law about Communion in one kind, Private Masses, and the Celibate of the Clergy, which differed so much from their Doctrine, that they could entertain no further correspondence with him, if that Law was not mitigated. But Gardiner wrought much on the Kings vanity and passions; and told him that it was below his Dignity, and high Learning, to have a Company of dull Germans and small Princes, dictate to him in matters of Religion. There was also another thing which he oft made use of, (though it argues somewhere a great Ignorance of the Constitution of the Empire,) That the King could not expect these Princes would ever be for his Supremacy; since if they acknowledged that in him, they must likewise yield to the Emperor. This was a great mistake. For as the Princes of Germany never acknowledged the Emperor to have a soveraignty in their Dominions; so they did acknowledge the Diet, in which the Sovereignty of the Empire lies,
to have a Power of making or changing what Laws they pleased about Religion. And in things that were not determined by the Diet, every Prince pretended to it as highly in his own Dominions, as the King could do in England. But as untrue as this Allegation was, it served Gardiner's turn; for the King was sufficiently irritated with it against the Princes, so that there was now a great coldness in their correspondence. Yet the Project of a Match with the Dutchess of Milan failing, and these proposed by France not being acceptable, Cromwell moved the King about an Alliance with the Duke of Cleve; who, as he was the Emperors Neighbour in Flanders, had also a pretension to the Duchy of Guelders, and his eldest Daughter was Married to the Duke of Saxony. So that the King having then some apprehensions of a War with the Emperor, this seemed a very proper Alliance to give him a Diversion.

There had been a Treaty between her Father, and the Duke of Lorrain, in order to a match between the Duke of Lorrain's Son, and her. But they both being under Age, it went no further than a Contract between their Fathers. Hans Holbin having taken her Picture, lent it over to the King. But in that he bestowed the common complement of his Art, somewhat too liberally, on a Lady that was in a way to be Queen. The King liked the Picture, better than the Original, when he had the occasion afterwards to compare them. The Duke of Saxony, who was very zealous for the Ansburg Confeffion, finding the King had declined so much from it, dissuaded the Match. But Cromwell set it on mightily; expecting a great Support from a Queen of his own making: whose friends being all Lutherans, it tended also to bring down the Popish Party at Court, and again to recover the ground they had now loft. Thofe that had seen the Lady did much commend her beauty, and perfon. But she could speak no Language but Dutch; to which the King was a stranger. Nor was she bred to Mufick, with which the King was much taken. So that except her perfon had charmed him, there was nothing left for her to gain upon him by. After some Months Treaty, one of the Counts Palatine of the Rhine, with other Ambaffadors from the Duke of Saxony, and her Brother the Duke of Cleves, (for her Father was lately dead,) came over, and concluded the Match.

In the end of December, she was brought over to England: And the King, being impatient to fee her, went down Incognito to Rochester. But when he had a fight of her, finding none of these charms which he was made believe were in her, he was fo extremely surprized, that he not only did not like her, but took an Aversion to her, which he could never after overcome. He swore they had brought over a Flanders Mare to him, and was very sorry he had gone fo far, but glad it had proceeded no further. And presently he resolved, if it were possible, to break off the matter, and never to yoke himself with her. But his Affairs were not then in such a condition, that he could safely put that affront on the Dukes of Saxony and Cleves which the fending back of this Lady would have done. For the Germans, being of all Nations most sensible of every thing in which the Honour of their Family is touched; he knew they would reftent such an injury. And it was not safe for him to Adventure that at fuch
a time. For the Emperor was then in Paris, whither he had gone to an Interview with Francis. And his Reception was not only as Magnificent as could be, but there was all the Evidence possible of hearty Friendship and kindnes. The King also understood, that between them there was somewhat projected against himself. And now Francis that had been as much obliged by him, as possibly one Prince could be by another; was not only forgetful of it, but intended to take advantage from the distractions and discontentns of the English, to drive them out of France, if it were possible. And it is not to be doubted but the Emperor would gladly have embroiled these two Kings, that he might have a better opportunity both to make himself Master of Germany; and to force the King of England into an Alliance, by which the Lady Mary should be Legitimated, and the Princes of Germany be left destitute of a Support, which made them Insolent and Intractable. The King apprehended the Conjuncture of those two great Princes augmenting himself, which was much set forward by the Pope; and that they would set up the King of Scotland against him, who with that foreign Affianits, and the discontentns at home, would have made War upon great advantages; especially those in the North of England, being ill affected to him: And therefore he judged it necessary for his Affairs not to lose the Princes of Germany. Only he resolved, first, to try if any Nullities or Pre-contracts could excite him fairly at their hands. He returned to Greenwich very Melancholy. He much blamed the Earl of Southampton, who being sent over to receive her at Callice, had written an high Commendation of her Beauty. But he excused himself, that he thought the thing was so far gone, that it was decent to write as he had done. The King lamented his condition in that Marriage; and expressed great trouble, both to the Lord Russel, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Anthony Den- ny, and others about him. The laft of those told him, this was one Advantage that mean persons had over Princes: That great Princes must take such Wives as are brought them, whereas meaner persons go and choose Wives for themselves. But when the King saw Cromwel, he gave his grief a freer vent to him. He, finding the King so much Troubled, would have caft the chief blame on the Earl of Southampton, for whom he had no great kindnes: And said, when he found her so far short of what reports and Pictures had made her, he should have stayed her at Callice, till he had given the King notice of it. But the Earls Comission being only to bring her over; he said, It had been too great a presumption in him, to have interposed in such a manner. And the King was convinced he was in the right. So now, all they had to insin, was the clearing of that Contract that had passed between her and the Marques of Lorrain: which the Ambassadors, who had been with the King, had undertaken should be fully done, and brought over with her in due form of Law. So after the Lady was brought in great State to Greenwich, the Council met, and sent for the Ambassadors of the Duke of Cleves that conducted her over; and desired to see what they had brought for clearing the breach of that Contract with the Marques of Lorrain. But they had brought nothing, and made no account of it; saying, that the Contract was in their Minority, when they could give
no content; and that nothing had followed on it, after they came to be of age. But this did not satisfy the Kings Council, who said, these were but their words, and they must see better proofs. The Kings Marriage was Annull'd with Anne Boleyn upon a pre-contract; therefore he must not again run the like hazard. So Oltiger and Ho-
golden, the Ambassadors from Cleve, did by a formal Instrument Pro-
test before Cromwell, that in a peace made between their late Master John Duke of Cleve, and Anthony Duke of Lorrain, one of the con-
tions was, that this Lady being then under age, should be given in Marriage to Francis Son to the Duke of Lorrain, who was likewise under age; which Treaty they affirmed they saw and read, But that afterwards Henry de Groffe Ambassador of Charles Duke of Guel-
dres, upon whose mediation that peace had been concluded, declared in their hearing, that Espoufals were annul'd and of no ef-
et; and that this was Registred in the Chancery of Cleve, of which they promised to bring an Authentical Extract within three Months to England. Some of the Councellors, who knew the Kings secret dislike of her person, would have insisted more on this. But the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Durefim, said, if there was no more than that, it could be no just hindrance to the So-
lemnization of the Marriage. So the King seeing there was no reme-
dy, and being much pressed both by the Minifters of Cleve, and by the Lord Cromwel, Married her on the 6th of January: But expres-
Fed so much averfion and dislike of her, that every body about him took notice of it. Next day the Lord Cromwel asked him how he liked her then. He told him, He was not every man; therefore he would be free with him: He liked her worse than he did. He sus-
ppected she was no Maid; and had such ill fmes about her, that he loathed her more than ever, and did not believe he should ever con-
firm the Marriage. This was sad news to Cromwel, who knew well how delicate the King was in these matters; and that so great a Misfortune must needs turn very heavy on him, that was the chief Promoter of it. He knew his Enemies would draw great advantages from this; and underflow the Kings temper too well, to think his Greatness would last long, if he could not induce the King to like the Queen better. But that was not to be done; for though the King lived five Months with her in that State, and very oft lay in the Bed with her, yet his Aversion rather increased than abated. She feared not much concerned at it: and, as their Conversation was not great, so she was of an heavy Composition, and was not much displeased, to be delivered from a Marriage in which she had so little satisfaction. Yet one thing shews that she wanted not Capacity. For she learned the English Language very soon: and before her Marriage was annul'd, she spoke English freely, as appears by some of the Depositions.

There was an Instrument brought over from Cleve, taken out of the Chancery there; by which it appeared, That Henry de Groffe, Amba-
sador from the Duke of Gueldres, had on the 15th of February in the year 1535, declared the Nullity of the former Contract, in ex-
press words, which are set down in high Dutch, but thus put in La-
tine. Sponsalia illa progressum suum non habuera (I will not answer for
A parliament called.
Where Cromwell speaks as Lord Vice-gerent.

1542.

for the Latine, ex quo dicitus Dux Carolus admodum doleret, & propere quaedam recitaret, & amplius falicrus effet. And Palladus, that was Ambassador from the Duke of Cleves in the Duke of Guelders Court, wrote to his Master, Illustrissimum Ducem Guelthiae certo seire prima illa Sponsalia inter Domicellam Annum fore inania & progressum fum non habitura. When this was shewed the King, his Council found great exceptions to it, upon the Ambiguity of the word Sponsalia, it not being expressed, whether they were Epistles by the words of the present, or of the future tense; and intended to make use of that when there should be a fit opportunity for it.

On the 12th of April a Session of Parliament was held. The Journal shews that neither the Abbot of Westminster, nor any other Abbot was present. After the Lord Chancellor had opened the reasons for the Kings meeting them at that time, as they related to the Civil Government, Cromwel as Lord Vice-gerent spake next in the Kings name; and said, 'There was nothing which the King so much de.

fired, as a firm union among all his Subjects, in which he placed his chief security. He knew there were many Incendiaries, and much Cockle grew up with the Wheat. The rashnes and licentiousnes of some, and the inveterate Superstition and stiffness of others in the Ancient Corruptions, had raised great diſtinctions to the sad regret of all good Christians. Some were called Papists, others Heretics; which bitterness of Spirit seemed the more strange, since now the Holy Scriptures, by the Kings great care of his people, were in all their hands, in a Language which they understood. But these were grossly perverted by both sides, who studied rather to justify their palzons out of them, than to direct their belief by them. The King leaned neither to the right nor to the left hand, neither to the one nor the other Party, but set the pure and finer Doctrine of the Christian Faith only before his eyes: And therefore was now resolved to have this set forth to his Subjects, without any corrupt mixtures; and to have such decent Ceremonies continued, and the true use of them taught, by which all abuses might be cut off, and Disputes about the Exposition of the Scriptures ceafe, and so all his Subjects might be well instructed in their Faith, and directed in the reverent worship of God; and resolved to punish severely all transgressors, of what sort or side foever they were. The King was resolved, That Christ, That the Gospel of Christ, and the truth should have the victory. And therefore had appointed some Bishops and Divines to draw up an Exposition of those things that were necessary for the Inftitution of a Christian-man: Who were, the two Arch-Bishops, the Bishop of London, Durefom, Winchester, Rochester, Hereford, and St. Davids; and Doctors Threlkely, Robertson, Cox, Day, Oglethorpe, Redmayn, Edge

worth, Crayford, Symonds, Robins, and Treffham. He had also appointed others to examine what Ceremonies should be retained, and what was the true use of them; who were the Bishops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Sarum, Chichefet, Worcester, and Landaff. The King had also commanded the Judges, and other Justices of the Peace, and persons commissioned for the Execution of the Act formerly perfed, to proceed against all transgressors, and punish them according to
Book III. of the Church of England.

1540.

He is made Earl of Essex.

The Suppression of the Knights of St. John at Jerusalem.

to Law. And he Concluded with an high Commendation of the King, whose due praises, he said, a man of far greater Eloquence than himself was, could not fully set forth. The Lords approved of this Nomination, and ordered that these Committees should sit constantly, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays: and on other days they were to sit in the afternoon. But their Proceedings will require so full a Relation, that I shall first open the other Affairs that paffed in this Section, and leavethefe to the laft.

On the 14th of April the King created Cromwell Earl of Essex; the Male line of the Bourchiers, that had carried that Title, being extingufhèd. This shews that the true Caufes of Cromwell's fall must be found in fome other thing, than his making up the Kings Marriage; who had never thus raised his Title, if he had intended to foon to pull him down.

On the 22d of April, a Bill was brought in for Suppressing the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Their firft Foundation was to be a Guard to the Pilgrims that went to the Holy Land. For fome Ages, that was extolled as the highefe expression of devotion and reverence to our Saviour, to go and view the places of his abode; and chiefly the places where he was Crucified, Buried, and ascended to Heaven. Upon which, many entred into a Religious Kindred, who were to defend the Holy Land, and conduct the Pilgrims. Thofe were of two forts: The Knights-Templars and Hofpitallers. The former were the greater and richer, but the other were also very confiderable. The Popes and their Clergy did every where animate all Princes, and great perons, to undertake expeditions into these parts: Which were very costly and dangerous, and proved fatal to almoft all the Princes that made them. Yet the belief of the pains of Purgatory, from which all were delivered by the Popes Power, who went on this Expeditiôn; fuch as died in it being also reckoned Martyrs; wrought wonderfuUly on a blind and Superflitious Age. But fuch as could not go, were perfuaded, That if on their death-beds they vowed to go up-on their recovery, and left fome Lands to maintain a Knight that should go thither and fight againft the Infidels, it would do as well. Upon this, great and vaft Endowments were made. But there were many Complaints made of the Templars, for betraying and robbing the Pilgrims, and other horrid abufes, which may reasonably be believed to have been true; though other Writers of that Age lay the blame rather on the Coventrufcfs of the King of France, and the Popes malice to them: Yet in a General Council the whole Order was Condemned, and Suppressed, and fuch of them as could be taken, were cruelly put to death. The Order of the Hofpitallers stood, yet did not grow much after that. They were beaten out of the Holy-Land by the Sultans, and lately out of the Isle of Rhôdes, and were at this time in Malta. Their great Maftcr depended on the Pope and the Emperor: fo it was not thought fit, to let a Houfe that was fubjeél to a Foreign Power ffand longer. And it seems they would not willingly Surrender up their Houfe, as others had done. Therefore it was neceffary to force them out of it by an Act of Parliament; which on the 22d of April was read the firft time, and on the 26th the 2d time, and on the 29th the third time; by which both
their House in England, and another they had in Kilmainam in Ireland, were suppressed; great pensions being reserved by the Act to the Priors, a 1000 lib. to him of St. John near London, and 500 Marks to the other, with very considerable allowances for the Knights, which in all amounted near to 3000 lib. yearly. But on the 14th of May, the Parliament was Prorogued to the 25th, and a vote passed that their Bills should remain in the State they were in.

Upon their next meeting, as they were going on in their business, a great Change of Court broke out. For on the 1st of June, at the Council Table, the Duke of Norfolk in the Kings name challenged the Lord Cromwell of High Treason, and Arresting him, sent him Prisoner to the Tower. He had many Enemies among all sorts of persons. The Nobility defpised him, and thought it lessened the great ness of their Titles, to see the Son of a Black-Smith raised so many degrees above them. His aspiring to the Order of the Garter was thought inexcusable vanity: and his having so many places heaped on him, as Lord Privy Seal, Lord Chamberlain of England, and Lord Vice-gerent, with the Mastership of the Rolls, with which he had but lately parted, drew much envy on him. All the Popish party hated him out of measure. The Suppression of the Abbies was laid wholly at his door: The Attainders and all other severe proceedings were imputed to his Counsels. He was also thought to be the person that had kept the King and the Emperor at such distance: And therefore the Duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner, beside private Animoities, hated him on that account. And they did not think it impossible, if he were out of the way, to bring on a Treaty with the Emperor; which they hoped would open the way for one with the Pope. But other more secret reasons wrought his ruin with the King. The fear he was in of a Conjunction between the Emperor and France did now abate: For he understood that it went no further than Complements. And though he clearly discovered, having sent over the Duke of Norfolk to France, that he was not to depend much on his friendship; yet at the same time he knew that the Emperor would not yield up the Duchy of Milan to him, upon which his heart was much set. So he saw they could come to no agreement. Therefore he made no great account of the losses of France, since he knew the Emperor would willingly make an Alliance with him: The hopes of which made him more indifferent, whether the German Princes were pleased with what he did, or not: since he had now attained the end he had proposed to himself in all his Negotiations with them, which was to secure himself from any trouble the Emperor might give him. Therefore Cromwells Counsels were now disliked, for he had always enligned the King to favour those Princes against the Emperor. Another secret cause was, that as the King had an unconquerable a version to his Queen; so he was taken with the Beauty and behaviour of Miftrefs Katherine Howard Daughter to the Lord Edmond Howard, a Brother of the Duke of Norfolk. And as this designed Match raised the credit of her Uncle, so the ill consequences of the former drew him down who had been the chief Counsellor in it. The King also found his Government was grown uncautious, and therefore judged it was no ill Policy to cast over all that had been done a-
mis, upon a Minister who had great Power with him: and being now in disgrace, all the blame of these things would be taken off from the King, and laid on him, and his Ruine would much appease discontented, and make them more moderate in cenuring the King or his Proceedings. It is said that other Particulars were charged on him, which lost him the Kings favour. If this be true, it is like they related to the encouragement he was sake to have given to some Reformers, in the opposition they made to the six Articles: Upon the Execution of which the King was now much fret. His fall was so secretly carried, that though he had often before looked for it, knowing the Kings uneafie and jealous temper; yet at that time he had no apprehensions of it, till the Storm broke upon him. In his fall he had the common fate of all disgraced Ministers, to be forfaken by his Friends, and insulted over by his Enemies. Only Cranmer retained still so much of his former simplicity, that he could never learn these Court Arts. Therefore he wrote to the King about him next day; 'He much magnified his diligence in the Kings service and preservation, and discovering all Plots as soon as they were made; 'That he had always loved the King above all things, and served him with great fidelity and success; That he thought no King of England had ever such a Servant; upon that account he had loved him, as one that loved the King above all others. But if he was a Traytor, he was glad it was discovered. But he prayed God carnestly, to send the King such a Chancellor in his stead, who could and would serve him as he had done. This shews both the firmness of Cranmers friendship to him, and that he had a great Soul, not turned by the changes of mens fortunes, to like or dislike them, as they flood or declined from their greatness. And had not the Kings kindnes for Cranmer been deeply rooted, this Letter had ruined him. For he was the most impatient of Contradiction, in such cases, that could be. Cromwells ruine was now Decreed, and he who had so fervily complied with the Kings pleasure in procuring some to be Attainted the year before, without being brought to make their answer, fell now under the fame severity. For whether it was that his Enemies knew, That if he were brought to the Bar he would so justify himself that they would find great difficulties in the Proceeds; or whether it was that they blindly resolved to follow that unjustifiable Precedent, of passing over so neceffary a Rule to all Courts, of giving the Party accused an hearing; the Bill of Attainder was brought in to the House of Lords, Cranmer being absent that day, as appears by the Journal on the 17th of June, and read the first time, and on the 19th was read the second and third time, and sent down to the Commons. By which it appears, how few friends he had in that House, when a Bill of that nature went on so hastily. But it seems he found in the House of Commons somewhaf of the fame measure, which ten years before he had dealt to the Cardinal, though not with the same success. For his matter stuck ten days there. At length a new Bill of Attainder was brought up, conceived in the House of Commons, with a Provifio annexed to it. They alfo sent back the Bill which the Lords sent to them. But it is not clear from the Journals what they meant by those two Bills. It seems they reje-
The Act said, 'That the King having raised Thomas Cromwell from a bafe Degree, to great Dignities and high Trusts; yet he had now, by a great number of Writs, perfon of Honour, found him to be the most Corrupt Traitor, and Deceiver of the King and the Crown, that had ever been known in his whole Reign. He had taken upon him to set at liberty divers perfon put in Prison for misprision of Treason, and others that were suspected of it. He had also received severall bribes, and for them granted Licences to carry Money, Corn, Horfes, and other things out of the Kingdom, contrary to the Kings Proclamation. He had also given out many Commissions without the Kings knowledge; and being but of a bafe Birth, had said, That he was sure of the King. He had granted many Pafps-ports, both to the Kings Subjects and Forreigners for passing the Seas, without Search. He being alfo an Heretick, had difpered many Erroneous Books among the Kings Subjects, particularly some that were contrary to the Belief of the Sacrament. And when fome had informed him of this, and had flewed him these Heresies in Books Printed in England, he faid, they were good, and that he found no fault in them; and faid, It was as Lawful for every Christian man to be the Minifler of that Sacrament, as a Priefh. And whereas the King had conftituted him Vice-gerent for the Spiritual affairs of the Church, he had under the Seal of that Office licenfed many that were suspected of Heresie to Preach over the Kingdom; and he had both by word and in writing fuggested to several Sheriffs, That it was the Kings pleasure they fhould discharge many Prifoners, of whom fome were Indicted, others apprehended for Heresie. And when many particular complaints were brought to him of defettably Heresies, with the names of the Offenders; he not only defended the Hereticks, but veryje betrench the Informers: and vexed fome of them by Imprifonment, and other ways. The particulars of all which were too tedious to be recited. And he having entertained many of the Kings Subjects about himself, whom he had indited with Heresie, and imagining he was by forceable to defend his Treafons and Heresies; on the 13th of March in the 30th year of the Kings Reign, in the Parift of St. Peteres the Poor in London, when fome of them complained to him of the new Preachers, fuch as Barnes and others, he faid; Their Preaching was good; and faid alfo among other things, That if the King would turn from it, yet he would not turn; And if the King did turn, and
Mutos 1490
Regis vicarius
Generalis 1536

Iacques Perseculitis
1537
Capit t Francains
July, 18: 1540.

Printed for Richard Chipwell at the Rose and Crowne in St. Pauls Church yard.
For Kings pulled and fitter him; But to was for

And Or for thruft Bedlam th that faid, was fters

Made fuch Book fuch

That faid, I would do so indeed. He had also by Oppression and Bribery made a great Estate to himself; and extorted much Money from the Kings Subjects, and being greatly enriched, had treated the Nobbylity with much contempt. And on the laft of January in the 31st year of the Kings Reign, in the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields; when fome had put him in mind to what the King had raifed him, he faid, If the Lords would hande him fo, he would give them fuch a Break-fafth as was never made in England, and that the proudef of them should know it. For all which Treafons, and Herefies, he was At-tained to suffer the pains of death, for Herefie and Treafon, as

should pleafe the King, and to forfeit all his Estate and Goods to the Kings ufe, that he had on the laft of March in the 31st year of the Kings Reign, or fince that time. There was added to this Bill, a Provifio; That this fhould not be hurtful to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and to the Dean and Chapter of Wells; with whom, it feems, he had made fome exchafges of Lands.

From thefe particulars the Reader will clearly fee, why he was not brought to make his anfwer, moft of them relating to Orders and Directions he had given, for which it is very probable he had the Kings Warrant. And for the matter of Herefie, it has appeared how far the King had proceeded towards a Reformation, fo that what he did that way, was moft likely done by the Kings Order: But the King now falling from these things, it was thought they intended to fufle him by fuch an Attainder; that he might not difcover the fecret Or-ders or Directions given him for his own Juftrication. For the par-ticulars of Bribery and Extortion, they being mentioned in general exprefions, feem only call'd into the heap to defame him. But for thofe Treafonable words, it was generally thought that they were a Contrivance of his Enemies: fince it feemed a thing very extrava-gant, for a Favourite in the height of his Greatnefs to talk fo rudely. And if he had been guilty of it, Bedlam was thought a fitter place for his Reftrainft than the Tower. Nor was it judged likely that he having fuch great and watchful Enemies at Court, any fuch discourses could have lain fo long fecret: Or if they had come to the Kings knowledge, he was not a Prince of fuch a temper as to have forgiven, much lefs employed and advanced a man after fuch discourses. And to think that during thefe fifteen months, after the words were faid to have been spoken, none would have had the zeal for the King, or the malice to Cromweil, as to repeat them, were things that could not be believed. The formality of drawing his Dagger made it the more fulfilpet; for this was to affix an overt-Act to thefe words, which in the opinion of many Lawyers was neceffary to make words Treafonable. But as if thefe words had not been ill enough, fome writers fince have made them worfe; as if he had faid, He would thruft his Dagger in the Kings heart: About which Fuller hath made another
flory to excuse these words, as if they had not been meant of the King, but of another. But all that is founded on a mistake, which, if he had looked in the Record, he had corrected.

Cromwell's Fall was the first step towards the King's Divorce. For on the 24th of June he sent his Queen to Richmond, pretending the Country air would agree better with her. But on the 6th of July a motion was made, and assented to in the House of Lords, that they should make an Address to the King, desiring him to suffer his Marriage with the Queen to be tried. Upon which, the Lord Chancellor, the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Earl of Southampton, and the Bishop of Durham, were sent down to the Commons; to represent the matter to them, and to desire their concurrence in the Address. To which they agreed, and ordered twenty of their number to go along with the Peers. So the whole House of Lords with these Commoners, went to the King; and told him they had a matter of great consequence to propose to him, but it was of that Importance that they first begged his leave to move it. That being obtained, they desired the King would order a Tryal to be made, of the validity of his Marriage. To which the King consented, and made a deep Protestation as in the presence of God, that he should conceal nothing that related to it, and all its circumstances; And that there was nothing that he held dearer than the Glory of God, the good of the Common-wealth, and the declaration of Truth. So a Commission was iflied out to the Convocation to try it.

On the 7th of July it was brought before the Convocation, of which the Reader will see a fuller account in the Collection at the end than is needful to be brought in here. The case was opened by the Bishop of Winchester, and a Committee was appointed to consider it; and they deparsed the Bishop of Durham, and Winchester, and Thirleby, and Richard Leighton Dean of York, to examine the Witnesses that day. And the next day they received the King's own Deposition; with a long Declaration of the whole matter, under Cromwell's hand in a Letter to the King; and the Depositions of most of the Privy Councillors, of the Earl of Southampton, the Lord Raffel then Admiral, of Sir Anthony Browm, Sir Anthony Denny, Doctor Chambers, and Doctor Butts, the Kings Physicians, and of some Ladies that had talked with the Queen. All which amounted to this; that the King expected that the Pre-contract with the Marquess of Lorraine, should have been more fully cleared. That the King always displeased her, and Married her full soon against his heart; and since that time he had never consummated the Marriage. So the substance of the whole evidence being considered, it amounted to these three particulars. First, That there had been a Contract between the Marquess of Lorraine and the Queen, which was not sufficiently cleared: for it did not yet appear whether these Espoufals were made by the Parties themselves, or in the words of the present tense. Then it was said, That the King having Married her against his will, he had not given a pure, inward, and complete content: And since a man Act is only what is inward, extorted or forced promises do not bind. And Thirdly, That he had never consummated the Marriage: To which was added the great interest the whole Nation had in the Kings having more issue, which they saw he
could never have by the Queen. This was furiously driven on by the
Papist Party. And Cramner, whether overcome with these arguments,
or rather with fear, for he knew it was contrived to send him quick-
ly after Cromwell, contented with the rest. So that the whole Con-
vocation without one disagreeing Vote, judged the Marriage null,
and of no force: and that both the King, and the Lady, were free
from the bond of it.

This was the greatest piece of Compliance that ever the King
had from the Clergy. For as they all knew there was nothing of
weight in that precontract; so they laid down a most pernicious Pre-
cedent, for invalidating all publick Treaties and Agreements: since if
one of the Parties being unwilling to it, so that his consent were not
inward, he was not bound by it, there was no safety among men
more. For no man can know whether another contents inwardly: And
when a man does any thing with great aversion, to infer from
there, that he does not inwardly content, may furnish every one
with an excuse, to break loose from all engagements: For he may
pretend he did it unwillingly, and get his friends to declare that he
privately signified that to them. And for that argument, which was
taken from the want of Consummation; they had forgotten what
was pleaded on the Kings behalf ten years before, That consent with-
out Consummation, made a Marriage compleat; by which they con-
cluded, that though Prince Arthur had not Consummated his Marri-
age with Queen Katherine; yet his consent did so compleat it, that
the King could not afterwards lawfully marry her. But as the King
was resolved on any terms to be rid of this Queen; so the Clergy
were also resolved not to incur his displeasure: In which they rather
sought for reasons to give some colour to their Sentence, than past
their judgment upon the strength of them. This only can be said
for their excuse, that these were as just and weighty reasons, as used
to be admitted by the Court of Rome for a Divorce; and most of them
being Canonists, and knowing how many Precedents there were to
be found for such Divorces, they thought they might do it as well as
the Popes had formerly done.

On the 9th of July, Sentence was given: Which was signed by both
Houses of Convocation; and had the two Arch-Bishops Seals put to
it; of which whole Tryal the Record does yet remain, having elpa-
ated the Fate of the other Books of Convocation. The Original de-
opositions are also yet extant.

Only I shall add here a reflection upon Cromwells misfortune, which
may justly abate the lostiness of haughty men. The day after he was
attainted, being required to send to the King a full account under his
hand of the business of his Marriage; which account he sent, as will
be found in the Collection; he concludes it with these abrupt words:

'I am a most woful Prisoner, ready to take the death, when it shall
please God and your Majesty: and yet the frail flesh inciteme to
continually to call to your Grace for Mercy, and Grace for
mine offences. And thus Christ save, preferve, and keep you,
Written at the Tower this Wednesday the last of June, with
the heavy heart, and trembling hand, of your Highness most
heavy, and most miserable Prisoner, and poor slave, Thomas Cromwell.

And
1540. And a little below that, Most Gracious Prince, I cry for Mercy, Mercy, Mercy.

On the 16th of July the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury reported to the House of Lords, that the Convocation had judged the Marriage Null, both by the Law of God, and the Law of the Land. The Bishop of Winchester delivered the Judgment in Writing; which being read, he enlarged on all the reasons of it. This satisfied the Lords, and they sent down Cranmer and him to the Commons, to give them the same account. Next day the King sent the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Southampton, and the Bishop of Winchester, to let the Queen know what was done: who was not at all troubled at it, and seemed not ill pleased. They told her, that the King would by Letters Patents Declare her his Adopted Sister, and give her precedence before all the Ladies of England, next his Queen and Daughters: and assign her an Estate of 3000 li. a year; and that she had her choice either to live in England, or to return home again. She accepted the offer, and under her hand declared her consent and approbation of the Sentence; and chose to live still in England, where she was in great honour, rather than return under that disgrace to her own Country. She was also desired to write to her Brother, and let him know, that she approved of what was done in her matter, and that the King used her as a Father, or a Brother; and therefore to desire him and her other friends not to take this matter ill, or leave their friendship to the King. She had no mind to do that, but said, it would be time enough when her Brother wrote to her, to send him such an answer. But it was answered, That much depended on the first Impressions that are received of any matter. She in conclusion said, she should obey the King in every thing he desired her to do. So she wrote the Letter as they desired it; and the day following, being the 12th of July, the Bill was brought into the House, for annulling the Marriage, which went easily through both Houses.

On the 16th of July, a Bill was brought in, for moderating the Statute of the six Articles in the Clauses that related to the Marriage of the Priests, or their Incontinency with other Women. On the 17th, it was agreed by the whole House without a contradictory vote, and sent down to the Commons; who on the 21st, sent it up again. By it the pains of Death were turned to forfeitures of their Goods and Chattels, and the Rents of their Ecclesiastical Promotions, to the King.

On the 20th of July a Bill was brought in concerning a Declaration of the Christian Religion, and was then read the first, 2d, and 3d, time, and passed without any opposition, and sent down to the Commons, who agreeing to it, sent it up again the next day. 'It contained, that 'the King as Supreme Head of the Church, was taking much pains 'for an Union among all his Subjects in matters of Religion: and for 'preventing the further progress of Herefie, had appointed many of 'the Bishops and the most learned Divines, to declare the principal 'Articles of the Christian Belief, with the Ceremonies, and way of 'God's service to be observed. That therefore a thing of that weight 'might not be rashly done, or hastened through, in this Session of Par-

liament;
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Therefore it was Enacted, that whatsoever was determined by the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and the other Divines, now Commissioned for that effect, or by any others appointed by the King, or by the whole Clergy of England, and published by the Kings Authority concerning the Christian Faith, or the Ceremonies of the Church, should be believed and obeyed by all the Kings Subjects; as well as if the particulars so set forth had been enumerated in this Act, any Custom or Law to the Contrary notwithstanding. To this a strange Provifo was added, which destroyed the former Clause; That nothing should be done or determined by the Authority of this Act, which was contrary to the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom. But whether this Provifo was added by the House of Commons, or originally put into the Bill, does not appear. It was more likely it was put in at the first by the Kings Council; for these contradictory Clauses raffed the Prerogative higher, and left it in the Judges power to determine which of the two should be followed; by which all Ecclesiastical matters were to be brought under Tryals at Common Law: for it was one of the great designs, both of the Miniflers and Lawyers at this time, to bring all Ecclesiastical Matters to the Cognizance of the Secular Judge.

But another Bill passed, which seems a little odd, concerning the circumstances of that time. That whereas many Marriages had been annulled in the time of Popery, upon the pretence of Precontrat, or other degrees of kindred, than those that were prohibited by the Law of God: Therefore, after a Marriage was feimnated, no pretence of any precontrat, or any degrees of kindred or alliance, but those mentioned in the Law of God, should be brought or made ufe of, to annul it; since these things had been oft pretended, only to dillolve a Marriage, when the parties grew weary of each other, which was contrary to Gods Law. Therefore it was Enacted that no pretence of precontrat, not feimnated, should be made ufe of to annul a Marriage duly feimnized, and feimnated; and that no degrees of kindred, not mentioned by the Law of God, should be pleaded to annul a Marriage. This Act gave great occasion of cenfuring the Kings former proceedings against Queen Anne Boleyn, since that which was now condemned had been the pretence for dissolving his Marriage with her. Others thought the King did it on design to remove that Impediment out of the way of the Lady Elizabeths succeeding to the Crown; since that judgment upon which she was illegimnated, was now indirectly cenfured: And that other branch of the Act, for taking away all prohibitions of Marriages, within any degrees but those forbidden in Scripture, was to make way for the Kings Marriage with Katherine Howard, who was Cousin German to Queen Anne Boleyn; for that was one of the prohibited degrees by the Canon Law.

The Province of Canterbury offered a Subsidy of four shillings in the pound, of all Ecclesiastical preferments, to be payed in two years, and that in acknowledgment of the great liberty they enjoyed by being delivered from the Usurpations of the Bishops of Rome; and in recompence of the great charges the King had been at, and was still to be...
leat, in building Havens, Bulwarks, and other Forts, for the defence of his Coasts, and the security of his Subjects. This was confirmed in Parliament. But that did not satisifie the King; who had husbanded the money that came in by the sale of Abby Lands, so ill, that now he wanted money, and was forced to ask a subsidy for his Marriage of the Parliament; this was obtained with great difficulty. For it was said, That if the King was already in want, after so vast an income, especially being engaged in no War, there would be no end of his necessities; nor could it be possible for them to supply them. But it was answered, that the King had laid out a great Treasure in fortifying the Coast: and though he was then in no visible War, yet the charge he was at in keeping up the War beyond Sea, was equal to the expense of a War; and much more to the advantage of his people, who were kept in peace and plenty. This obtained a Tenth, and four 15ths. After the passing of all these Bills, and many other that concerned the publick, with several other Bills of Attendant, for some that favoured the Popes Interests, or Correspon ded with Cardinal Pool; which shall be mentioned in another place, the King sent in a General Pardon, with the Ordinary Exceptions; and in particular, excepted Cromwell, the Countess of Sarum, with many others, then in prison; Some of them were put in for opposing the Kings Supremacy, and others for transgressing the Statute of the six Articles; On the 24th of July the Parliament was dissolv d.

And now Cromwell, who had been six weeks a Prisoner, was brought to his Execution. He had used all the endeavours he could for his own preservation. Once he wrote to the King in such melting terms, that he made the Letter to be thrice read, and seemed touched with it. But the charms of Katherine Howard, and the endeavours of the Duke of Norfolk and the Bishop of Winchester at length prevailed. So a Warrant was sent to cut off his Head, on the 28th of July at Tower-hill. When he was brought to the Scaffold, his kindness to his Son made him very cautious in what he said; he declined the purging of himself, but said, he was by Law condemned to die, and thanked God for bringing him to that death, for his offences. He acknowledged his Sins against God, and his offences against his Prince, who had raised him from a base degree. He declared that he died in the Catholick Faith, not doubting of any Article of Faith, or of any Sacrament of the Church: and denied that he had been a Supporter of those who delivered ill opinions: He confessed he had been seduced, but now died in the Catholick Faith, and desired them to pray for the King, and for the Prince, and for himself: and then prayed very fervently for the remission of his past sins, and admittance into Eternal Glory: and having given the Sign, the Executioner cut off his Head very barbarously.

Thus fell that great Minister, that was raised meerly upon the strength of his natural parts. For as his Extraction was mean, so his Education was low: All the learning he had, was, that he had got the new-Testament in Latin by heart. His great wisdom, and dexterity in business, raised him up through several steps, till he was become as great as a Subject could be. He carried his greatness with wonder-
wonderful temper and moderation; and fell under the weight of popular Odium, rather than Guilt. The disorders in the Suppression of Abbeys were generally charged on him. Yet when he fell, no Bribery, nor cheating of the King, could be fastened on him; though such things come out in swarms on a disgraced Favourite, when there is any ground for them. By what he spoke at his death, he left it much doubted of what Religion he dyed. But it is certain he was a Lutheran. The term Catholic-Faith used by him in his last speech seemed to make it doubtful, but that was then used in England, in its true sense, in Opposition to the Novelties of the See of Rome, as will afterwards appear, on another occasion. So that his profession of the Catholic-Faith was strangely perverted, when some from thence Concluded that he dyed in the Communion of the Church of Rome. But his praying in English, and that only to God through Christ, without any of these tricks that were used when those of that Church died, showed he was none of theirs. With him the Office of the Kings Vice-gerent in Ecclesiatical affairs died, as it rose first in his person: and as all the Clergy opposed the setting up a new Officer, whose Interest should oblige him to oppose a Reconciliation with Rome, so it seems none were fond to succeed in an Office, that proved so fatal to him that had first carried it. The King was said to have lamented his death, after it was too late; but the fall of the new Queen, that followed not long after, and the miseries which fell also on the Duke of Norfolk, and his Family, some years after, were looked on as the Scourges of Heaven, for their cruel prosecution of this unfortunate Minister.

With his fall, the progress of the Reformation, which had been by his endeavours so far advanced, was quite stopt. For all that Cranmer could do after this, was to keep the ground they had gained. But he could never advance much further. And indeed every one expected to see him go next. For, as one Gofwick Knight for Bedfordshire, had named him in the House of Commons, as the Supporter and Promoter of all the Heresie that was in England; so the Popish party reckoned they had but half done their work, by destroying Cromwell; and that it was not finished till Cranmer followed him. Therefore all possible endeavours were used to make discoveries of the Encouragement, which, as was believed he gave to the Preachers of the condemned Doctrines. And it is very probable, that had not the Incontinence of Katherine Howard (whom the King declared Queen on the 8th of August,) broken out not long after, he had been sacrificed the next Session of Parliament.

But now I return to my proper business, to give an account of Church-matters for this year; with which these great Changes in Court had so great a Relation, that the Reader will excuse the digression about them.

Upon Cromwells fall, Gardiner, and those that followed him, made no doubt but they should quickly recover what they had lost of late years. So their greatest attempt was upon the Translation of the Scriptures. The Convocation Books (as I have been forced often to lament,) are lost; so that here I cannot stir, but as Fuller leads me: who assures the World that he Copyed out of the Records with his own
own Pen what he published. And yet I doubt he has mistaken himself in the year; and that which he calls the Convocation of this year, was the Convocation of the year 1542. For he tells us that their 7th Section was the the 10th of March. Now in this year the Convocation did not sit down till the 13th of April, but that year it sat all March. So likewise he tells us of the Bishops of Westminister, Gloucester, and Peterborough, bearing a share in this Convocation: whereas these were not Consecrated before Winter, and could not sit as Bishops in this Synod. And besides, Thirlby sat at this time in the lower Houle; as was formerly shewn in the Proces about Ann of Cleves Marriage. So that their attempt against the new Testament belongs to the year 1542.

But they were now much better employed, though not in the way of Convocation. For a select number of them sat by virtue of a Commission from the King confirmed in Parliament. Their first work was to draw up a Declaration of the Christian Doctrine, for the necessary erudition of a Christian man. They thought that to speak of Faith in general, ought naturally to go before an Exposition of the Christian Belief; and therefore with that they began.

The Church of Rome, that designed to keep her Children in ignorance, had made no great account of Faith: which they generally taught, consisted chiefly in an Implicit Believing whatever the Church proposed; without any explicate knowledge of particulars. So that a Christian Faith, as they had explained it, was a Submission to the Church. The Reformers finding that this was the Spring of all their other errors, and that which gave them colour and Authority; did on the other hand set up the strength of their whole Cause on an explicate believing the truth of the Scriptures, because of the Authority of God, who had revealed them. And said, that as the great Subject of the Apostles Preaching, was Faith, so that which they everywhere taught, was to read and believe the Scriptures. Upon which followed nice disputing, what was that saving Faith by which the Scriptures say we are justified. They could not say it was barely crediting the Divine Revelation, since in that sense the Devils believed. Therefore they generally placed it, at first, in their being assured that they should be saved by Christ dying for them. In which, their design was to make Holiness and all other graces necessary requisites in the Composition of Faith; though they would not make them formally parts of it. For since Christ’s death has its full virtue and effect upon none but those who are regenerate, and live according to his Gospel; none could be assured that he should be saved by Christs death, till he first found in himself these necessary qualifications which are delivered in the Gospel. Having once settled on this phrase, their followers would needs defend it, but really made it worse by their Explanations. The Church of Rome thought they had them at great advantages in it, and called them Solifidian, and said they were against good works: though whatever unvarying expressions some of them threw out, they always declared good works indispensably necessary to Salvation. But they differed from the Church of Rome, in two things that were material: There was also a third, but there the difference was more in the manner of expression. The one
one was, what were good works. The Church of Rome had generally delivered, that works which did an immediate honour to God or his Saints, were more valuable, than works done to other men: and that the honour they did to Saints in their Images, and Relicks, and to God in his Priests, that were dedicated to him, were the highest pieces of Holiness: as having the best Objects. This was the foundation of all that Trade, which brought in both Riches and Glory to their Church. On theother hand, the Reformers taught that justice and mercy, with other good works done in obedience to Gods Commandments, were only necessary. And for these things so much magnified at Rome, they acknowledged there ought to be a decent splendor in the worship of God: and good provision to be made for the encouragement of those who dedicated themselves to his Service in the Church: and that what was beyond these, was the effect of Ignorance and Superstition. The other main difference was about the Merit of good works: which the Friars had raised so high, that people were come to think they bought and sold with Almighty God, for Heaven, and all other his blessings. This the Reformers judged was the height of Arrogance: And therefore taught that good works were indeed absolutely necessary to Salvation: but that the purchase of Heaven was only by the Death and Intercession of Jesus Christ. With these materal differences they joyned another that consiftled more in words. Whether Obedience was an effential part of Faith. The Reformers said it certainly accompanied and followed Faith: but thought not fit to make it an Ingredient in the nature of Faith. These things had been now much convaiffed in disputes: And it was thought by many, that men of ill lives made no good use of some of the Expressions of the Reformers, that separateth Faith from good works, and came to perfuade themselves, that if they could but attain to a firm affurance, That they should be saved by Christ, all would be well with them. Therefore now when they went about to state the true Notion of Faith, Cranmer commanded Doctor Redmayn, who was esteemed the most learned and judicious Divine of that time, to write a short Treatife on these Heads: which he did with that solidity and clearness, that it will sufficiently justify any advantageous Character that can be given of the Author; and according to the Conclusions of that Treatife they laid down the nature of Faith, thus: That it stands in two several fenes in Scripture, 'The one is the perfwasion of the truths, both of natural and revealed Religion, wrought in the mind by Gods holy Spirit: And the other is such a belief as begets a submission to the will of God, and hath Hope, Love, and Obedience to Gods Commandments joyned to it: which was Abraham's Faith, and that which according to St. Paul wrought by Charity, and was so much commended in the Epiftle to the Hebrews. That this was the Faith which in Baptism is profefTed, from which Christians are called the Faithful: And in those Scriptures where it is said, That we are justified by Faith, they declared, we may not think that we be justified by Faith, as it is a separate verufe from Hope and Charity, Fear of God, and Repentance; but by it is meant Faith, neither only, nor alone, but with the forfaid vertues coupled together; containing (as is aforesaid) the obedience to the whole
whole Doctrine and Religion of Christ. But for the Definition of Faith, which some proposed, as if it were a certainty that one was Predestinated, they found nothing of it, either in the Scriptures, or the Doctors, and thought that could not be known: for though God never failed in his Promises to men, yet such was the frailty of men, that they often failed in their promises to God, and so did forfeit their right to the promises, which are all made upon conditions that depend on us.

Upon this occasion I shall digress a little, to shew with what care Cranmer considered so weighty a point. Among his other Papers, I find a Collection of a great many places out of the Scripture, concerning Justification by Faith, together with a vast number of Quotations, out of Origen, Basil, Jerome, Theodoret, Ambrose, Athan., Proper, Chrysostom, Gennadius, Beda, Hesychius, Theophylact, and Oecumenius; together with many later writers, such as Anselm, Bernard, Peter Lombard, Hugo Cardinalis, Lyranus, and Bruno; in which the sense of those Authors in this Point did appear; all drawn out with his own hand.

To this is added another Collection of many places of the Fathers, in which they speak of the merit of good works: and at the end of the whole Collection he writes these words, 'This Proposition that we are justified by Christ only, and not by our good works; is a very true and necessary Doctrine of St. Pauls, and the other Apostles, taught by them, to set forth thereby the Glory of Christ, and the Mercy of God through Christ. And after some further discourse to the same purpose, he concludes, although all that be justified must of necessity have Charity, as well as Faith; yet neither Faith nor Charity be the worthines nor merits of our Justification: but that is to be ascribed only to our Saviour Christ: who was offered upon the cross for our sins, and rose again for our Justification. This I set down to let the World see that Cranmer was not at all concerned in those niceties, which have been so much enquired into since that time, about the instrumentality of Faith, in Justification; all that he then considered, being that the glory of it might be ascribed only to the Death and Intercession of Jesus Christ.

After this was thus laid down, there followed an Explanation of the Apostles Creed; full of excellent matters; being a large Paraphrase on every Article of the Creed, with such serious and practical Inferences, that I must acknowledge, after all the practical Books we have had, I find great Edification in reading that over and over again. The Style is strong, nervous, and well-fitted for the weakest capacities. There is nothing in this that is controverted between the Papists and the Reformers; except the Definition of the Holy Catholic Church, which they give thus. That it comprehends all Assemblies of men over the whole World, that receive the Faith of Christ: who ought to hold an unity of Love, and Brotherly agreement together, by which they become members of the Catholick Church. Upon which a long excursion is made, to shew the unjustice and unreasonable ness of the plea of the Church of Rome; who place the unity of the Catholick Church, in a submission to the Bishop of their City; without any ground from Scripture, or the Ancient writers.

From
From that they proceeded to Examine the seven Sacraments: And here fell in stiff debates, which remain in some Authentick Writings, that give a great light to their proceedings. The method which they followed was this. First, the whole busines was to consider, was divided into so many heads; which were proposed as Queries, and these were given out to so many Bishops and Divines: And at a prefixed time every one brought his opinion in writing, upon all the Queries. So concerning the seven Sacraments, the Queries were given out to the two Arch-Bishops, the Bishop of London, Rochester and Carlisle, (though the last was not in the Commission,) And to the Bishops of Duresm, Hereford, and St. Davids. For though the Bishop of Winchester was in this Commission, yet he did nothing in this particular; but I imagine that he was gone out of Town, and that the Bishop of Carlisle was appointed to supply his absence. The Queries were also given to Doctor Thirlby, then Bishop Elect of Westminster, to Doctor Robertson, Day, Redmayn, Cox, Leighton, (though not in the Commission,) Symmonds, Trebyam, Coren, (though not in the Commission,) Edgeworth, Oglethorp, Crayford, Wilfon, and Robins. When their answers were given in, two were appointed to compare them, and draw an Extract of the particulars, in which they agreed or disagreed: which the one did in Latin, and the other in English; only those who compared them, it seems, doing it for the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, took no notice of his Opinions in the Extract they made. And of these, the Original answers of the two Arch-Bishops, the Bishops of London, Rochester, and Carlisle, and these Doctors, Day, Robertson, Redmayn, Cox, Leighton, Symmonds, Trebyam, Coren, Edgeworth, and Oglethorp, are yet extant. But the Papers given in by the Bishops of Duresm, Hereford, and St. Davids, and the Elect of Westminster, and Doctors, Crayford, Wilfon, and Robins, though they are mentioned in the Extracts made out of them, yet are lost. This the Reader will find in the Collection; which, though it be somewhat large, yet I thought such pieces were of too great Importance, not to be communicated to the World: since it is perhaps as great an Evidence of the ripeness of their proceedings, as can be shewed in any Church, or any Age of it. And though other Papers of this sort do not occur in this Kings Reign; yet I have reason to conclude from this Instance, that they proceeded with the same maturity in the rest of their deliberations. In which I am the more confirmed, because I find another instance like this, in the Reformation that was further carried on in the succeeding Reign of Edward the 6th; of many Bishops and Divines giving in their opinions under their hands, upon some heads then examined and changed. In Cranmer's Paper some singular opinions of his about the nature of Ecclesiastical Offices will be found; but as they are delivered by him with all possible modesty, so they were not established as the Doctrine of the Church, but laid aside as particular conceits of his own, and it seems that afterwards he changed his opinion. For he subscribed the Book that was soon after set out; which is directly contrary to those opinions set down in these Papers. Cranmer was for reducing these Sacraments to two, but the Popish party was then prevalent, so the old number of seven was agreed to.
Baptism was explained in the same manner that had been done three years before, in the Articles then set out: only the matter of Original Sin was more enlarged on.

Secondly, Penance was formally placed in the absolution of the Priest; which by the former Articles was only declared a thing desirable, and not to be condemned if it might be had; yet all merit of good works was rejected, though they were declared necessary: and sinners were taught to depend wholly on the Sufferings of Christ; with other good directions about Repentance.

Thirdly, In the Explanation of the Eucharist, Transubstantiation was fully asserted: as also the Concomitancy of the Blood with the Flesh; so that Communion in both kinds was not necessary. The use of hearing Mass, though one did not Communicate, was also asserted. To which were added very good Rules about the disposition of mind that ought to accompany this Sacrament.

Fourthly, Matrimony was said to be Instituted of God, and Sanctified by Christ: The degrees in the Mosaic Law were declared obligatory, and none else: and the Bond of Marriage was declared not separable on any account.

Fifthly, Orders were to be administered in the Church, according to the New-Testament: but the particular forms, of Nominating, Electing, Presenting, or Appointing Ecclesiastical Ministers, was left to the Laws of every Countrey, to be made by the assent of the Prince. The Office of Church-men was to Preach, Administer the Sacraments, to bind and loofe, and to pray for the whole Flock: But they must execute these, with such limitation as was allowed by the Laws of every Kingdom. The Scripture, they said, made express mention only of the two Orders of Priests and Deacons. To these the Primitive Church had added some Inferior degrees, which were also not to be condemned. But no Bishop had any Authority over other Bishops by the Law of God. Upon which followed a long Digression, confuting the pretensions of the Bishops of Rome; with an Explanation of the Kings Authority in Ecclesiastical matters; which was before hand set down in another place, to shew what they understood by the Kings being Suprem Head of the Church.

Sixthly, Confirmation was said to have been used in the Primitive Church, in imitation of the Apostles; who by laying on their hands conferred the Holy-Ghost; in an extraordinary manner. And therefore was of great advantage, but not necessary to Salvation.

Seventhly, Extrem-union was said to have been derived from the practice of the Apostles, mentioned by St. James, for the health both of Body, and Soul: and though the sick person was not always recovered of his bodily sickness by it, yet remission of sins was obtained by it; and that which God knew to be best for our bodily condition, to who soe will we ought always to submit. But this Sacrament was only fruitful to those who by penance were restored to the State of Grace.

Then followed an Explanation of the Ten Commandments, which contains many good rules of Morality; drawn from every one of them. The 2d Commandment Gardiner had a mind to have shortned, and to cast into the first. Cranmer was for setting it down as it was in the
the Law of Moses. But a temper was found: it was placed as a Di-
finite Commandment, but not at full length; the words, for I the
Lord thy God, &c. being left out, and only those that go before being
set down. In the Explanation of this Commandment, Images were
said to be profitable for putting us in mind of the great Blessings we
have received by our Saviour, and of the virtues and holiness of the
Saints, by which we were to be stirred up to imitate them: So that
they were not to be despised, though we be forbidden to do any god-
ly honour to them. And therefore the Superstition of preferring one
Image to another, as if they had any special virtue in them, or the ad-
dorning them richly, and making Vows and Pilgrimages to them, is
condemned; yet the Censing of Images, and Kneeling before them,
are not condemned: but the people must be taught, that these things
were not to be done to the Image it self, but to God and his honour.
To the third Commandment, they reduced the Invocation of God's
name for his Gifts. And they condemned the Invocation of Saints,
when such things were prayed for from them, which were only given
by God. This was the giving his Glory to Creatures: yet to pray
to Saints as Interceffors is declared lawful, and according to the
Doctrine of the Catholick Church. Upon the 4th Commandment
a Rest from labour every 7th day is said to be Ceremonial, and such
as only obliged Jews: but the Spiritual Signification of Rest among
Christians, was to abftain from Sin, and other Carnal pleasures. But
besides that, we were also bound by this Precept sometimes to ceafe
from labour, that we may serve and worship God both in publick
and private: And that on the days appointed for this purpoze, people
ought to examine their lives, the laft week, and set to amend-
ment, and give themselves to prayer, reading, and meditation. Yet in
cases of necessity, such as faving their Corn, or Cattel, men ought not
superflitiously to think that it is a Sin to work on that day; but to
do their work without scruple. Then follow very profitable Exposi-
tions of the other Commandments, with many grave and weighty ad-
monitions concerning the duties by them enjoyned, and againit those
sins which are too Common in all Ages.

After that, an Explanation of the Lords Prayer was added. In
the preface to which, it is said, that it is meet and requisite that the
unlearned people should make their Prayers in their Mother-
Tongue; whereby they may be the more flirred to Devotion, and
to mind the things they prayed for. Then followed an Exposition of
the Angels Salutation of the Blessed Virgin: In which, the whole Hi-
dtory of the Incarnation of Christ was opened, and the Ave Maria ex-
plained; which Hymn was chiefly to be used, in Commemoration of
Christ's Incarnation, and likewise to ftir forth the praihes of the Blessed
Virgin. The next Article is about Free-will, which they fay must be
in man, otherwife all Precepts and Exhortations are to no purpose.
They defined it a power of the will, joyned with Reason, whereby a rea-
sible creature without contraint, in things of reason, discerneth and willeth
good and evil: but chooseth good by the assiufe of Gods grace and evil of
it felf. This was perfect in the State of Innocency, but is much im-
paired by Adams Fall, and now by an efpecial grace (offered to all men,
but enjoyed only by thofe who by their free-will do accept the fame,)
it was restored, that with great watchfulness we may serve God acceptably. And as many places of Scriptures shew, That free-will is still in man, so there be many others which shew that the grace of God is necessary, that doth both prevent us, and assist us, both to begin, and perform every good work. Therefore all men ought most gratefully to receive and follow the motions of the Holy Ghost, and to beg Gods grace with earnest devotion, and a steadfast Faith: which he will grant to all that so ask it, both because he is naturally good, and he has promised to grant our desires. For he is not the author of Sin, nor the Cause of mans Damnation; but this men draw on themselves, who by vice have corrupted these Natures which God made good. Therefore all Preachers were warned so to moderate themselves in this high point, that they neither should so preach the Grace of God as to take away Free-will, nor so extol Free-will, as injury might be done to the Grace of God.

After this they handled Justification. Having stated the miseries of man by nature, and the guilt of Sin, with the unspeakable goodness of God in sending Christ to redeem us by his death, who was the Mediator between God and man; They next shew how men are made partakers of the blessings which he hath procured. Justification is the making of us righteous before God, whereby we are reconciled to him, and made heirs of Eternal life: that by his Grace we may walk in his ways, and be reputed just and righteous in the day of Judgment, and so attain Everlasting Happines. God is the chief cause of our Justification: yet man prevented by Grace is by his free-consent and obedience a worker toward the attaining his own Justification. For though it is only procured through the merits of Christs death, yet every one must do many things to attain a right and claim to that which, though it was offered to all, yet was applied but to a few. We must have a steadfast Faith, true Repentance, real purposes of amendment; committing Sin no more, but serving God all our lives; which if we fall from, we must recover it, by Penance, Fasting, Alms, Prayer, with other good works, and a firm Faith, going forward in mortification and obedience to the Laws of God: It being certain that men might fall away from their Justification. All curious reasonings about Predestination were to be set apart; there being no certainty to be had of our Election, but by feeling the motions of Gods Spirit in us, by a good and virtuous life, and perverting in it to the end. Therefore it was to be taught, that as on the one hand we are to be justified freely by the free Grace of God, so on the other hand, when it is said We are justified by Faith, it must be understood of such a Faith, in which the ear of God, Repentance, Hope, and Charity, be included, all which must be joined together in our Justification: and though these be imperfect, yet God accepteth them freely thorough Christ.

Next, good works were explained, which were said to be absolutely necessary to Salvation. But these were not only outward corporal works, but inward Spiritual works, as the Love and Fear of God, Patience, Humility, and the like. Nor were they Superstitions, and mens Inventions, such as those in which Monks and Friers exercised themselves: nor only moral works done by the power of Natu-
ral reason: but the works of Charity, flowing from a pure heart, a good Conscience, and Faith unfeigned; which were meritorious towards the attaining of Everlasting life. Other works were of an Inferior sort; such as Fasting, Almsdeeds, and other fruits of Penance. And the merit of good works is reconciled with the freedom of Gods mercies to us, since all our works are done by his Grace; so that we have no cause of boasting, but must ascribe all to the Grace and goodnefs of God. The last Chapter is about Prayers for Souls departed, which is the fame that was formerly set out in the Articles three years before.

And this was finished and set forth this year, with a Preface written by those of the Clergy who had been implored in it: declaring with what care they had examined the Scriptures, and the ancient Doctors, out of whom they had faithfully gathered this Exposition of the Christian Faith. To this the King added another Preface some years after, declaring that although he had cast out the darknefs, by setting forth the Scriptures to his people, which had producèd very good effects; yet, as hypocritif and Superftition were purged away, so a Spirit of presumption, diflention, and carnal liberty was breaking in. For reprefling which he had by the advice of his Clergy, set forth a Declaration of the true knowledge of God, for directing all mens belief and practice; which both Houses of Parliament had seen, and liked very well. So that he verily trusted it contained a true and fufficient Doctrine, for the attaining everlasting life. Therefore he required all his people, to read and print in their hearts, the Doctrine of this Book. He also willed them to remember, that as there were fome Teachers, whose Office it was to instruct the people; fo the reft ought to be taught, and to those it was not necessary to read the Scriptures; and that therefore he had restrained it from a great many, esteeming it fufficient for fuch to hear the Doctrine of the Scriptures taught by their Preachers, which they should lay up in their hearts, and pratife in their lives. Lastly, he defired all his Subjects to pray to God to grant them the Spirit of Humility, that they might read and carry in their hearts the Doctrine set forth in this Book. But though I have joyned the account of this Preface, to the Extract here made of the Bishops Book, yet it was not prefixed to it, till above two years after the other was set out.

When this was published, both parties found cause in it both to be glad and forrowful. The Reformers rejoiced to fee the Doctrine of the Gospel thus opened more and more; for they concluded that Ignorance and prejudices, being the chief supports of the Errors they complained of; the instructing people in Divine Matters, even though some particulars displeased them, yet would awaken and work upon an inquisitive humour that was then a-stirring; and they did not doubt but their Doctrines were so clear, that inquiries into Religion would do their bufinefs. They were also glad to fee the Morals of Christianitv so well cleared, which they hoped would difpofe people to a better taste of Divine matters; since they had observed that purity of Soul does mightily prepare people for found opinions. Most of the Superflitious conceits and pratices, which had for fome ages em-

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The History of the Reformation  Book III.

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Based the Christian Faith, were now removed; and the great funda-
mental of Christianity, the Covenant between God and man in Christ,
with the conditions of it, was plainly and sincerely declared. There
was also another principle laid down, that was big with a further
Reformation: for every National Church was declared a compleat
Body within itself, with power to reform herefies, correct abuses,
and do every thing else that was necessary for keeping it self pure,
or governing its members. By which there was a fair way opened for
a full discussion of things afterwards, when a fitter opportunity should
be offered. But on the other hand, the Popish party thought they
had gained much. The seven Sacraments were again affented, so that
here much ground was recovered, and they hoped more would fol-
low. There were many things laid down, to which they knew the
Reformers would never content. So that they, who were resolved to
comply with every thing that the King had a mind to, were pretty
safe. But the others, who followed their perfusions and conferences
were brought into many snares; and the Popish party was confident
that their absolute Compliance, which was joyned with all possible
submission and flattery, would gain the King at length: and the high
ness of others, who would not give that difference to the Kings judgment
and pleasure, would to alienate him from them, that he would in the
end abandon them; for with the Kings years his uneasiness and peevif-
nes grew mightily on him.

The diffolution of the Kings Marriage with Anne of Cleves, had
fo offended the Princes of Germany, that though upon the Ladies
account, they made no publick noise of it; yet there was little more
interroute between the King and them, especially Cromwel failing,
that had always carried on the correspondence with them. And as
this interroute went off, so a secret Treaty was fet on foot between
the King and the Emperor: yet it came not to a Conclusion till two
years after.

The other Bishops that were appointed to examine the Rites and
Ceremonies of the Church, drew up a Rubrick and Rationale of them:
which I do not find was printed, but a very Authentical M S. of a
great part of it is extant. The alterations they made were in-
considerable, and so slight, that there was no need of reprinting, ei-
ther the Missalls, Breviaries, or other Offices; for a few rafures of
these Collects in which the Pope was prayed for, of Thomas Becket's
Office, and the Offices of other Saints, whose days were by the Kings
Injunctions no more to be observed, with some other Deletions, made,
that the old Books did still serve. For whether it was, that the Change
of the MaGs-Books, and other publick Offices, would have been too
great a Charge to the Nation; or whether they thought it would
have persuaded the people with an opinion that the Religion was alte-
red, since the Books of the ancient worship were changed; which
remaining the same, they might be the more easily persuaded, that
the Religion was still the same; there was no new impression of the
Breviaries, Missals, and other Rituals, during this Kings Reign. Yet
in Queen Marias time they took care that Poteftity should not know
how much was daffed out or changed. For as all Parishes were re-
quited to furnish themselves with new compleat Books of the Of-
ices;
Book III. of the Church of England.

Offices; so the dashed Books were every-where brought in, and destroyed. But it is likely that most of those Scandalous Hymns and Prayers, which are addressed to Saints in the same style, in which good Christians worship God, were all struck out; because they were now condemned, as appears from the Extract of the other Book set out by the Bishops.

But as they went on in these things, the Popish party, whose Counsels were laid very cloe, and managed with great dexterity, chiefly by the Duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, pursued the ruine of those whom they called Heretics: knowing well that if the King was once fet against them, and they provoked against the Government, he would be not only alienated from them, but forced, for securing himself against them, to gain the hearts of his other Subjects by a Conjunction with the Emperor, and by his means with the Pope. The first on whom this design took effect, were Doctor Barnes, Mr. Gerrard, and Mr. Jerome, all Priests; who had been among the earlieft Converts to Luther's Doctrine. Barnes had in a Sermon at Cambridge, during the Cardinals gretnefs, reflected on the Pomp and State in which he lived, so plainly, that every body understood of whom he meant. So he was carried up to London; but by the interposition of Gardiner and Fox, who were his friends, he was saved at that time, having abjured some opinions that were objected to him. But other accusations being afterwards brought against him, he was again Imprisoned, and it was believed that he would have been burnt. But he made his escape and went to Germany, where he gave himself to the study of the Scriptures and Divinity. In which he became so confiderable, that not only the German Divines, but their Princes, took great notice of him: and the King of Denmark sending over Ambassadors to the King, he was sent with them; though perhaps Fox was ill informed, when he says he was one of them. Fox Bishop of Hereford, being at Smalcald in the year 1536, sent him over to England; where he was received and kindly entertained by Cromwel, and well used by the King. And by his means the correspondance with the Germans was chiefly kept up. For he was often sent over to the Courts of the several Princes. But in particular, he had the misfortune to be first employed in the project of the Kings Marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves; for that giving the King so little satisfaction, all who were the main promoters of it fell in disadise upon it.

But other things concurred to destroy Barnes. In Lent this year Bonner had appointed him and Gerrard, and Jerome, to turn in the Course of Sermons at St. Pauls Crofs; they being in favour with Cromwel, on whom Bonner depended wholly. But Gardiner sent Bonner word, that he intended himself to preach on Sunday at St. Pauls Crofs; and in his Sermon he treated of Justification, and other points, with many reflections on the Lutherans. Barnes, when it came to his Turn, made use of the same Text, but preached contrary Doctrine; not without some unhandsome reflections on Gardiners person; and he played his name, alluding to a Gardiners setting ill Plants in a Garden. The other two preached the same Doctrine, but made no reflections on any person. Gardiner seemed to bear it with a great appearance of
neglect and indifferency. But his friends complained to the King of the unsufferable infolencies of these Preachers, who did not spare so great a Prelate, especially he being a Privy Councillor. So Barnes was questioned for it, and commanded to go and give the Bishop of Wincheiter satisfaction. And the Bishop carried the matter with a great shew of moderation, and acted outwardly in it, as became his Function: though it was believed the matter stuck deeper in his heart, which the effects that followed seemed to demonstrate. The King concerned himself in the matter, and did argue with Barnes about the points in difference. But whether he was truly convinced, or overcome rather with the fear of the King than with the force of his reasonings; he and his two Friends, William Jerome, and Tho. Gerrard, signed a paper, (which will be found in the Collection,) in which he acknowledged, 'That having been brought before the King, for things preached by him; His Highness, being assisted by some of the Clergy, had so disputed with him, that he was convinced of his rashnesses and overights: and promised to abstain from such indiscretions for the future, and to submit to any orders the King should give for what was past.

'First, That the Articles were. First, That though we are Redeemed only by the death of Christ, in which we participate by Faith and Baptism; yet by not following the Commandments of Christ we lose the benefits of it, which we cannot recover but by Penance.

'Secondly, That God is not the Author of Sin, or evil, which he only permits.

'Thirdly, That we ought to reconcile our selves to our neighbours, and forgive, before we can be forgiven.

'Fourthly, That good works, done sincerely according to the Scriptures, are profitable and helpful to Salvation.

'Fifthly, That Laws made by Christian Rulers ought to be obeyed by their Subjects, for conscience sake: and that whosoever breaks them breaks Gods Commandments.

'It's not likely that Barnes could say any thing directly contrary to these Articles: though having brought much of Lutheran heat over with him, he might have said some things that sounded ill upon these heads. There were other points in difference between Gardiner and him, about Justification; but it seems the King thought these were of so subtile a nature, that no Article of Faith was controverted in them: and therefore left the Bishop and him to agree these among themselves, which they in a great measure did. So the King commanded Barnes and his friend to preach at the Spittle in the Easter-week, and openly to recant what they had formerly said. And Barnes was in particular to ask the Bishop of Wincheiter's pardon, which he did; and Gardiner being twice desired by him, to give some sign that he forgave him, did lift up his Finger. But in their Sermons, it was said they justified in one part what they recanted in another. Of which complaints being brought to the King, he, without hearing them sent them all to the Tower. And Cromwel's interest at Court was then declining so fast, that either he could not protect them, or else would not prejudice himself by interfering in a matter which gave the King.
to great offence. They lay in the Tower till the Parliament met, and then they were attainted of Heresie, without ever being brought to make their answer. And it seems for the Extraordinaries of the thing, they resolved to mix attainders for things that were very different from one another. For four others were by the same Act attainted of Treason, who were Gregory Battolph, Adam Damplip, Edmund Brindholme, and Clement Philpot; for affiliating Reginald Pole, adhering to the Bishop of Rome, denying the King to be the Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England, and designing to surprize the Town of Callice. One Derby Gunings was also attainted of Treason for affiliating one Fitz-Gerald a Traitor in Ireland. And after all these, Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome, are attainted of Heresie, being, as the Act says, 'Detestable Hereticks, who had conspired together to set forth many Heresies, and taking themselves to be men of learning, had expounded the Scriptures; perverting them to their Heresies, the number of which was too long to be repeated; that having formerly abused, they were now incorrigible Hereticks: and so were condemned to be burned, or suffer any other death; as should please the King. And two days after Cromwell’s death, being the 30th of July, They were brought to Smithfield, where in their Execution there was as odd a mixture, as had been in their Attainders. For Abel, Fetherston, and Powel, that were attainted by another Act of the same Parliament, for owning the Popes Supremacy, and denying the Kings, were carried to the place of Execution, and coupled with the other three. So that one of each was put into a Hurdle, and carried together, which every body condemned as an Extravagant affectation of the shew of Impartial Justice.

When they were brought to the Stake, Barnes spake thus to the People. ‘Since he was to be burned as an Heretick, he would declare what opinions he held. So he enlarged on all the Articles of the Creed, to shew he believed them all. He expressed a particular abhorrence of an opinion which some Anabaptists held, That the Blessed Virgin was as a Saffron Bag; (by which indecent Simile they meant that our Saviour took no substance of her.) He explained his opinion of Good works, that they must of necessity be done, since without them none should ever enter into the Kingdom of God. They were commanded of God, to shew forth our profession by them: but he believed, as they were not pure nor perfect, so they did not avail to our Justification, nor merit any thing at the hands of God; for that was to be ascribed to the Merits of the Death and Passion of Christ. He professed great Reverence to the Blessed Virgin and Saints. But said, he saw no warrant in Scriptures for praying to them: nor was it certain whether they prayed for us or not; but if the Saints did pray for those on Earth, he trusted within half an hour to be praying for them all. Then he asked the Sheriff if he had any Articles against them, for which they were condemned: who answered he had none. He next asked the people, if they knew whereabouts he died; or if they had been led into any Errors by his Preaching; but none made answer. Then he said, he heard he was condemned to die by an Act of Parliament; and it seemed it was for Heresie, since they were to be burnt. He prayed God to forgive those
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those who had been the occasions of it. And in particular, for the 
Bishop of Winchester, if he had fought or procured his death, he pray-
ed God heartily to forgive him, as Christ forgave his Murtherers. He 
prayed earnestly for the King, and the Prince; and exhorted the peo-
to pray for them. He said, 'fome had reported that he had been a 
Preacher of Sedition and Disobedience: But he declared to the peo-
that they were bound by the Law of God, to obey their Kings 
Laws with all humility, not only for fear, but for Confidence; adding, 
that if the King commanded any thing against Gods Law, though it 
were in their Power to refit him, yet they might not do it. Then 
he desired the Sheriff to carry five requests from him to the King. 
"First, That since he had taken the Abbey-Lands into his hands, 
for which he did not blame him, (as the Sheriffianced he was about 
to do, and thereupon flopped him,) but was glad that Superfition 
was taken away; and that the King was then a compleat King, o-
beyled by all his Subjects, which had been done through the Preach-
ing of them, and such wretches as they were: yet he wished the King-
would beftow these goods, or some of them, to the comfort of his 
poor Subjects who had great need of them. 
"Secondly, That Marriage might be had in greater ceflem, and 
that men might not upon light pretences caft off their Wives; and 
that those who were unmarried, might not be suffered to live in 
Whoredom. 
"Thirdly, That Abominable Swearers might be punifhed. 
"Fourthly, That since the King had begun to set forth Christian 
Religion, he would go forward in it, and make an end: for though 
he had done a great deal, yet many things remained to be done, 
and he wished that the King might not be deceived with false 
Teachers. 
The fifth desire he said he had forgot. 
Then he begged that they all would forgive him, if at any time he 
had said or done evil unadvisedly: and so turned about, and prepared 
himself for his death. 
Jerome fpake next, and declared his Faith upon every Article of 
the Creed; and said that he believed all that was in the Holy Scrip-
tures. He also prayed for the King, and the Prince. And conclu-
ded with a very Pathetical Exhortation to mutual love and Charity; 
that they would propofe to themselves the pattern of Chrifts won-
derful Love, through whom only he hoped to be faved; and desired all 
their Prayers for himfelf and his Brethren. Then Gerrard declared his 
Faith, and said, That if through ignorance or negligence, he had 
 taught any error, he was forry for it; and asked God pardon and them, 
whom he had thereby offended. But he protested, that according to 
his Learning and Knowledg, he had always set forth the honour of 
God, and the obedience of the Kings Laws. Then they all prayed 
for the pardon of their Sins, and confancy and patience in their fuf-
fcrings: And so they embraced and kifled one another, and then the 
Executioners eyd them to the Stake, and fet fire to them. 
Their death did rather encourage than dishearten their followers: 
who feeing fuch an extraordinary measure of patience in them, were 
the more confirmed in their resolutions of fuffering for a good con-
science,
feience, and for his name, who did not forfake his Servants in their cruel Agonies. One difference between their Sufferings, and the other three who were hanged for ascertaining the Popes Supremacy, was remarkable; that though the others demeaned themselves toward them with the most uncharitable and spiteful malice that was possible, to that their own Historian says, That their being carried with them to their Execution was bitterer to them than death itself; yet they declared their hearty forgiving of their Enemies, and of Gardner in particular, who was generally looked on as the person that procured their death: which Imputation stuck fast to him, though by a Print-ed Apology he studied to clear himself of any other concernment in it, than by giving his vote for the Act of their Attainder.

Now Bonner began to show his nature. Hitherto he had asked another part. For being most extremly defirous of Preferment, he had so complied with Cromwell and Cranmer, that they had great confidence in him; and he being a blustering and forward man, they thought he might do the Reformation good service, and therefore he was advanced so high by their means. But as soon as ever Cromwell fell, the very next day he shewed his ingratitude, and how nimbly he turned with the Wind. For Grafton the Printer, whom Cromwell favoured much for his Printing the Bible, and who was by that means very familiar with Bonner, meeting him, said, he was very lorry for the news he heard of Cromwells being sent to the Tower. Bonner answered, It had been good he had been dispatch long ago. So the other shrank away, perceiving the change that was in him. And some days after that, Grafton being brought before the Council, for some Verses which he was believed to have Printed in commendation of Cromwell, Bonner informed the Council of what Grafton had said to him upon Cromwells being Arrested, to make the other Charge seem the more probable. Yet Audley the Chancellor was Graftons friend, and brought him off. But Bonner gave the City of London quickly cause to apprehend the utmost severities from him. For many were indicted by his procurement. Yet the King was lest to give too many Instances of Cruelty, in this declination of his Age, and therefore by an order from the Star-Chamber they were discharged. But upon what motives I cannot fancy, he pickt out an Instance, which, if the deeper stains of his following life had not dash all particular spots, had been sufficient to have blenmifth him for ever. There was one Richard Mekins a Boy not above fifteen years of Age, and both Illiterate and very Ignorant, who had said somewhat against the corporal presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament, and in Commendation of Doctor Barnes. Upon this he was Indicted. The words were proved by two Witnesses, and a day was appointed for the Juries to bring in their verdict. The day being come, the Grand Jury was called for, then the Fore-man said, they had found nothing. This put Bonner in a fury, and he charged them with Perjury: But they said they could find nothing, for the Witnesses did not agree. The one deposed, That he had said the Sacrament was nothing but a Ceremony: and the other, That it was nothing but a Signification. But Bonner still persisted and told them, that he had said, That Barnes dy-ed Holy. But they could not find these words to be against the Statute.
Upon which Howar curst, and was in a great rage, and cau-
celed them to go aside again: So they being overawed, returned and
found the Indictment. Then gave the Jury upon life and death, who
found him Guilty: and he was adjudged to be burnt. But when he
was brought to the Stake, he was taught to speak much good of
Bower, and to condemn all Hereticks, and Barnes in particular, say-
ing he had learned Heresie of him. Thus the Boy was made to dye
with a lie in his mouth. For Barnes held not that opinion of the Sa-
craments being only a Cerimony or Signification, but was a zealous
Lutheran: which appeared very signally on many occasions, chiefly in
Lambert's case. Three others were also burned at Salisbury upon the
same Statute, one of whom was a Priest. Two also were burned at
Lincoln in one day. Besides, a great number of persons were brought
in trouble, and kept long in Prison upon the Statute of the six Articles.
But more blood I find not spilt at this time.

In the end of this year were the new Bishopricks founded. For in
December was the Abbey of Wellsminster converted into a Bishop's See;
and a Deanry and twelve Prebends, with the Officers for a Cathed-
ral and a Quire. And in the year following on the 4th. of August,
the King erected out of the Monastery of St. Werburg at Chester, a Bi-
ishoprick, a Deann, and fix Prebends. In September, out of the Mo-
nastery at St. Peter's at Gloucester the King endowed a Bishoprick, a
Dean, and six prebendaries. And in the same month, the Abbey of
Peterborough was converted to a Bishop's seat, a Deanny, and six Prebends.
And to lay this whole matter together, two years after
this, the Abbey of Osney in Oxford was converted into a Bishop-
rick, a Deanny, and six Prebends. And the Monastery of St. An-flins
in Bristol was changed into the same use. There are many other
Grants also in the Rolls, both to the Bishopys, and Deans, and Chap-
ters, of these Sees. But these Foundations will be better understood,
by their Charters: of which, since the Bishoprick of Wellsminster is
least known, because long ago suppressed, I have chosen to let down
the Charter of that See; which the Reader will find in the Collec-
tion: And they running all in the same stile, one may serve for the
rest. The Substance of the Preamble is, 'That the King being mov-
ed by the Grace of God, and intending nothing more than that
true Religion, and the sincere worship of God, should not be ab-
oblished, but rather reflored to the Primitive sinceritie, and reformed
from these abuses with which the profecion and the lives of the
Monks had so long and so lamentably corrupted Religion; had, as
far as human Infirmity could foresee, designed that the word of God
might be sincerely Preached, the Sacraments purely administred,
and good Order kept up, the Youth well instructed, and old people rel-
ieved, with other publick Alms-deeds. And therefore the King
Erected and Endowed these Sees. The day after these several
Grants, there followed a Writ to the Arch-Bishop, containing, that
the King had appointed such a person to be Bishop of that See, Re-
quiring him to Consecrate and Ordain him in due form. Then the
Priories at most Cathedrals, such as Canterbury, Winchester, Dorch-
set, Worcester, Carlisle, Rochester, and Ely, were also converted into De-
aries, and Colledges of Prebends, with many other Officers, and
an allowance of Charity to be yearly distributed to the poor.

But as all this came far short of what the King had once intended, so Crammer's Design was quite disappointed. For he had projected that in every Cathedral there should be provision made for Readers of Divinity, and of Greek, and Hebrew, and a great number of Students to be both exercised in the daily worship of God, and trained up in Study and Devotion; whom the Bishop might transplant out of this Nurberry, into all the parts of his Diocess. And thus every Bishop should have had a Colledge of Clergy-men under his eye, to be preferred according to their merit: he law great disorders among some Prebendaries, and in a long Letter, the Original of which I have seen, he expressed his regret that these Endowments went in such a Channel. Yet now his Power was not great at Court, and the other party ran down all his motions. But these who observed things narrowly, judged that a good mixture of Prebendaries, and of young Clerks bred up about Cathedrals, under the Bishops eye, and the Conduct and Direction of the Dean and Prebendaries, had been one of the greatest Blessings that could have befallen the Church: Which not being sufficiently provided of Houses for the Forming of the minds and manners of those who are to be received into Orders, has since felt the ill effects of it very sensibly. Against this, Crammer had projected a Noble Remedy, had not the Popish Party then at Court, who very well apprehended the advantages such Nurseries would have given to the Reformation, born down this Proposition, and turned all the Kings Bounty and Foundations another way.

These new Foundations gave some credit to the Kings proceedings, and made the Supplication of Chanteries and Chappells go on more smoothly. But those of the Roman party beyond Sea, confurared this, as they had done all the rest of the Kings Actions. They said, it was but a slight Reformation of a small part of the Goods, of which he had robbed the Church. And they complained of the Kings encroaching on the Spiritual Jurisdiction of the Church, by disnembring Diocesses, and removing Churches from one Jurisdiction to another. To this it was answered, that the necessities which their practices put on the King, both to fortifie his Coast and Dominions, to send Money beyond Sea for keeping the War at a distance from himself, and to secure his quiet at home, by easie grants of these Lands, made him that he could not do all that he intended. And for the Division of Diocesses, many things were brought from the Roman Law, to shew, That the Division of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, whether of Patriarchs, Primates, Metropolitans, or Bishops, was Regulated by the Emperors; of which the Ancient Councils always approved. And in England, when the Bishoprick of Lincoln being judged of too great an Extent, the Bishoprick of Ely was taken out of it, it was done only by the King, with the consent of his Clergy and Nobles. Pope Nicolas indeed officiously intruded himself into that matter, by sending afterwards a Confirmation of that which was done. But that was one of the great Arts of the Papacy, to offer Confirmations of things that were done without the Popes. For these being easily received by them, that thought of nothing more than to give the better countenance to their own Acts, the

Popes
Pope afterwards founded a Right on these Confirmations. The very receiving of them was pretended to be an acknowledgment of a Title in the Pope. And the matter was so artificially managed, that Princes were noosed into some approbation of such a pretence, before they were aware of it. And then the Authority of the Canon-Law prevailing, Maxims were laid down in it, by which the most taciturn and inconsiderate Acts of Princes, were construed to such extents, as still advanced the greatness of the Papal pretensions.

This business of the new Foundations being thus settled, the matters of the Church were now put in a method: and the Bishops Book was the standard of Religion. So that whosoever was not agreeable to that, was judged Heretical, whether it leaned to the one side, or the other. But it seems that the King by some secret Order had chained up the party, which was going on in the Execution of the Statute of the fix Articles, that they should not proceed capriciously.

Thus matters went this year, and with this, the Series of the History of the Reformation, made by this King, ends: for it was now digested and formed into a Body. What followed was not in a Third, but now and then some remarkable things were done: sometimes in favour of the one, and sometimes of the other party. For after Cromwell fell, the King did not go on so readily in any thing as he had done formerly. Cromwell had an Ancestor over him, which after Cardinal Wolsey's fall none besides himself ever had. They knew how to manage the Kings unceasing and imperious humor: but now none had such a Power over him. The Duke of Norfolk was rich and brave, and made his Court well, but had not so great a Genius; so that the King did rather trust and fear, than esteem him. Gardiner was only a Tool, and being of an abject Spirit, was employed, but not at all reverenceed by the King. Cranmer retained always his candor and simplicity, and was a great Prelate; but neither a good Courtier, nor a States-man. And the King esteemed him more for his virtues, than for his dexterity and cunning in business. So that now the King was led wholly to himself; and being extrem humorsous and impatient, there were more errors committed in the last years of his Government, than had been for his whole Reign before.

France forsook him, Scotland made War upon him, which might have been fatal to him, if their King had not died in the beginning of it, leaving an Infant Prince, but a few days old, behind him. And though the Emperor made peace with him, yet it was but an hollow agreement. Of all which I shall give but slender hints, in the rest of this Book; and rather open some few particulars, than pursue a continued Narration, since the matter of my Work fails me.

In May the 33d year of the Kings Reign, a new Impression of the Bible was finisht, and the King by Proclamation, 'Required all Cures and Parishioners of every Town and Parish, to provide themselves a Copy of it before All-Hallowtide : under the penalty of forfeiting forty Shillings a month, after that, till they had done. He declared that he set it forth, to the end that his people might by reading it, perceive the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God: 'Observe his Commandments, obey the Laws, and their Prince, and
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live in Godly Charity among themselves. But that the King did not thereby intend that his Subjects should presume to expound, or take arguments from Scripture; nor disturb Divine Service, by reading it, when Mass was Celebrating: but should read it weekly, humbly, and reverently, for their Instruction, Edification, and Amendment. There was also care taken so to Regulate the Prices of the Bibles, that there should be no exacting on the Subjects in the Sale of them. And Bonner seeing the Kings mind was set on this, ordered six of these great Bibles to be set up in several places of St. Pauls: that all persons who could read, might at all times have free access to them. And upon the Pillars to which these Bibles were chained, an Exhortation was set up, admonishing all that came thither to read; That they should lay aside vain-glory, hypocrisy, and all other corrupt affections, and bring with them, Discretion, good Intentions, Charity, Reverence, and a quiet behaviour: for the Edification of their own Souls; but not to draw multitudes about them, nor to make Expositions of what they read, nor to read aloud, nor make noise in time of Divine Service, nor enter into Disputes concerning it. But people came generally to hear the Scriptures read, and such as could read, and had clear voices, came often thither with great Crowds about them. And many set their Children to School, that they might carry them with them to St. Pauls, and hear them read the Scriptures. Nor could the people be hindered from entering into disputes about some places: for who could hear the words of the Institution of the Sacrament, Drink ye all of it, or St. Pauls Discourse against worship in an unknown Tongue, and not from thence be led to consider, that the people were deprived of the Cup, which by Chrifts express Command was to be drank by all; and that they were kept in a worship, to which the unlearned could not say, Amen, since they understood not what was said, either in the Collects or Hymns? So the King had many Complaints brought him, of the Abuses that were said to have risen from the Liberty given the people to read the Scriptures. Upon which, Bonner, (no doubt having obtained the Kings leave,) set up a new Advertifement; in which he complained of these Abuses, in the reading the Bible: for which he threatened the people, that he would remove these Bibles out of the Church, if they continued as they did, to abuse so high a favour. Yet these Complaints produced no further severity at this time. But by them the Popifh party afterwards obtained what they desired. This Summer the King turned the Monaftery of Burton upon Trent, into a Collegiate Church for a Dean and four Prebends: and the Monaftery of Thornton in Lincolnshire into another, for a Dean and four Prebends. In this year Cranmer took it into Consideration, to what excess the Tables of the Bihops had risen, whereby thofe Revenues that ought to have been applied to better purpofes, were wafted on great Entertaiment which though they passed under the decent name of Hospitality, yet were in themselves both too high and expensive, and proved great hindrances to Church-mens Charity, in more necessary and profitable Infurances. He therefore set out an Order, for Regulating that Expense: by which, an Arch-Bihops Table was not to exceed fix dishes of meat, and four of a Banquet; a Bihops, five dishes of meat, and three

Col. 3. 


* Pellicaria.
three of Banquet; a Deans or Arch-Deacons Table was not to exceed four dishes, and two of Banquet; and other Clergy-men might be served only with two dishes. But he that gives us the account of this, laments that this Regulation took no effect. And complains that the people expecting generally such splendid House-keeping from the Dignified Clergy, and not considering how short their Revenues are, of what they were anciently: they out of a weak Compliance with the Multitude, have disabled themselves of keeping Hospitality, as our Saviour ordered it, not for the Rich, but the Poor; not to mention the other ill effects that follow too fumptuous a Table.

In the end of this year, the Tragical fall of the Queen put a flop to all other proceedings. The King had invited his Nephew the King of Scotland, to meet him at York, who was resolved to come thither. The King intended to gain upon him all he could, and to engage him to follow the Copy he had set him, in Extirpating the Popes Supremacy, and Suppresling Abbeys, and to establish a firm agreement in all other things. The Clergy of Scotland feared the ill effects of that Interview, especially their King being a Prince of most extraordinary parts, who, had he not blemish'd his Government with being so extremely addicted to his pleasures, was the Greatest Prince that Nation had for several Ages. He was a great Patron of Learning, and Executor of Justice: he used in Person and Incognito, to go over his Kingdom, and see how Justice was every where done. He had no very good opinion of the Religious Orders, and had encouraged Backman to write a severe and witty Libel against the Franciscan Friars. So that they were very apprehensive that he might have been wrought on by his Uncle. Therefore they used all their endeavours to divert his Journey. But the French King, that had him fast engaged to his Interests, falling then off from the King, wrought more on him. So instead of meeting the King at York, where magnificent preparations were made for his Reception, he sent his Exeute; which provoked his Uncle, and gave occasion to a breach that followed not long after.

Bar here I shall crave the Readers leave to give a full representation of the state of Religion at this time in Scotland, and of the footing the Reformation had got there: Its neighbourhood to England, and the union of those Kingdoms, first in the same Religion, and since under the same Princes, together with the intercourse that was both in this and the next Reign, between these Nations, seem not only to justify this Digression, but rather challenge it as a part of the History, without which it should be defective. And it may be the rather expected from one, who had his Birth and Education in that Kingdom.

The Correspondence between that Crown and France was the cause that what Learning they had, came from Paris: where our Kings generally kept some Schollars, and from that great Nursery they were brought over, and set in the Universities of Scotland to propagate Learning there. From the year 1412, in which Wardlaw Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews first founded that University, Learning had made such a progress, that more Colleges were soon after founded in that City. Universities were also founded both at Glasgow, and Aberdeen, which
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which have since furnished that Nation with many eminent Scholars in all professions. But at the time that Learning came into Scotland, the knowledge of true Religion also followed it: and in that same Arch-Bishops time, one John Resty, an Englishman, a follower of Wickliff's Opinions, was charged with Heresie. Forty Articles were objected to him, of which two are only mentioned. The one was, that

The Pope is not Christ's Vicar. The other was, that he was not to be esteemed a Pope, if he was a man of wicked life. For maintaining these, he was burnt Anno 1407. Twenty four years after that, one Paul Crew Lefty, came out of Germany, and being a Bohemian and an Husite, was infusing his Doctrine into some at St. Andrews, which being discovered, he was judged an obstinate Heretick, and burnt there, Anno 1432. And to encourage people to prosecute such persons, Fogo, who had discovered him, was rewarded with the Abbey of Melros soon after.

It does not appear that those Doctrines, which were called Lollardies in England, had gained many followers in Scotland, till near the end of that Century. But then it was found that they were much spread over the Western parts: which being in the neighbourhood of England, those who were persecuted there, might perhaps fly into Scotland, and spread their Doctrine in that Kingdom. Several persons of Quality were then charged with these Articles, and brought to the Arch-Bishops of Glasgow's Courts. But they answered him with such confidence, that he thought fit to dischARGE them; with an admonition to take heed of new Doctrines, and to content themselves with the Faith of the Church.

At this time the Clergy in Scotland were both very ignorant and dissolute in their manners. The Secular Clergy minded nothing but their Tithes, and did either hire some Priests to Preach, or some poor Priests to sing Masses to them at their Churches. The Abbots had possessed themselves of the best seats, and the greatest wealth of the Nation: and by a profuse Superstition, almost the one half of the Kingdom fell into the hands of the Churchmen. The Bishops looked more after the affairs of the State, than the concerns of the Church; and were resolved to maintain by their cruelty, what their Predecessors had acquired by fraud and impostures. And as Lefty himself confesses, there was no pains taken to instruct the people in the principles of Religion; nor were the Children at all Carefully instructed, but left in ignorance: and the ill lives of the Clergy, who were both covetous and lewd, disposed the people to favour those that preached for a Reformation. The first that suffered in this Age was Patrick Hamilton, a person of very noble blood: his Father was Brother to the Earl of Arran, and his Mother Sister to the Duke of Albany; so nearly was he on both sides related to the King. He was provided of the Abbey of Fern in his youth; and being designed for greater preferments, he was sent to travel: but as he went thorough Germany, he contracted a friendship with Luther, Melanthon, and others of their Persuasion; by whose means he was instructed in the points about which they differed from the Church of Rome. He returned to Scotland, that he might communicate that knowledge to others with which himself was so happily enlightened. And little considering, either the hindrance of his further Preferment, or the other dangers that might lie in his way,
way, he spared not to lay open the Corruptions of the Roman Church, and to shew the Errors that had crept into the Christian Religion. He was a man both of great learning, and of a sweet and charming conversation, and came to be followed and esteemed by all sorts of people.

The Clergy being enraged at this, invited him to St. Andrews, that there might be Conferences held with him, about those points which he condemned. And one Friar Campbell, Prior of the Dominicans, who had the reputation of a Learned man, was appointed to treat with him. They had many Conferences together, and the Prior seemed to be convinced in most points; and acknowledged there were many things in the Church that required Reformation. But all this while he was betraying him; So that when the Abbot looked for no such thing, he was in the night time made Prisoner, and carried to the Arch-Bishops Castle. There several Articles were objected to him, about Original Sin, Free-will, Justification, Good Works, Priestly Absolution, Auricular Confession, Purgatory, and the Popes being Anti-christ. Some of these he positively adhered to, the others he thought were disputable points; yet he said he would not condemn them, except he saw better reasons than any he had yet heard. The matter was referred to twelve Divines of the University, of whom Friar Campbell was one. And within a day or two they censured all his Tenets as Heretical, and contrary to the Faith of the Church. On the first of March Judgment was given upon him, by Beaton Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews, with whom sat the Arch-Bishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Dunkeld, Brichon and Dunblane, five Abbots, and many of the inferior Clergy. They also made the whole University, old and young, sign it. He was declared an obdurate Heretic, and delivered to the Secular Power.

The King had at that time gone a Pilgrimage to Ross, and the Clergy fearing left nearnesses of blood, with the Intercessions which might be made for him, should snatch this prey out of their hands, proceeded that same day to his Execution. So in the afternoon he was brought to the Stake before St. Salvator's Colledge. He stripped himself of his Garments, and gave them to his man; and said, 'He had no more to leave him, but the example of his death. That he prayed him to keep in mind. For though it was bitter and painful in man's judgment, yet was the entrance to Everlasting life, which none could inherit that denied Christ before such a Congregation.' Then was he tied to a Stake, and a great deal of feveel was heaped about him: which he seemed not to fear, but continued lifting up his eyes to Heaven, and recommending his Soul to God. When the train of Powder was kindled, it did not take hold of the Feveel, but only scorched his hand, and the side of his face. This occasioned some delay, till more Powder was brought from the Castle; during which time the Friars were very troublesome, and called to him to turn, and pray to our Lady, and say Salve Regina. None was more officious than Friar Campbell. The Abbot wished him often to let him alone, and give him no more trouble. But the Friar continuing to importune him; he said to him, 'Wicked man, thou knowest that I am not an Heretic, and that it is the truth of God for which I now suffer. So much thou didst confess to me in private; and there-
thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the Judgment Seat of Christ. By this time more powder was brought and the fire was kindled. He cried out with a loud voice, How long, O Lord, shall darkness oppress this Realm? how long wilt thou suffer this Tyranny of Men? And died repeating these words, Lord Jesus receive my Spirit. The patience and constancy he expressed in his sufferings, made the Spectators generally conclude that he was a true Martyr of Christ; in which they were the more confirmed, by Frier Campbell's falling into great despair soon after, who from that turned frantic, and died within a year.

On this I have insisted the more fully, because it was indeed the beginning of the Reformation in Scotland; and raised there an humour of inquiring into points of Religion, which did always prove fatal to the Church of Rome. In the University itself many were wrought on, and particularly one Seaton a Dominican Frier who was the King's Confessor. He being appointed to preach the next Lent at St. Andrews, insisted much on these points: 'That the Law of God was the only Rule of Righteousness, that Sin was only committed when God's Law was violated, that no man could satisfy for Sin, and that pardon was to be obtained by unfeigned repentance and true faith. But he never mentioned Purgatory, Pilgrimages, Merits nor prayers to Saints; which used to be the Subjects on which the Friers insisted most on these occasions. Being gone from St. Andrews, he heard that another Frier of his own Order had refuted these Doctrines. So he returned, and confirmed them in another Sermon; in which he also made some reflections on Bishops that were not Teachers, calling them Dumb-Dogs. For this he was carried before the Arch-Bishop; but he defended himself, saying that he had only in St. Paul's words said a Bishop should teach, and in Esaias words, that such as did not teach were Dumb-Dogs; but having said this in the general, he did not apply it to any Bishop in particular. The Arch-Bishop was nettled at this answer, yet resolved to let him alone till he should be brought into disgrace with the King. And that was soon done, for the King being a licentious Prince, and Frier Seaton having often reproved him boldly for it, he grew weary of him. The Clergy perceiving this, were resolved to fall upon him. So he withdrew to Berwick, but wrote to the King, that if he would hear him make his defence, he would return and justify all that he had taught. He taxed the cruelty of the Clergy, and defied the King would restrain their Tyranny, and consider that he was obliged to protect his Subjects from their severity and malice. But receiving no satisfactory answer, he lived in England, where he was entertained by the Duke of Suffolk as his Chaplain. Not long after this on Forrest, a simple Benedictin Monk was accused for having said that Patrick Hamilton had died a Martyr: yet since there was no sufficient proof to convict him; a Frier one Walter Lainge was sent to confess him, to whom in Confession he acknowledged, he thought Hamilton was a good man, and that the Articles for which he was condemned, might be defended. This being revealed by the Frier, was taken for good evidence. So the poor man was condemned to be burnt as an Heretic. As he was led out to his Execution, he said, Fie on falsehood, fie on Friers, revealers of Confession; Let never man
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traff them after me: they are despisers of God, and deceivers of men. When they were considering in what place to burn him, a simple man that attended the Arch-bishop, advised to burn him in some low Cellar; for said he, the smock of Mr. Patrick Hamilton has infected all those on whom it blew.

Soon after this, Abbot Hamilton's Brother and Sister were brought into the Bishops Courts: but the King, who favour'd this Brother, permitted him to absent himself. His Sister and six others being brought before the Bishops of Reis, who was deputed by the Arch-Bishop to proceed against them, the King himself dealt with the Woman to a Judge, which she and the other six did. Two others were more resolute. The one was Normand Courtney, who was charg'd with denying the Popes Authority in Scotland, and saying there was no Purgatory; the other was David Straiton. He was charg'd with the Tune Opinions. They also alleged that he had deni'd that Tithes were due to Church-men: and that when the Vicar came to take the Tith out of some Fifth-bots that belonged to him, he alleged the Tith was to be taken where the stock grew, and therefore ordered the tenth fish be cast into the Sea, and bade the Vicar to seek them there. They were both judged obstinate Hereticks, and burnt at one Stake the 27th of August, 1534. Upon this persecution some others who were cited to appear fled into England. Those were Alexander Alesse, John Fife, John Mackbee, and one Mackdowall. The first of these was receiv'd by Cromwells into his Family, and grew into great favour with King Henry, and was commonly call'd his Scholar; of whom see what was said Page 214. But after Cromwells death, he took Fife with him, and they went into Saxony, and were both Professors in Leipsick. Mackbee was at first entertain'd by Shaxton Bishops of Salisbury; but he went afterwards into Denmark, where he was known by the name of Doctor Maccabenus, and was Chaplain to King Christian the second.

But all these violent proceedings were not effectual enough to quench that light which was then shin'n ing there. Many by teaching the Scriptures came to the knowledge of the Truth: and the noife of what was then doing in England, awaken'd others to make further enquiries into matters of Religion. Pope Clement the 7th apprehending that King Henry might prevail on his Nephew to follow his example, wrote Letters full of earnest exhortations to him to continue in the Catholick Faith. Upon which King James called a Parliament, and there in the presence of the Popes Nuncio, declared his zeal for that Faith and the Apostolick See. The Parliament also concurred with him in it, and made acts against Hereticks, and for maintaining the Popes authority. That same Pope did afterwards send to desire him to assist him in making war against the King of England; for he was resolv'd to divide that Kingdom among those who would assist him in driving out King Henry. But the firm peace at that time between the King of England and the French King, kept him quiet from any trouble, which otherwise the King of Scotland might have given him. Yet King Henry sent the Bishop of St. Davids, with the Duke of Norfolk's Brother, Lord William Howard to him, fo unexpectedly, that they came to him at Sterlin before he had heard of their being
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Being sent. The Bishop brought with him some of the Books that had been writ for the justifying King Henry's proceeding; and desired that King would impartially examine them. But he put them into the hands of some about him that were addicted to the interests of Rome, who without ever reading them, told him they were full of pestilent Doctrine and Heresie.

The secret busines they came for, was, to perswade that King to concur with his Uncle, and to agree at an interview between them: and they offered him in their Matters name the Lady Mary in Marriage and that he should be made Duke of York, and Lord Lieutenant of all England. But the Clergy diverted him from it, and perswaded him rather to go on in his design of a match with France. And their Counsels did so prevail, that he resolved to go in person, and fetch a Queen from thence. On the first of January 1537, he was married to Magdalen, daughter to Francis the First. But she being then gone far in a Consumption, died soon after he had brought her home, on the 28th of May. She was much lamented by all persons, the Clergy only excepted: for she had been bred in the Queen of Navarre's Court, and so they apprehended the might incline the King to a Reformation. But he had seen another Lady in France, Mary of Guise, whom he then liked so well; that after his Queen's death, he sent Cardinal Beaton into France to treat for her. This gave the Clergy as much joy as the former marriage had raised fear; for no Family in Christendom was more devoted to the interests of the Papacy than that was. And now the King though he had freer thoughts himself, yet was so engaged to the pretended old Religion, that he became a violent persecutor of all who differed from it.

The King grew very expensive, he indulged himself much in his pleasures; he built four noble Palaces, which considering that Kingdom and that Age, were very extraordinary Buildings; he had also many natural Children, All which things concurred to make him very defirous of Money. There were two different parties in the Court. The Nobility on the one hand represented to him, the great wealth that the Abbots had gathered; and that if he would do as his Uncle had done, he would thereby raise his Revenue to the triple of what it was, and provide plentifully for his Children. The Clergy on the other hand allured him, that if he would set up a strict inquisition of Hereticks, he would discover so many men of Estates that were guilty, that by their forfeitures he might raise about an hundred thousand Crowns a year; And for his Children, the easiest way of providing for them, was to give them good Abbeys and Priories. This they thought would engage both the King and his Sons to maintain their Rights more steadily, if their own Interests were interwoven with them. they also perswaded the King that if he maintained the established Religion, it would give him a good interest in England, and make him be set up by foreign Princes as the head of the League, which the Pope and the Emperor were then projecting against King Henry. These Counsels being seconded by his Queen, who was a wife and good Lady, but wonderfully zealous for the Papacy, did so prevail with him, that as he made four of his Children Abbots of Priories, so he gave way to the persecuting humor of
his Priests: and give Sir James Hamilton (a natural Brother of the
Earl of Arran, in whom the Clergy put much confidence, a Com-
miffion to proceed against all that were suspected of Herefsie. In the
year 1539. many were cited to appear before a meeting of the Bi-
shops at Edinburgh. Of thofe, nine abjured, many were vanifhed and
five were burnt. Forrefter, a Gentleman, Simplo, a Secular Priet;
Killore, and Beverage, two Friers; and Forreft, a Canon Regular; were
burnt on the Caftle-bild of Edinburgh. The laft of these was a zealous
contant Preacher, which was a rare thing in thofe days. His His-
dofan, the Bishop of Dunkeld fent for him, and rebuked him for it; and
bid him, When he found a good Epifle, or good Gospel, that made for the
liberties of the Holy Church, to preach on that, and let the reft alone. The
good man anfwered; he had read both the Old Testament, and the New,
and never found an ill Epifle, or ill Gospel in any of them. The Bishop
replied, that he thanked God he had lived well thofe many years, and never
knew either the Old or New: he contented himself with his Portuife, and
his Pontifical; and if the other would trouble himfelf with thofe fantasies,
he would repent it when he could not help it. Forreft faid, He was resol-
ved to do what he conceived was his duty, whatever might be the danger
of it. By this it appears how deliberately the Clergy at that time de-
livered themfelves up to Ignorance and Superfition.

In the fame year Ruffl, a Franccifan Frier, and one Kennedy, a young
man of 18 years of age, were brought before the Arch-Bifhop of Glag-
gow. That Bifhop was a learned and moderate man, and was much
againft thofe cruel proceedings: he was also in great credit with the
King, having been his Tutor. Yet he was forced by the threatenings
of his Brethren, to go on with the perfecution. So thofe two, Ruffl,
and Kennedy, being brought before him, Kennedy, that was young
and fearful, had refolved to submit and abjure. But being brought to the
Bar, and encouraged by Ruffls difcourfes, he felt fo high a mea-
sure of courage and joy in his heart, that he fell down on his knees,
and broke forth in thofe words:  

Wonderful, O God, is thy love and
mercy towards me a miserable wretch: for now, when I would have
denied thee, and thy Son my Saviour, thou haft by thine own hand
pulled me back from the bottom of Hell, and given me moft Hea-
venly comfort, which hath removed the ungodly fear that before
oppressed my mind. Now I defire death, do what you please, I thank
God I am ready. There followed a long dispute between the Frier
and the Divines that fate with the Arch-Bifhop: but when he percei-
vied they would hear nothing, and anfwered him only with revilings
and jeers, he gave it over and concluded in thofe words: This is your
hour and power of darkness: now you fit as Judges, and we ftand
wrongfully condemned; but the day cometh which will fhow our
innocence, and you fhall fee your own blindness to your everlafting
confufion; Go on, and fulfilling the measure of your iniquity. This put
the Arch-Bifhop in great confufion, fo that he faid to thofe about him,
that thofe rigorous executions did hurt the cause of the Church more
than could well be thought of; and he declared that his opinion was,
that their lives fhould be spared, and some other course taken with
them. But thofe that fate with him faid, if he took a course different
from what the other Prelates had taken, he was not the Churches
friend.
Book III. of the Church of England.

friend. This, with other threatening expressions, prevailed so far on his fears, that he gave Judgment. So they were burnt; but at their death they expressed so much constancy and joy, that the people were much wrought on by their behaviour. Ruffell encouraged Kennedy, his partner in sufferings, in these words: 'Fear not, Brother, for he is more mighty that is in us, than he that is in the world; the pain which we shall suffer is short, and light; but our joy and consolation shall never have an end. Death cannot destroy us, for it is destroyed already by him, for whose sake we suffer.' Therefore let us strive to enter in by the same straight way, which our Saviour hath taken before us. With the blood of such Martyrs was the field of that Church trowen, which did quickly rise up in a plentiful harvest.

Among those that were at this time in hazard, George Buchanan was one. The Clergy were resolved to be revenged on him for the sharpness of the Poems he had written against them. And the King had so absolutely left all men to their mercy, that he had died with the rest, if he had not made his escape out of Prison: Then he went beyond Sea, and lived 20 years in that Exile, and was forced to teach a School most part of the time; yet the greatness of his mind was not oppressed with that mean employment. In his writings there appears, not only all the beauty and graces of the Latine Tongue, but a vigor of mind and quickness of thought, far beyond Bembo, or the other Italians, who at that time affected to revive the purity of the Roman Stile. It was but a feeble imitation of Tully in them; but his Stile is so natural and nervous, and his reflections on things are so solid, (besides his immortal Poems in which he shews how well he could imitate all the Roman Poets, in their several ways of writing, that he who compares them, will be often tempted to prefer the Copy to the Original,) that he is justly reckoned the greatest and best of our modern Authors. This was the state of affairs at this time in Scotland. And so I shall leave this digression, on which if I have stay'd too long, my kindness to my native Countrie must be my excuse, and now I return to the affairs of England.

The King went his progress with his fair and beloved Queen, and when he came to York, he issued out a Proclamation, 'That all who had been aggrieved for want of Justice, by any whom he had formerly employed, should come to him, and his Council for redress. This was done to call all past miscarriages on Cromwell, and to put the people in hopes of better times. But upon his return to London, he met with a new affliction. He was so much taken with his Queen, that on All Saints' day, when he received the Sacrament, he openly gave God thanks for the good life he led, and trusted still to lead with her: and desired his Ghostly Father to join with him in the same Thanksgiving to God. But this joy lasted not long: for the next day, the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury came to him, and gave him a doleful account of the Queen's ill Life, as it had been brought him by one John Laffels: Who, when the King was in his Progress, had told him that his Sister had been an old Servant of the Duke of Norfolks, under whose care the Queen was brought up, that to him, that the Queen was dead, and that one Francis Deirham had enjoyed her often; as also one Mannock; with other foul circumstances, not to be fit related. The Arch-Bishop communicated it to the Lord Chancellor, and the other Privy
Privy Councillors that were at London. They agreed, that the Arch-Bishop should open it to the King. But he not knowing how to do it in Discretion, let it down in writing, and put it in the Kings hands. When the King read it, he seemed much perplexed; but loved the Queen so tenderly, that he looked on it as a Forgery. And now the Arch-Bishop was in extreme danger, for if full evidence had not been brought, it had been certainly turned on him to his ruine. The King imparted it to some other Councillors, and told them, that he could not believe it, yet he would try it out, but with all possible secrecy. So the Lord Privy-SEal was sent to London, to examine Laffels, who stood to what he had informed. Then he sent the same Lord into Suffolk, where Laffels Siller lived, to try if she would justify what her Brother had reported in her name. And the owning it, he ordered Deirham and Mannack to be arrested upon some other pretences; but they being examined, not only confessed what was informed, but revealed some other circumstances that shewed the Queen had laid aside all sense of Modesty, as well as the fear of a Discovery; three several women having been witnesses to these her lewd practices. The report of that struck the King into a most profound Penitence, and he burst out into tears, and lamented his misfortune. The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury and some other Councillors, were sent to examine the Queen. She at first denied every thing, but when she perceived it was already known, she confessed all, and let it under her hand. There were also evident presumptions that she had intended to continue that Course of Life for: as she had got Deirham into her service, so she had brought one of the Women, who had been formerly privy to their familiarities, to serve about her Bed-chamber. One Culpeper was also charged upon vehement suspicion: For when the King was at Lincoln, by the Lady Rochfords means, he was brought into the Queens Chamber at 11 a clock in the night, and stayed there till four the next morning. The Queen also gave him a Gold Chain, and a rich Cap. He being examined confessed the Crime; for which, both Deirham, and he suffered. Others were also Endited of murther of Trefafor, and condemned to perpetual Imprisonment. But this occasioned a new Parliament to be Summoned.

On the 16th of January the Parliament met: to which, the Bishops of Westminister, Chester, Peterborough, and Gloucester, had their Writs. The Lord Cromwel also had his Writ, though I do not find by any Record that he was restored in Blood. On the 28th of January, the Lord Chancellor moved the House of Lords, to consider the case the King was in, by the Queens ill carriage: and that there might be no ground of suspicion or complaint, he proposed that some of their number should be sent to examine the Queen. Whereupon the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Southampton and the Bishop of Westminister, were sent to her. How much she Confessed to them, is not very clear, neither by the Journal, nor the Act of Parliament; which only says, that she confessed, without mentioning the particulars. Upon this, the proceedings of those that had been formerly attained, being also brought as an Evidence, the Act passed in both Houses, In it they Petitioned the King.
First, Not to be troubled at the matter, since that might be a
mean to shorten his Life.

Secondly, To pardon everything that had been spoken against the
Queen.

Thirdly, That the Queen and her Complices might be attainted
of High Treason, for her taking Deirhan into her service; and an-
other Woman into her Chamber, who had known their former ill
Life; by which it appeared what she intended to do: and then
admitting Culpeper, to be so long with Her, in a vile place to many
hours in the night: therefore it is desired, that she and they, with
the Bawd, the Lady Rockford, may be Attainted of Treason; and
that the Queen and the Lady Rockford should suffer the pains of
Death.

Fourthly, That the King would not trouble himself to give his
affent to this Act in his own person, but grant it by his Letters Pa-
tents under his hand and Great Seal.

Fifthly, That the Dutchefs Dowager of Norfolk, Countess of
Bridgwater, the Lord William Howard and his Lady, the four other
men, and five women, who were already Attainted by the Courfe
of Common Law, (except the Dutchefs of Norfolk, and the Coun-
tels of Bridgwater,) that knew the Queens vicious Life, and
had concealed it, should be all Attainted of Misprision of Tre-
son.

It was also Enacted, that whosoever knew any thing of the In-
contenance of the Queen, for the time being, should reveal it with
all possible speed under the pains of Treason. And that if the King
or his Successors should intend to marry any Woman, whom they
took to be a pure and clean Maid; if she, not being so, did not de-
clare the same to the King, it should be High Treason; and all who
knew it, and did not reveal it, were guilty of Misprison of Treason.
And if the Queen, or the Princes Wife, should procure any by Mes-
fages, or words, to know her carnally; or any other by Messages or
words should sollicit them; they, their Councillors, and Atteors,
are to be adjudged high Traitors.

This Act being attented to by the Kings Letters Patents, the
Queen, and the Lady Rockford, were beheaded on Tower-Hill the
12th of February. The Queen confessed the miscarriages of her for-
er Life, before the King married her. But flood absolutely to her de-
nial, as to any thing alter that: and protested to Dr. White afterwards
Bishop of Winchester, That she took God and his Angels to be her
Witnesses, upon the Salvation of her Soul, that she was guiltles of
that Act of defiling her Soveraigns bed, for which she was condem-
ned. Yet the Lasciviousnes of her former Life, made people incline
to believe any ill thing that could be reported of her. But for the
Lady Rockford, every body observed Gods Justice on her; who had
the chief hand, both in Queen Anne Boleyns, and her own Husbands
death: and it now appearing so evidently what sort of Woman she
was, it tended much to raise their Reputations again, in whose Fall,
her spite, and other Artifices had so great a hand. She had been a
Lady of the Bed-Chamber to the last four Queens: But now it was
found how unworthy she was of that Trust.
It was thought extrem cruelty to be so severe to the Queen's kin-
deer, nor not discovering her former ill life. Since the making such a
discovery had been inconsistent with the Rules of Justice or Decency.
The old Dutchess of Norfolk, being her Grandmother, had bred her of
a child: and it was said, for her to have gone; and told the King.
That she was a Whore, when he intended to marry her, as it was an
unheard-of thing, so the not-doing of it could not have drawn so se-
vere a punishment, from any but a Prince of that King's temper. But the
King pardoned her, and most of the rest; tho' some continued in Pri-
son after the rest were discharged.

But for the other part of this Act, obliging a Woman to reveal her
own former Incontinence; if the King intended to marry her, (which
by a mistake the Lord Herbert layes was passed in another Act, tak-
ing it from Hall, and not looking into the Record:) It was thought a
piece of grievous Tyranny; since if a King, especially one of so imperious
a temper, as this was, should design such an honour to any of his
Subjects, who had failed in their former life; they must either de-
tame themselves, by publishing so disgraceful a secret, or run the ha-
azard of being afterwards attained of Treacon. Upon this, those that
took an indifferet liberty to rally that Sex unjustly and severely, said
the King could induce none that was reputed a Maid to Marry him;
so that to so much choice, as necessity, put him on Marrying a Wi-

dow about two years after this. But this part of the Act was after-
wards repealed in the first Parliament of King Edward the 6th.

There passed another Act in this Parliament, that made way for the
dissolution of Colledges, Hospitails, and other Foundations of that na-
ture. The Courtiers had been practising with the Presidents and Go-
vemors of some of these, to make Resignations of them to the King;
which were conceived in the same stile that most of the surrenders of
Monasteries did run in. Eight of these were all really procured, which
are enrolled. But they could not make any great progres, because
it was provided by the Local Statutes of most of them, that no Presi-
dent, or any other Fellows could make any such Deed, without the
Consent of all the Fellows in the House; and this could not be so easi-
ly obtained. Therefore all such Statutes were annulled, and none
were any more to be sworn to the observation of them.

In the Convocation that sat at that time, which as was formerly
observed, Fuller mistakes for the Convocation in the 31st year of this
King; the Translation of the Bible was brought under examination,
and many of the Bishops were appointed to peruse it. For it seems
complaints were brought against it. It was certainly the greatest eye-
fore of the Popish party: and that which they knew would most effec-
tually beat down all their projects. But there was no opposing it di-
rectly, for the King was fully resolved to go through with it. There-
fore the way they took, was once to load the Translation then set out,
with as many faults as they could; and so to get it first condemned,
and then to promise a new one: in the making and publishing of
which, it would be easy to breed many delays. But Gardiner had
another singular conceit: He fancied there were many words in the
New Testament, of such Majesty, that they were not to be Transla-
ted; but must stand in the English Bible as they were in the Latin.

A hundred
A hundred of these he put into a Writing, which was read in Convocation. His design in this was visible: That if a Translation must be made, it should be so daubed all through with Latin words, that the people should not understand it much the better for its being in English. A taste of this the Reader may have by the first twenty of them; Ecclesia, Penitentia, Pontifex, Ancilla, Contritus, Olocusta, Juslitia, Justificatio, Idota, Elementa, Baptizare, Martyr, Adorare, Sandalum, Simplex, Terrarcha, Sacramentum, Simulachrum, Gloria. The design he had of keeping some of these, particularly the last five, is plain enough; that the People might not discover that visible opposition, which was between the Scriptures, and the Roman Church in the matter of Images. This could not be better palliated, than by disguising these places, with words that the People understood not. How this was received Fuller has not told us. But it seems Cranmer found, that the Bishops were resolved, either to condemn the Translation of the Bible, or to proceed so slowly in it, that it should come to nothing. Therefore he moved the King to refer the perusing of it to the two Universities. The Bishops took this very ill, when Cranmer intimated it to them in the Kings name; and objected that the Learning of the Universities was much decayed of late, and that the two Houses of Convocation were the more proper Judges of that, where the Learning of the Land was chiefly gathered together. But the Arch-Bishop said he would stick close to the Kings pleasure, and that the Universities should examine it. Upon which, all the Bishops of his Province, except Ely and St. Davids, protested against it; and soon after the Convocation was dissolved.

Not long after this, I find, Bonner made some Injunctions for his Clergy; which have a strain in them, so far different from the rest of his Life, that it’s more probable they were drawn by another Pen, and imposed on Bonner by an Order from the King. They were set out in the 34th year of the Kings Reign; but the time of the year is not expressd. The Reader will find them in the Collection at their full length. The Substance of them is,

"Fifthly, That all should observe the Kings Injunctions.

"Secondly, That every Clergy-man should read and study a Chapter 56. of the Bible every day, with the exposition of the Gloss, or some approved Doctor; which having once studied, they should retain it in their memories, and be ready to give an account of it, to him, or any whom he should appoint.

"Thirdly, That they should study the Book set forth by the Bishops, of the Institution of a Christian man.

"Fourthly, That such as did not reside in their Benefices, should bring their Curates to him, or his Officers, to be tried.

"Fifthly, That they should often exhort their Parishioners to make no private contracts of Marriage.

"Sixthly, That they should Marry none who were Married before, till they were sufficiently assured that the former Husband or Wife were dead.

"Seventhly, That they should instruct the Children of their several Parishes; and teach them to read English, that they might know how to believe, and pray, and live according to the Will of God."
That they should reconcile all that were in Enmity, and in that be a good Example to others.
Ninethly, That none should receive the Communion, who did not Confess to their own Curates.
Tenthly, That none should be suffered to go to Taverns, or Ale-Houses, and use unlawful Games on Sundays, or Holy-days, in time of Divine Service.
Eleventhly, That twice every quarter, they should declare the seven deadly sins, and the Ten Commandments.
Twelfthly, That no Priest should go but in his Habit.
Thirteenthly, That no Priest should be admitted to say Mass, without shewing his Letters of Orders to the Bishop or his Officers.
Fourteenthly, That they should instruct the people to beware of Blasphemy, or Swearing by any part of Christ's Body; and to abstain from Scolding and Slandering, Adultery, Fornication, Gluttony or Drunkenness; and that they should present at the next Visitation, those who were guilty of these sins.
Fifteenthly, That no Priest should use unlawful Games, or go to Ale-Houses or Taverns, but upon an urgent necessity.
Sixteenthly, No Plays or Enterludes to be acted in the Churches.
Seventeenthly, That there should be no Sermons Preached, that had been made within these two hundred or three hundred years. But when they Preached, they should explain the whole Gospel and Epistle for the day, according to the mind of some good Doctor allowed by the Church of England: and chiefly to inculcate these places that might stir up the people to good works, and to prayer; and to explain the use of the Ceremonies of the Church. That there should be no railing in Sermons; but the Preacher should calmly and discreetly set forth the excellencies of Vertue, and the wiles of Sin; and should also explain the Prayers for that day, that so the People might pray with one heart; and should teach them the use of the Sacraments, particularly of the Mass; but should avoid the reciting of Fables, or Stories for which no good Writer could be vouch'd; and that when the Sermon was ended, the Preacher should in few words resume the substance of it.
Eighthly, That none be suffered to Preach under the degree of a Bishop, who had not obtained a License, either from the King, or him their Ordinary.

The manner of Preaching at that time.

The History of the Reformation Book III.
Abstinence at that time, Confession, with other Corporal Severities; or some of the little devices, that both inflamed a blind Devotion, and drew Money; such as Indulgences, Pilgrimages, or the enriching the Shrines, and Reliques of the Saints. But there was not that pains taken to inform the People of the halterinats of Vice, and the excellency of Holiness, or of the wonderful love of Christ, by which men might be engaged to acknowledge and obey him. And the design of their Sermons was rather to raise a present heat, which they knew afterwards how to manage, than to work a real Reformation on their Hearers. They had also intermixt with all Divine Truths so many Fables, that they were become very extravaigant; and that alloy had so embad the whole, that there was great need of a good discerning, to deliver People from those prejudices, which these mixtures brought upon the whole Christian Doctrine. Therefore the Reformers studied with all possible care, to instruct the People in the Fundamentals of Christianity, with which they had been so little acquainted. From hence it came, that the People ran after those New Preachers with wonderful zeal. It is true, there seem to be very foul and indireet reflections on the other Party, in some of their Sermons. But if any have applied themselves much to obserue what sort of men, the Friars, and the rest of the Popish Clergy were at that time; they shall find great excuses for those heats. And as our Saviour laid open the Hypocrifties and Inpoftures of the Scribes and Pharifces, in a style which such corruptions extorted; so there was great cause given to treat them very roughly: though it is not to be denied, but those Preachers had some mixtures of their own refentments, for the cruelties and ill ufgage which they received from them. But now that the Reformation made a greater progress, much pains was taken to fend eminent Preachers over the Nation: not confining them to particular charges, but sending them with the Kings Licence, up and down to many places. Many of these Licences are enrolled, and it is likely that many were granted that were not so carefully preserved. But provision was also made for peoples daily Instruction: and because in that ignorant time, there could not be found a sufficient number of good Preachers, and in a time of so much judging, they would not trust the Instruction of the people to every one; therefore none was to Preach except he had gotten a particular Licence for it, from the King, or his Diocesan. But to qualify this, a Book of Homilies was printed: in which the Gospels and Epiftles of all the Sundays, and Holidays of the year were set down, with an Homily to every one of them, which is a plain and practical Paraphrafe on thefe parcels of Scripture. To these are added many serious exhorations, and some fhort explanations of the most obvious difficulties, that shew the Compiler of them was a man both of good judgment and learning. To these were also added, Sermons upon several occasions; as for Weddings, Christnings, and Funerals; and these were to be read to the people by such as were not Licenceed to Preach. But those who were Licenceed to Preach, being oft accused for their Sermons, and Complaints being made to the King by hot men on both fides; they came generally to write and read their Sermons. From thence the reading of Sermons grew into a practice in this Church: in which, if there was not that heat, and fire, which the Fryars...
The History of the Reformation

Book III.

In the year 1542, a War broke out between England and Scotland. The King had shewed in their Declarations, so that the passions of the Hearers were not so much wroght on by it; yet it has produced the greatest Treasure of weighty, grave and solid Sermons, that ever the Church of God had; which does in a great measure compensate that seeming flatness to vulgar ears, that is in the delivery of them.

The Injuries take notice of another thing, which the sincerity of an Historian obliges me to give an account of, tho' it was indeed the greatest blemish of that time. These were the Stage-plays and Entertainments, that were then generally acted, and often in Churches. They were representations of the corruptions of the Monks, and some other feats of the Popish Clergy. The Poems were ill contrived, and worse expressed; if there lies not some hidden wit in these Ballads, for verses they were not, which at this distance is left. But from the representing the immoralities and disorders of the Clergy, they proceeded to act the Pageantry of their Worship. This took with the people much, who being provoked by the misdemeanours and cruelties of some of the Clergy, were not ill pleased to see them and their Religion exposed to publick scorn. The Clergy complained much of this; and said it was an introduction to Atheism, and all sort of Irreligion. For if once they began to mock sacred things, no stop could be put to that pertulm humour. The grave and learned sort of Reformers disliked and condemned these courses, as not fitted to the genius of true Religion; but the political men of that party, made great ufe of them, encouraging them all they could; for they said, Contempt being the most operative and lasting affecion of the mind, nothing would more effectually drive out many of those Abuses, which yet remained, than to expose them to the contempt and scorn of the people.

In the end of this year a War broke out between England and Scotland, fet on by the instigation of the French King; who was also beginning to be an uneaft Neighbour to those of the English Pale about Callice. The King fet out a long Declaration, in which he very largely laid out the pretensions the Crown of England had, to an Homage from the Kings of Scotland. In this I am no fit person to interpole; the matter being disputed by the learned men of both Nations. The Scots said it was only for some Lands their Kings had in England, that they did Homage: as the Kings of England did for Normandy and Guienne, to the Kings of France. But the English Writers cited many Records, to shew that the Homage was done for the Crown of Scotland. To this the Scots replied, that in the Invasion of Edward the First, he had carried away all their ancient Records; so these being lost, they could only appeal to the Chronicles that lay up and down the Nation in their Monasteries: That all these affirmed the contrary, and that they were a free Kingdom; till Edward the First taking advantage of their disputes about the Succession to their Crown, upon the death of Alexander the Third, got some of the Competitors to lay down their pretensions at his feet, and to promise Homage: That this was also performed by John Balliol, whom he preferred to the Crown of Scotland; but by these means he loft the hearts of the Nation, and it was said, that this Act of Homage could not give away the Rights of a free Crown and People. And they said, that whatsoever submissions had been made since that time, they were only extorted by force; as the
the effects of Victory and Conquest, but gave no good right, nor just Title. To all this the English Writers answered. That these submissions by their Records, (which were the solemn Instruments of a Nation, that ought never to be called in question,) were sometimes freely made; and not by their Kings only, but by the consent of their States. In this uncertainty I must leave it with the Reader.

But after the King had opened this Pretension, 'he complained of the disorders committed by the Scots; of the unkind returns he had met with from their King for his care of him, while he was an Infant; taking no advantage of the contusions in which that Kingdom then was, but on the contrary, protecting the Crown, and quieting the Kingdom. But that of late many depredations and acts of hostility had been begun, they were managed with so much shuffling and inconsequence, that the King must now try it by a War. Yet he concluded his Declaration ambiguously, neither keeping up nor laying down his Pretensions to that Crown: but expressing them in such a manner, that which way ever the success of the War turned, he might be bound up to nothing, by what he now declared.

But whatsoever justice might be in the Kings Title, or Quarrel, his Sword was much the sharper. He ordered the Duke of Norfolk to march into Scotland, about the end of October, with an Army of 20000 men. Hill tells us, they burnt many Towns, and names them. But these were only single Houses, or little Villages; and the best Town he names is Kelso, which is a little open Market-Town. Soon after they returned back into England; whether after they had spoiled the Neighbouring Country, they felt the inconveniences of the season of the year, or whether hearing the Scots were gathering, they had no mind to go too far, I cannot determine; for the Writers of both Nations disagree, as to the reason of their speedy return. But any that knows the Country they spoiled, and where they stopp'd, must conclude that either they had secret Orders only to make an Inroad, and destroy some places that lay along the River of Tweed, and upon the Border, which done, without driving the Breach too far, to retire back; or they must have had apprehensions of the Scotch Armies coming to lie in the Moors and Hills of Sautrey, or Lammer-Moor, which they were to pass if they had gone farther: and there were about 10000 men brought thither, but he that commanded them was much blamed for doing nothing; his excuse was that his number did not equal theirs. About the end of November, the Lord Maxwell brought an Army of 15000 men together, with a Train of Artillery of 24 pieces of Ordnance. And since the Duke of Norfolk had retired towards Berwick, they resolved to enter England on the Western side by Solway Frith. The King went thither himself, but fatally left the Army, and yet was not many miles from them when they were defeated. The truth of it was, that King, who had hitherto raised the greatest expectation, was about that time disturbed in his fancy, thinking that he saw apparitions, particularly of one, whom it was said, he had unjustly put to death; so that he could not rest, nor be at quiet. But as his leaving the Army was ill advised, so his giving a Commission to Oliver Sinclair, that was his Minion, to command in Chief, did extremly disgust the Nobility.
Nobility. They loved not to be commanded by any but their King, and were already weary of the insolence of that Favourite, who being but of ordinary birth, was despisèd by them; so that they were beginning to separate. And when they were upon that occasion in great disorder, a small body of English, not above 500 Horse appeared. But they apprehending it was the Duke of Northfolks Army, refused to fight, and fell in confusion. Many Prisoners were taken, the chief of whom were, the Earls of Glencairn, and Cassillis, the Lords Maxwell, Sommerwell, Oliphant, Gray, and Oliver Sinclair; and about 200 Gentlemen and 800 Soldiers; and all the Ordnance and Baggage was also taken. The news of this being brought to the King of Scotland, encreased his former disorders: and some few days after, he died, leaving an infant Daughter, but newly born, to succeed him.

The Lords that were taken Prisoners, were brought to London, where after they had been charged in Council, how unkindly they had used the King, they were put in the keeping of some of the greatest quality about Court. But the Earl of Cassillis had the best luck of them all. For being sent to Lambeth, where he was a Prisoner upon his parole, Cranmer studied to free him from the darkens and letters of Popery; in which he was so successful, that the other was afterwards a great Promoter of the Reformation in Scotland. The Scots had been hither to poiffessed with most extraordinary prejudices against the Changes that had been made in England: which concurring with the ancient Animosities between the two Nations, had raised a wonderful ill opinion of the Kings proceedings. And though the Bishop of St. Davids (Barlow) had been sent into Scotland with the Book of the Institution of a Christian Man, to clear these ill impressions; yet his endeavours were unsuccessful. The Pope, at the instance of the French King, and to make that Kingdom sure, made David Beaton, Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews, a Cardinal; which gave him great Authority in the Kingdom; so he with the rest of the Clergy diverted the King from any correspondence with England, and assured him of Victory if he would make War on such an Heretical Prince. The Clergy also offered the King 50000 Crowns a year, towards a War with England; and poiffessed all the Nation with very ill thoughts of the Court and Clergy there. But the Lords that were now Prisoners, (chiefly the Earl of Cassillis, who was best instructed by his Religious Hoist;) conceived a better opinion of the Reformation; and carried home with them those seeds of knowledge, which produced afterwards a very fruitful Harvest. On all these things I have dwelt the longer, that it might appear, whence the inclination of the Scottish Nobility to Reform, did take its first rise, though there was afterwards in the Methods by which it was advanced, too great a mixture of the heat and forwardness that is natural to the Genius of that Country.

When the news of the King of Scotlands death, and of the young Queens birth that succeeded him, came to the Court, the King thought this a very favourable conjuncture to unite and settle the whole Island. But that unfortunate Princefs was not born under such happy Stars, though she was Mother to him, in whom this long-defired Union took effect. The Lords that were then Prisoners began the
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motion; and that being told the King, he called for them to Hampton-Court, in the Christmas-time; and said now an opportunity was put in their hands, to quiet all troubles that had been between these two Crowns, by the Marriage of the Prince of Wales to their young Queen: In which he desired their assistance, and gave them their Liberty, they leaving hostages for the performance of what was then offered by them. They all promised their Concurrence, and seemed much taken with the greatness of the English Court, which the King always kept up, not without affectation: they also said, they thought God was better served there than in their own Country. So on New-years-day they took their Journey toward Scotland; but the sequel of this will appear afterwards.

A Parliament was summoned to meet the two and twentieth of January, which fate to the 12th of May. So the Session began in the 34th and ended in the 35th year of the Kings Reign; from whence it is called in the Records, the Parliament of the 34th and 35th year. Here both the Temporality and Spirituality gave great Subsidies to the King, of six Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in three years. They set forth in their Preambles, 'The expence the King had been at, in this War with Scotland, and for his other great and urgent occasions, by which was meant a War with France, which broke out the following Summer. But with these, there passed other two Acts of great importance to Religion. The Title of the first was, An Act for the advancement of True Religion, and abolishment of the contrary. The King was now entred upon a War; so it seemed reasonable to qualify the severity of the late Acts about Religion, that all might be quiet at home. Cranmer moved it first; and was faintly seconded by the Bishops of Worcester, Hereford, Chichester, and Rochester, who had promised to flock to him in it. At this time a League was almost finished between the King and the Emperor, which did again raise the Spirits of the Popish Faction. They had been much call'd down ever since the last Queens fall. But now that the Emperor was like to have an Interest in English Councils, they took heart again; and Gardiner opposed the Arch-Bishops motion with all possible earnestness. And that whole Faction fell to upon it, that the timorous Bishops not only forlook Cranmer, but Heath of Rochester, and Skip of Hereford, were very earnest with him to stay for a better opportunity: But he generously preferred his Conscience to those arts of Policy, which he would never pracifie; and said, he would push it as far as it would go. So he plied the King, and the other Lords so earnestly, that at length the Bill pas'd, though clogg'd with many Provïces, and very much short of what he had designed.

'The Preamble set forth, that there being many diffensions about Religion, the Scriptures, which the King had put into the hands of his People, were abused by many seditious persön, in their Sermons, Books, Plays, Rithmes, and Songs: from which great Inconveniences were like to arise. For preventing these, it was necessary to establish a Form of sincere Doctrine, conformable to that which was taught by the Apóstles. Therefore all the Books of the Old and New Testament, of Tindal's Translation, which is called Calvini, Pulta, and Unius, are forbidden to be kept or used, in the Kings Dominions:
unions: with all other Books, contrary to the Doctrine set forth in
the year 1540, with Punishments and Fines, and Imprisonment up-
on such as sold or kept such Books. But Bibles that were not of
Tindal's Translation were still to be kept, only the Annotations, or
Preambles, that were in any of them, were to be cut out, or dashed;
and the Kings Proclamations, and Injunctions, with the Primers
and other Books Printed in English, for the instruction of the peo-
ple before the year 1540, were still to be in force: and among these,
Chaucer's Books are by name mentioned. No Books were to be Prin-
ted about Religion, without the Kings Allowance. In no Plays, nor
Enterludes, they might make any Expofitions of Scripture; but only
reproach Vice, and set forth virtue in them. None might read the
Scripture in any open Assembly, or expound it; but he who was Li-
cenced by the King or his Ordinary; with a Provifo, that the Chan-
cells in Parliament, Judges, Recorders, or any others, who were
wont in publick occasions to make Speeches, and commonly took a
place of Scripture for their Text, might still do as they had done
formerly. Every Noble-man, or Gentle-man, might caufe the
Bible to be read to him, in or about his House, quietly and without
disturbance. Every Merchant that was a Houfholder, might alfo
read it. But no Woman, nor Artificers, Apprentices, Journey-men,
Serving-men, under the degree of Yeomen; nor no Husbandmen,
or Labourers, might read it. Yet every Noble Woman, or Gentle-
woman, might read it for her felf: and fo might all other persons,
but thofe who were excepted. Every perfon might read and teach
in their Housës, the Book set out in the year 1540, with the Pfalter,
Primer, Patentoffier, the Ave, and the Creed in English. All Spi-
ritual perffons, who preached or taught contrary to the Doctrine set
forth in that Book, were to be admitted, for the firft conviction, to
renounce their errors; for the second to abjure, and carry a Faggot;
which if they refufed to do, or fell into a third offence, they were to
be burnt. But the Laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit
their Goods and Chattels, and be liable to perpetual Imprisonment.
But thofe offences were to be objected to them, within a year after
they were committed. And whereas before, the Party accused was
not allowed to bring Witnesses for his own Purgation; this was now
granted him. But to this a fevere Provifio was added, which fee-
mcd to overthrow all the former favour; that the Act of the fix
Articles was still in the fame force, in which it was before the making
of this Act. Yet that was moderated by the next Provifio; That the
King might at any time hereafter at his pleasure change this Act or
any Provifion in it.

This last Provifio was made stronger by another Act, made for the
due execution of Proclamation, in pursuance of a former Act to the
same effeet, of which mention was made in the 31st year of the Kings
Reign. By that former Act there was fo great a number of Officers
of State, and of the Kings Houfhold, of Judges, and other perffons, to
fit on thefe Trials, that thofe not being early brought together, the
Act had never taken any eftect. Therefore it was now appointed,
that nine Counfellors should be a fufficient number for thefe Trials.
At the pailing of that Act the Lord Montjoy proteffed againft it, which
is
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is the single Instance of a Protestantation against any publick Bill, through this King's whole Reign.

The Act about Religion, freed the Subjects from the fears under which they were before. For now the Lay were delivered from the hazard of burning; and the Spirituality were not in danger, but upon the third Conviction. They might also bring their own witnesses, which was a great favour to them. Yet that high power which was given the King, of altering the Act or any parts of it, made, that they were not absolutely secured from their fears, of which some instances afterwards appeared. But as this Act was some mitigation of former severities, so it brought the Reformers to depend wholly on the King's Mercy, for their Lives; since he could now chain, or let loose, the Act of the six Articles upon them, at his pleasure.

Soon after the end of this Parliament, a League was sworn between the King and the Emperor, on Trinity Sunday; Offensive and Defensive, for England, Calais, and the places about it, and for all Flanders; with many other particulars, to be found in the Treaty fet down at large by the Lord Herbert. There is no mention made of the Legitimation of the Lady Mary; but it seems it was promised, that she should be declared next in the Succession of the Crown, to Prince Edward, if the King had no other Children; which was done in the next Parliament, without any reflections on her Birth; and the Emperor was content to accept of that, there being no other terms to be obtained. The Popish party, who had fet up their reef on bringing the King and Emperor to a League, and putting the Lady Mary into the Succession, no doubt preft the Emperor much to accept of this: which we may reasonably believe was vigorously driven on by Bonner, who was sent to Spain, an Ambassador for concluding this Peace; by which also the Emperor gained much; for having engaged the Crowns of England, and France in a War, and drawn off the King of Scotland from his League with the Princes of Germany, he was now at more leisure to prosecute his designs in Germany.

But the negotiation in Scotland succeeded not to the King's mind, though at first there were very good appearances. The Cardinal, by forging a Will for the dead King, got himfelf and some of his party to be put into the Government. But the Earl of Arran (Hamilton,) being the nearest in blood to the young Queen, and being generally beloved for his Probity, was invited to assume the Government; which he managed with great moderation, and an universal applause. Heuminoned a Parliament which confirmed him in his Power, during the Minority of the Queen. The King sent Sir Ralph Sadler to him, to agree the Marriage, and to defer him to fend the young Queen into England. And if private ends wrought much on him, Sadler was empowered to offer another Marriage of the King's second Daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, to his Son. The Earl of Arran was himself inclined to Reformation, and very much hated the Cardinal. So he was easily brought to content to a Treaty for the Match, which was concluded in August. By which the young Queen was to be bred in Scotland, till she was ten years of age: but the King might send a Nobleman, and his Wife, with other persons, not exceeding 20, to wait on her. And for performance of this, six Noblemen were to be sent from Scotland for Heralds. The Earl of Arran being then Governor, kept the Cardinal under
under restraint till this Treaty was Concluded: But he, corrupting his
Keepers made his escape, and joining with the Queen Mother, they
made a strong faction against the Governor; all the Clergy joined
with the Cardinal to oppose the Match with England, since they look-
ed for ruin if it succeeded. The Queen, being a sister of Guise, and
bred in the French Court, was wholly for their Interests; and all that
had been obliged by that Court, or depended on it, were quickly
drawn into the Party. It was also paid to every body, that it was much
more the Interest of Scotland to match with France, than with England.
If they were united to France, they might expect an easy Government.
For the French being at such distance from them, and knowing how
easily they might throw themselves into the Arms of England, would
certainly rule them gently, and avoid giving them great Provocations.
But if they were united to England, they had no remedy, but must look
for an heavier yoke to be laid on them. This meeting with the rooted
Antipathy, that by a long continuance of War, was grown up among
them to a savage hatred of the English Nation; and being inflamed
by the considerations of Religion, raised an universal dislike of the
Match with England, in the greatest part of the whole Nation; only a
few men of greater Probity, who were weary of the depredations and
Wars in the Borders, and had a liking to the Reformation of the Church,
were still for it.

The French Court struck in vigorously with their Party in Scotland,
and sent over the Earl of Lenox; who, as he was next in blood to the
Crown, after the Earl of Arran, so was of the same family of the
Stewarts, which had endeared him to the late King. He was to lead
the Quez party against the Hamiltons. Yet they employed another
Tool, which was John Hamilton, base Brother to the Governor, who
was afterwards Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews. He had great power over
his Brother, who being then not above four and twenty years of age,
and having been the only lawful Son of his Father in his old age, was
never bred abroad: and so understood not the Policies and arts of
Courts, and was easily abused by his base Brother. He assured him,
that if he went about to destroy Religion, by matching the Queen to
an Heretical Prince, they would depose him from his Government,
and declare him Illegitimate. There could be indeed nothing clearer
than his Fathers Divorce from his first Wife. For it had been former-
ly proved, that she had been married to the Lord Tefters Son, before
he married her, who claimed her as his Wife; upon which, her Mar-
riage with the Earl of Arran was declared Null in the year 1507. And
it was ten years after, that the Earl of Arran did Marry the Governors
Mother: Of which things the Original Instruments are yet extant.
Yet it was now said that that Precontract with the Lord Tefters
Son was but a forgery, to dissolve that Marriage: and if the Earl of
Lenox, (who was next to the Crown, in case the Earl of Arran was
Illegitimated,) should by the assistance of France procure a review
of that Proceeds from Rome, and obtain a Revocation of that Sentence,
by which his Fathers first Marriage was annulled; then it was plain
that the second marriage, with the Issue by it, would be of no force.
All this wrought on the Governor much, and at length drew him off
from the Match with England, and brought him over to the French
Interests.
Interests. Which being effected, there was no further use of the Earl of Lennox; so he finding himself neglected, by the Queen, and the Cardinal, and abandoned by the Crown of France, fled into England: where he was very kindly received by the King, who gave him in marriage his niece, Lady Margaret Douglas, whom the Queen of Scotland had born to the Earl of Angus, her second Husband. From which Marriage issued the Lord Darnley Father to King James.

When the Lords of the French Faction had carried things to their mind in Scotland, it was next considered, what they should do to redeem the Hostages whom the Lords, who were Prisoners in England, had left behind them. And for this, no other Remedy could be found, but to let them take their hazard; and leave them to the King of England's mercy: To this they all agreed, only the Earl of Caithness had too much Honour and Vertue to do so mean a thing. Therefore, after he had done all he could for maintaining the Treaty about the Match, he went into England, and offered himself again to be a Prisoner. But as generous actions are a reward to themselves, so they often meet with that entertainment which they deserve. And upon this occasion, the King was not wanting to express a very great value for that Lord. He called him another Regulus, but used him better. For he both gave him his Liberty, and made him noble Presents, and sent him and his Hostages back, being resolved to have a severer preparation for the injury done him. All which I have opened more fully, because this will give a great light to the affairs of that Kingdom, which will be found in the Reigns of the succeeding Princes, to have a great intermixture with the affairs of this Kingdom. Nor are they justly represented by any who write of these times; and having seen some Original Papers relating to Scotland at that time, I have done it upon more certain information.

The King of England made War next upon France: The grounds of this War are related by the Lord Herbert. One of these is proper for me to repeat; 'That the French King had not deferred the Bishop of Rome, and conferred to a Reformation, as he had once Promised. The rest related to other things, such as the seizing our Ships; The detaining the yearly Pension due to the King; The Fortifying Arders to the prejudice of the English pale; The revealing the Kings secrets to the Emperor; The having given, first his Daughter, and then the Duke of Guises Sifer, in Marriage, to his Enemy, the King of Scotland; and his confederating himself with the Turk. And Satisfaction not being given in these particulars a War is declared.'

In July the King married Katherine Parre, who had been formerly married to Nevil Lord Latimer. She was a secret Favourer of the Reformation; yet could not divert a storm, which at this time fell on some in Windsor. For that being a place to which the King did oft retire, it was thought fit to make some examples there. And now the League with the Emperor, gave the Popish Faction a greater interest in the Kings Councils. There was at this time a Society at Windsor, that favoured the Reformation. Anthony Perfon a Priest, Robert Teweswood, and John Marbeck Singing Men, and Henry Filmer of the Town of Windsor, were the chief of them. But these were much
favoured by Sir Philip Hobby and his Lady, and several others of the Kings Family. During Cromwell's power none questioned them; but after his fall they were looked on with an ill eye. Doctor London, who had by the most servile Flatteries inflam'd himself into Cromwell, and was much employed in the suppression of Monasteries, and expressed a particular zeal in removing all Images and Relicks which had been abus'd to Superition, did now, upon Cromwell's fall, apply himself to Gardiner, by whose means he was made a Prebendary there. And to shew how dextrously he could make his Court both ways, or to make compensation for what he had formerly done, he took care to gather a whole Book of Informations, against theee in Windfor, who favoured the New Learning, (which was the modest phrase by which they termed the Reformation.) He carried this Book to Gardiner, who moved the King in Council, that a Commission might be granted for searching suspected Houses at Windfor, in which it was Informed there were many Books against the six Articles. The King granted the Warrant for the Town, but not for the Castle. So those before named, were seiz'd on, and some of these Books were found in their houses. Dr. Hains, Dean of Exceter, and Prebendary of Windfor, being informed against, was also put in Prifon; so was likewise Sir Philip Hobby. But there were likewise some Papers of Notes on the Bible, and of a Concordance in English, found in Marbeck's house, written with his own hand: and he being an Illiterate man, they did not doubt but these were other mens works, which he was writing out. So they began with him, and hoped to draw discoveries from him. He was frequently examined, but would tell nothing that might do hurt to any other person. But being Examined, who wrote these Notes, he said they were his own: for he read all the Books he could light on, and wrote out what every man had written on any place of Scripture. And for his Concordance, he told them, that being a poor man, he could not buy one of the Bibles, when they came first out in English, but for himself to write one out: by which another perceiving his Industry, suggested to him, that he would do well to write a Concordance in English; but he said, he knew not what that was: so the other person explaining it to him, he got a Latin Concordance, and an English Bible; and having learned a little Latin, when he was young, he, by comparing the English with the Latin, had drawn out a Concordance, which he had brought to the Letter L. This seemed so extravagant a thing to Gardiner, and the other Bishops that examined him, that they could by no means believe it. But he defir'd they would draw out any words of the letter M. and give him the Latin Concordance, with the English Bible, and after a little time they should see whether he had not done the rest. So the Trial was made, and in a day he had drawn out three sheets of Paper, upon those words that were given him. This both satisfied, and astonish'd the Bishops, wondering at the Ingeniousnes and diligence of so poor a man. It was much talked of, and being told the King, he said, Marbeck employ'd his time better than those that examined him. For the others, they were kept in Prison at London, till the 24th of July, that the King gave orders to try them at Windfor.
There was a Court held there, on the 27th of July, where Capon Bishop of Sarum, and Franklin Dean of Windfor, and Rachel Parson of Reading, and three of the Judges, sat on those four men. They were Enicted for some words spoken against the Mass. Marbeck only for writing out an Epistle of Calvin against it; which, he said, he copied before the Act of the six Articles was made. The Jury was not called out of the Town, for they would not trust it to them, but out of the Farms of the Chappel. They were all found guilty, and so condemned to be burnt, which was Executed on three of them the next day: only Marbeck was recommended to the Bishop of Winchester's care, to procure his Pardon, which was obtained. The other three expressed great composure of mind in their Sufferings, and died with much Christian Resolution and Patience; forgiving their persecutors, and committing themselves to the Mercies of God through Jesus Christ.

But in their Tryal, Doctor London, and Symonds, a Lawyer and an Informer, had studied to sift out accusations against many of the Kings Servants, as Sir Philip Hobby, and Sir Thomas Cardine, with their Ladies, and several others who had favoured those men. With these Informations, Okam, that had been the Clerk of the Court, was sent to Gardiner: But one of the Queens servants who had discovered the design, was before him at Court. Upon the advertisement which he had brought, Okam was seized on at his coming to Court, and all his Papers were examined; in which they discovered a Conspiracy against those Gentlemen, with other Plots, that gave the King great Offence; but the particulars are not mentioned. So Doctor London and Symonds were sent for, and examined upon this discovery. But they, not knowing that their Letters were intercepted, denied there was any such Plot; and being put to their Oaths, swore it. Then their own hand-writing was produced against them. Upon which, they being thus Perjured, were ordered to be carried on Horseback, with their faces to the Horse tails, and Papers on their Foreheads, for their perjury; and then to be set in the Pillory, both in Windfor, Reading, and Newbury, where the King was at that time. This was accordingly executed on them; but sunk so deep in Doctor Londons heart, that he died soon after. From all this it will appear what sort of men the Persecutors at that time were.

But this was a small part of what Gardiner had Projected: For he looked on thee, as perfons unworthy of his displeasure. Cranmer was chiefly aimed at by him. And therefore all that party were still influing it into the Kings mind, that it was great Injustice to prosecute poor men with so much severity, and let the chief Supporter of Heresie stand in so eminent a degree, and in such favour about him. At length the King, to discover the bottom of their designs, seemed to give ear to their accusations, and desired to hear what particulars could be objected against him. This gave them great encouragement; for till that time, the King would let nothing be said against Cranmer. So they concluded he would be quickly ruined, since the King had opened his ear to their Informations. Therefore many particulars were quickly laid together, and put into the Kings hands; who a little after that, going to divert himself on the River, ordered...
ed his Bargemen to Row towards Lambeth; which being perceived by some of the Arch-Bishops Servants, they acquainted him with it, who hastened down to his stairs to do his duty to the King. When the King saw him, he called him into the Barge; and they being alone, the King lamented the growth of Herefie, and the diffentions and confusions that were like to follow upon it; and said, he intended to find out the chief Encourager and Favourer of these Herefies, and make him an Example to the rest. And he asked the Arch-Bishops opinion about it. Who answered him, That it was a good re-folution; but entreated the King to consider well what Herefie was, and not to condemn those as Heretics, who stood for the Word of God, against humane Inventions. But after some discours, the King told him he was the man, who, as he was informed, was the chief Encourager of Herefie; and then gave him the Articles that were brought against him, and his Chaplains, both by some Prebendaries of Canterbury, and the Justices of Peace in Kent. When he read them, he kneeled down, and desired the King would put the matter to a Tryal. He acknowledged he was still of the same mind he was of, when he opposed the Six Articles; but that he had done nothing against them. Then the King asked him about his Wife. He frankly confessed he had a Wife; but said, That he had sent her to Germany, upon the passing the Act against Priests having Wives. His candor and simplicity wrought so on the King, that he discovered to him the whole Plot that was laid against him; and said, That instead of bringing him to any Tryal about it, he would have him try it out, and proceed against those his Accusers. But he excused himself, and said it would not be decent for him to sit Judge in his own Cause. But the King said to him, he was resolved none other should Judge it, but those he should name. So he named his Chancellor, and his Register; to whom the King added another: And a Commission being given them, they went into Kent, and lave three weeks to find out the first Contrivers of this Accusation. And now every one disowned it, since they saw he was still firmly rooted in the Kings esteem and favour. But it being observed, that the Commissioners proceeded faintly, Cranmer's friends moved that some man of Courage and Authority, might be sent thither to canvass this Accusation more carefully. So Doctor Lee Dean of York, was brought up about All-belowide, and sent into Kent. And he, who had been well acquain- ted with the Arts of discovering secrets, when he was one of the visi- tors of the Abbeys, managed it more vigorously. He ordered a search to be made of all suspected persons; among whole Papers, Letters were found, both from the Bishop of Wincheffer, and Doctor London, and some of those whom Cranmer had treated with the greatest freedom and kindness, in which the whole Plot against him was discovered. But it was now near the Session of Parliament: and the King was satisfied with the discovery, but thought it not fit to make much noise of it. And he received no adresses from the Arch-Bishop to prosecute it further: who was so noted for his Clemency, and following our Saviours Rule, of Doing good for evil, that it was commonly said, The way to get his favour, was to do him an injury. There were the only Influences in which he expres-
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led his resentment. Two of the Conspirators against him, had been persons signally obliged by him: The one was the Bishop Suffragan of Dover; the other was a Civilian, whom he had employed much in his business. But all the notice he took of it, was to show them their Letters, and to admonish them to be more faithful and honest for the future. Upon which he freely forgave them, and carried it so to them afterwards, as if he had absolutely forgotten what they had contrived against him. And a person of Quality coming to him about that time, to obtain his favour and assistance in a Suit, in which he was to move the King, he went about it, and had almost procured it: but the King calling to mind, that he had been one of his secret accusers, asked him whether he took him for his friend; he answered that he did so. Then the King said, the other was a Knave, and was his mortal Enemy; and bid him, when he should see him next, call him a Knave to his Face. Cranmer answered, that such Language did not become a Bishop. But the King sullenly commanded him to do it; yet his modesty was such, that he could not obey so harsh a Command. And so he passed the matter over. When these things came to be known, all persons, that were not unjustly prejudiced against him, acknowledged that his behaviour was suitable to the Example and Doctrine of the meek and lowly Saviour of the World: And very well became so great a Bishop, and such a Reformer of the Christian Religion; who in those sublime and extraordinary Infiances practised that which he taught others to do. The year in which this fell out is not express by those who have recorded it; but by the concuring circumstances, I judge it likely to have been done this year.

Soon after this, the Parliament met, that was Summoned to meet the 14th of January, in the 35th year of the Kings Reign; in which the Act of the Secessio of the Crown past. Which contains, 'That the King being now to pass the Seas, to make War upon his Ancient Enemy the French King, and being desirous to settle the Secessio to the Crown: It is Enacted that in default of Heirs of Prince Edwards body, or of Heirs by the Kings present Marriage, the Crown shall go to the Lady Mary, the Kings Eldest Daughter: and in default of Heirs of her body, or if she do not observe such limitations or conditions as shall be declared by the Kings Letters Patents under his great Seal, or by his last Will under his hand, it shall next fall to the Lady Elizabeth, and her heirs; or if she have none, or shall not keep the conditions declared by the King, it shall fall to any other that shall be declared by the Kings Letters Patents, or his last Will Signed with his hand. There was also an Oath devised, instead of those formerly sworn, both against the Popes Supremacy, and for maintaining the Succession in all points according to this Act: which whoever refused to take, was to be adjudged a Traytor; and whosoever should, either in words, or by writing, lay any thing contrary to this Act, or to the peril and slander of the Kings heirs, limited in the Act, was to be adjudged a Traytor. This was done, no doubt, upon a secret Article of the Treaty with the Emperor; and did put new life into the Papish party, all whose hopes depended on the Lady Mary. But how
how much this weakened the Prerogative, and the Right of Succession, will be easily discerned: the King in this affecting an unusual extent of his own Power, though with the diminution of the Rights of his Successors.

There was another Bill about the qualifying of the Act of the 6th Article, that was sent divers times from the one house to the other. It was brought to the Lords the 1st of March, and read the first time; and stuck till the 4th, when it was read the second time; on the 5th it was read the third time, and passed, and was sent down to the Commons, with words to be put in, or put out of it. On the 6th, the Commons sent it up with some alterations: And on the 8th, the Lords sent it down again to the Commons: where it lay till the 17th, and then it was sent up with their agreement. And the Kings Affent was given by his Letters Patents on the 29th of March. The Preamble was, 'That whereas untrue accusations, and pretentions, might be maliciously contrived against the Kings Subjects, and kept secret till a time were elaps'd to have them by malice convicted: Therefore it was Enacted, That none should be Endicted, but upon a pretention by the Oaths of twelve men, to at least, three of the Commissioners appointed by the King: and that none should be Imprison'd, but upon an Indictment, except by a special Warrant from the King, and that all Pretentions should be made within one year after the Offences were committed; and if words were uttered in a Sermon, contrary to the Statute, they must be complained of within forty days, unless a just cause were given why it could not be so soon: Admitting alfo the parties Indicted to all such Challenges as they might have in any other cafe of Felony. This Act has clearly a Relation to the Conspiracies mentioned the former year, both against the Arch-Bishop, and some of the Kings Servants.

Another Act passed, continuing some former Acts for revising the Canon-Law, and for drawing up such a body of Ecclesiastical Laws, as should have Authority in England. This Craumer prefixed often with great vehemence; and to shew the necessity of it, drew out a short Extract of some passages in the Canon-Law, (which the Reader will find in the Collection,) to shew how undecent a thing it was, to let a Volume, in which such Laws were, be Studied or considered any longer in England. Therefore he was earnest to have such a Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws made, as might regulate the Spiritual Courts. But it was found more for the greatness of the Prerogative, and the Authority of the Civil Courts, to keep that undetermined; so he could never obtain his desire during this Kings Reign.

Another Act passed in this Parliament for the remission of a Loan of Money, which the King had raised. This is almost copied out of an Act to the same effect, that passed in the twenty first year of the Kings Reign: with this addition, 'That by this Act, those who had got payment, either in whole, or in part, of the Sums so lent the King, were to repay it back to the Exchequer. All busines being finished, and a general pardon passed, with the ordinary exceptions of some Crimes, among which, Heretie is one, the Parliament was Prorogued.
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Prorogued on the 29th of March, to the 4th of November.

The King had now a War both with France and Scotland upon him. And therefore to prepare for it, he both enhanced the value of Money, and embated it; for which, he that writes this vindication gives this for the reason; That the Coin being generally embated all over Europe, he was forced to do it, lest otherwise all the Money should have gone out of the Kingdom. He resolved to begin the War with Scotland, and sent an Army by Sea thither, under the command of the Earl of Hartford, (afterwards Duke of Somerset,) who landing at Grantham, a little above Leith, burnt, and spoiled, Leith, and Edinburgh; in which they found more riches than they thought could possibly have been there; and they went through the Country, burning and spoiling it every-where, till they came to Berwick. But they did too much if they intended to gain the hearts of that people, and too little if they intended to subdue them. For as they beleaguered not the Castle of Edinburgh, which would have cost them more time, and trouble; so they did not fortifi Leith, nor leave a Garrison in it, which was such an inexusable Omission, that it seems their Counsels were very weak and ill laid. For Leith being fortified, and a Fleer kept going between it and Berwick or Tynemouth, the Trade of the Kingdom must have been quite flopt, Edinburgh ruined, the Intercourse between France and them cut off, and the whole Kingdom forced to submit to the King. But the spoils this Army made, had no other effect, but to enrage the Kingdom, and unite them so entirely to the French Interests; that when the Earl of Lennox was sent down by the King, to the Western parts of Scotland, where his Power lay, he could get none to follow him. And the Governor of Dunbritton Castle, though his own Lieutenant, would not deliver that Castle to him, when he understood he was to put it in the King of Englands hands, but drove him out; others say, he fled away of himself, else he had been taken Prisoner.

The King was now to cross the Seas: but, before he went, he studied to settle the matters of Religion, so that both Parties might have some content. Andley the Chancellor dying, he made the Lord Wriothesley, that had been Secretary, and was of the Popish Party, Lord Chancellor; but made Sir William Petre, that was Cranmers great friend, Secretary of State. He also committed the Government of the Kingdom in his absence, to the Queen, to whom he joined the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Hartford, and Secretary Petre. And if there was need of any Force to be raised, he appointed the Earl of Hartford his Lieutenant; under whose Government the Reformers needed not fear anything. But he did another Act, that did wonderfully please that whole Party, which was, the Translating of the Prayers, for the Processions, and Litanies, into the English tongue. This was sent to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury on the 11th of June, with an Order that it should be used over all his Province, as the Reader will find in the Collection. This was not only very acceptable to that Party, because of the thing itself; but it gave them hope, that the King was again opening his ears to motions for Reformation, to which they had been thus long about six years: And therefore they looked that more things of

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that nature would quickly follow. And as these Prayers were now set out in English, so they doubted not, but there being the same reason to put all the other Offices in the vulgar tongue, they would prevail for that too.

Things being thus settled at home, the King having sent his Forces over before him, crossed the Seas, with much pomp, the Sails of his Ship being of Cloath of Gold. He Landed at Calais the 14th of July. The Emperor prefled his marching straight to Paris. But he thought it of more importance to take Bulloign, and after two months Siege, it was surrendred to him; into which he made his Entry with great Triumph on the 15th of September. But the Emperor having thus engaged those two Crowns in a War; and designing, while they should fight it out, to make himself Master of Germany, concluded a Treaty with the French King the very next day, being the 19th of September; which is set down at large by the Lord Herbert. On the 30th of September; the King returned into England: in October following Bulloign was very near lost by a surprize, but the Garrifon put themselves in order, and beat back the French. Several Inroads were made into Scotland, but not with the same success, that the former Expedition had. For the Scots, animated with Supplies sent from France, and inflamed with a desire of revenge, refumed their wonted courage, and beat back the English with considerable loss.

Next year the French King resoluing to recover Bulloign, and to take Calais, that so he might drive the English out of France, intened first to make himself Master of the Sea. And he set out a great Fleet of an hundred and fifty greater Ships, and sixty lesser ones, besides many Gallies brought from the Streights. The King set out about an hundred Ships. On both sides these were only Merchant Ships that were hired for this War. But after the French Fleet had looked on England, and attempted to Land with ill success, both in the Isle of Wight, and in Sussex; and had engaged in a Sea-fight for some hours; they returned back without any considerable action: Nor did they any thing at Land. But the Kings Fleet went to Normandy, where they made a descent, and burnt the Countrey. So that this year was likwise glorious to the King. The Emperor had now done what he long designd: And therefore being courted by both Crowns, he undertook a Mediation, that under the Colour of Mediating a peace, he might the more effectually keep up the War.

The Princes of Germany saw what mischief was designed against them. The Council of Trent was now opened, and was condemning their Doctrine. A League was also concluded between the Pope and the Emperor, for procuring Obedience to their Canons and Decrees: And an Army was rais'd. The Emperor was also setting on foot old quarrels with some of the Princes: A firm Peace was concluded with the Turk. So that if the Crowns of England and France were not brought to an Agreement, they were undone. They sent Ambassadors to both Courts to mediate a Peace. With them Cromwell joyned his endeavours, but he had not a Cromwell in the Court, to manage the Kings temper; who was so provoked with the ill Treatment he had received from France, that he would not come to an Agreement: nor
nor would he restore Baboign, without which the French would hear of no Peace. Cranmer had at this time almost prevailed with the King to make some farther steps in a Reformation. But Gardiner, who was then Ambassador in the Emperors Court, being advertised of it, wrote to the King; That the Emperor would certainly join with France against him, if he made any further Innovation in Religion. This diverted the King from it; and in August this year the only great Friend that Cranmer had in the Court died, Charles Duke of Suffolk, who had long continued in the height of Favor; which was always kept up, not only by an agreement of humours between the King and him, but by the constant success which followed him in all his exploits. He was a Favourer of the Reformation, as far as could conflict with his interest at Court, which he never endangered upon any account.

Now Cranmer was left alone, without friend or support. Yet he had gained one great Preferment in the Church, to a man of his own mind. The Arch-Bishopric of York falling void by Lee's death, Robert Holgate, that was Bishop of Landaff, was promoted to that See in January; Kitchen being made Bishop of Landaff, who turned with every Change that was made under the three succeeding Princes. The Arch-Bishop of York set about the Reforming of things in his Province, which had lain in great confusion all his Predecessors time: So on the third of March he took out a Licence from the King for making a Metropolitical Visitation. Bell, that was Bishop of Worcester had resigned his Bishopric the former year, (the reason of which is not set down.) The Bishop of Rochester, Heath, was Translated to that See: and Henry Holbeach, that favoured the Reformation, was made Bishop of Rochester. And upon the Translation of Sampson, from Chichester to Coventry and Lichfield, Day that was a Moderate man, and inclinable to Reformation, was made Bishop of that See. So that now Cranmer had a greater Party among the Bishops than at any time before.

But though there were no great Transactions about Religion in England this year, there were very remarkable things done in Scotland, though of a different nature; which were the burning of Wishart, and some months after that, the killing of Cardinal Beaton; the account of both which, will not (I hope) be Ingrateful to the Reader.

Mr. George Wishart was defended of a Noble Family; he went to finish his studies in the University of Cambridge, where he was so well instructed in the Principles of true Religion, that returning to Scotland, Anno 1544. He Preached over the Country, against the Corruptions which did then so generally prevail. He stayed most at Dundee, which was the chief Town in those parts. But the Cardinal offended at this, sent a threatening Message to the Magistrates, upon which one of them, as Wishart ended one of his Sermons, was so obsequious as to forbid him to Preach any more among them, or give them any further trouble: to whom he answered, That God knew he had no design to trouble them, but for them to reject the Messengers of God, was not the way to escape trouble; when he was gone, God would send Messengers of another sort among them.
them. He had to the hazard of his Life, Preached the word of
Salvation to them, and they had now rejected him: but if it was
long well with them, he was not led by the Spirit of Truth; and
'it unlooked for trouble fell on them, he bade them remember this
was the Cause of it, and turn to God by Repentance. From thence
he went to the western parts, where he was also much followed.
But the Arch-Bishop of Glasgow, giving order, that he should not be
admitted to Preach in Churches, he Preached often in the fields:
and when in some places his followers would have forced the Churches,
he check: them and laid, it was the word of Peace, that he Preached,
and therefore no blood should be shed about it. But after he had
flayed a month there, he heard that there was a great Plague in
Dundee, which broke out the fourth day after he had left it: upon
which, he presently returned thither and Preached off to them, flanding
over one of the Gates, having taken care that the Infected per-
sons should stand without, and those that were clean within the Gate.
He continued, among them and took care to supply the poor, and to
visit the sick, and do all the Offices of a faithful Pastor in that ex-
tremity. Once as he ended his Sermon, a Priest coming to have kil-
led him, was taken with the weapon in his hand, but when the peo-
ple were running tumultuously on him, Wishart got him in his Arms and
laved him from their rage, for he said he had done no harm, only
they saw what they might look for. He became a little after this
more than ordinary ferious and apprehensive of his end: he was seen
sometimes to rue in the night, and spend the greatest part of it in
Prayer; and he often warned his hearers, that his Sufferings were
at hand, but that few should suffer after him, and that the Light of
true Religion should be spread over the whole Land. He went to a
great many places, where his Sermons were well received, and came
left to Linian, where he found a greater neglect of the Gospel,
than in other parts, for which he threatened them, That Strangers
should chase them from their dwellings and poifes them. He was Lodg-
ed in a Gentleman of Qualities house Cockburn of Ormiston, when in
the night the house was belet by some horlemen, who were sent by
the Cardinals means to take him. The Earl of Borthwel that had the
chief Jurisdiction in the County, was with them, who promising
that no hurt should be done him, he caufed the Gate to be opened,
saying, The Blessed will of God be done. When he presented himself
to the Earl of Borthwel, he desired to be proceeded with according to
Law, for he said, he feared less to die openly, than to be Murdered
in secret. The Earl promifed upon his honour, that no harm should
be done him: and for some time seemd resolved, to have made his
words good, but the Queen Mother and Cardinal in end prevailed
with him, to put Wishart in their hands, and they sent him to St.
Andrews, where it was agreed to make a Sacrifice of him. Upon
this the Cardinal called a meeting of the Bishops to St. Andrews
againft the 27th of February, to destroy him with the more Cere-
mony, but the Arch-Bishop of Glasgow moved, that there should be
a Warrant procured from the Lord Governor for their proceedings.
To this the Cardinal consented, thinking the Governor was then fo
linked to their Interests, that he would deny them nothing: but the
Governour
Governour bearing in his heart a secret love to Religion, and being
plainly dealt with by a Noble Gentleman of his name Hamilton of
Preston, who laid before him the just and terrible Judgment of God
he might look for, if he suffered poor Innocents to be so Murdered
at the appetite of the Clergy; sent the Cardinal word not to pro-
ceed till he himself came, and that he would not consent to his death,
till the cause was well examined; and that if the Cardinal proceed-
red against him, his blood should be required at his hands. But the
Cardinal resolved to go on at his peril, for he apprehended, if he de-
layed it, their might be either a Legal or a violent rescue made: so
he ordered a mock Citation of Wiffart to appear; who being brought
the next day to the Abbey-Church, the Process was opened with a
Sermon, in which the Preacher delivered a great deal of good Do-
ctrine concerning the Scriptures, being the only Touchstone by which
Herefie was to be tryed. After Sermon, the Prisoner was brought to
the Bar: he first fell down on his knees, and after a short Prayer, he
stood up and gave a long account of his Sermons, That he had Preach-
ed nothing, but what was contained in the ten Commandments, the
Apostles Creed, and the Lords Prayer; but was interrupted with re-
proachful words, and required to answer plainly to the Articles ob-
jected to him. Upon which he appealed to an indifferent Judge: he
desired to be tryed by the word of God and before my Lord Gover-
nor, whose Prisoner he was: but the Indictment being read, he con-
testing and offering to justify, most of the Articles objected against
him, was judged an obfolute Heretick, and condemned to be burnt.
All the next night he spent in Prayer: In the Morning, two Friers
came to Confess him, but he said, he would have nothing to do with
them, yet if he could, he would gladly speak with the Learned men,
that Preached the day before. So he being sent to him, after much
Conference he asked him, if he would receive the Sacrament? Wiffart
answered, he would most gladly do it, if he might have it as Christ
had instituted it, under both kinds; but the Cardinal would not suf-
fer the Sacrament to be given him. And so breakfast being brought,
he discourfed to those that were present, of the death of Christ, and
the ends of the Sacrament, and then having blessed and confebrated
the Elements, he took the Sacrament himself, and gave it to those
that were with him. That being done, he would taste no other thing,
but retired to his Devotion. Two hours after the Executioners came,
and put on him a Coat of black Linning, full of bags of Powder, and
carried him out to the place of Execution, which was before the Car-
dinals Castle. He spake a little to the people, desiring them not to
be offended at the good word of God, for the sufferings that followed
it, it was the true Gospel of Christ that he had Preached, and for
which with a most glad heart and mind he now offered up his Life.
The Cardinal was set in state in a great Window of his Castle, look-
ing on this sad Spectacle. When Wiffart was tyed to the Stake, he
cryed aloud, O Saviour of the World have Mercy upon me! Father of
Heaven I recommend my Spirit into thy Holy hands. So the Executio-
ners kindled the fire, but one perceiving after some time, that he was
yet alive, encouraged him to call still on God, to whom he answered,
'The flame hath scorched my body, yet hath it not daunted my
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'Spirit, but he who from yonder high place looking up to the Cardinal beholdest us with such pride, shall within few days lie in the fame as ignominiously as now he is seen proudly to rest himself. The executioner drawing the Cord that was about his neck flirated, ftopt his breath fo, that he could speak no more, and his body was soon consumed by the fire. Thus died this eminent servant and witness of Christ, on whose Sufferings I have enlarged the more, because they proved fo fatal to the interests of the Popish Clergy, for not any one thing has been done toward the Reformation more than this did, and since he had both his Education and Ordination in England, a full account of him seems no impertinent Digression.

The Clergy rejoiced much at his death, and thought (according to the constant Maxime of all Persecutors) that they should live more at ease, now when Wijhart was out of the way. They magnified the Cardinal for proceeding so vigorously, without, or rather against the Governors Orders: But the people did universally look on him as a Martyr, and believed an extraordinary measure of God's Spirit had rested on him, since besides great innocency and purity of Life, his predictions came so oft to pass, that he was believed a Prophet as well as a Saint: And the Reformation was now so much opened by his Preaching, and that was so confirmed by his death that the Nation was generally possessed with the love of it. The Nobility were mightily offended with the Cardinal, and said Wijhart's death was no less than Murder, since the Clergy without a Warrant from the Secular Power, could dispose of no man's Life: So it came universally to be said, that he now deferved to die by the Law, yet since he was too great for a Legal Tryal, the Kingdom being under the feeble Government of a Regency, it was fit private perrons should undertake it; and it was given out, that the killing an Usurper, was always esteemed a commendable Action, and fo in that state of things, they thought secret practices might be justified. This agreeing so much with the temper of some in that Nation, who had too much of the heat and forwardnes of their Country, a few Gentlemen of Quality, who had been ill used by the Cardinal, conspired his death. He was become generally hateful to the whole Nation, and the Marriage of his eldest Daughter to the Earl of Crawford's eldest Son, enraged the Nobility the more against him; and his carriage towards them all was insolent and provoking. These offended Gentlemen came to St. Andrews the 20th of May, and the next Morning, they and their attendants, being but twelve in all, first attempted the Gate of his Castle, which they found open, and made it sure; and though they were no fewer than an hundred reckoned to be within the Castle, yet they knowing the passagcs of the Houfe, went with very little noise, to the Servants Chambers, and turned them almost all out of doors; and having thus made the Castle sure, they went to the Cardinals door: He who tills then was fast asleep, supposing nothing, perceived at last by their rudenes, that they were not his friends, and made his door fast against them. So they sent for fire to fet to it, upon which he treated with them, and upon assurance of Life he opened the door: but they rushing in, did most cruelly and treacherously Murder him. A Tumult was raised in the Town, and many of his friends came to rescue
refuse him, but the Conspirators carried the dead body and exposed it to their view, in the time Window out of which he had not long before lookt on, when Wisbart was burnt, which had been universally cenfured as a most indecent thing in a Church-man, to delight in such a Spectacle. But those who condemned this Action, yet acknowledged Gods Justice in fo exemplary a punishment, and reflecting on Wisbarts laft words, were the more confirmed in the opinion they had of his Sanctity. This Fact was differently cenfured; some justified it and said, it was only the killing of a mighty Robber, others that were glad he was out of the way, yet condemned the manner of it, as treacherous and inhumane. And though some of the Preachers did afterwards fly to that Castle as a Sanctuary, yet none of them, were either Actors or Confeinters to it: it is true they did generally extenuate it, yet I do not find that any of them justified it. The exemplary and signal ends of almost all the Conspirators, scarce any of them dying an ordinary death, made all people the more inclined to condemn it. The day after the Cardinal was killed, about 140 came into the Castle and prepared for a Siege. The Houfe was well furbined in all things necifary, and it lying fo near the Sea, they expected help from King Henry, to whom they fent a Meffenger for his Assistance, and declared for him. So a Siege following, they were fo well fupplyd from England, that after five months the Governor was glad to treat with them, apprehending much the footing the English might have, if those within being driven to extremities, fhould receive a Garrison from King Henry: They had the Governor also more at their mercy, for as the Cardinal had taken his Eldest Son into his Houfe, under the pretence of educating him, but really as his Fathers Hoftage, designing likewise to influte in him a violent hatred of the new Preachers; fo the Conspirators finding him in the Castle, kept him still to help them to better terms. A Treaty being agreed on, they demanded their pardon for what they had done, together with an Abfolution to be procured from Rome, for the killing of the Cardinal; and that the Castle and the Governours Son, fhould remain in their hands, till the Abfolution was brought over. Some of the Preachers apprehending the Clergy might revenge the Cardinals death on them, were forced to fly into the Castle; but one of them John Rough (who was afterwards burnt in England in Queen Maries time) being fo offended at the licentiousnefs of the Souldiers that were in the Castle, who were a reproach to that which they pretended to favour, left them, and went away in one of the ships, that brought Provifions out of England. When the Abfolution came from Rome, they excepted to it, for some words in it, that called the killing of the Cardinal Crimen irremitifible, an unpardonable crime; by which they faid the Abfolution gave them no security, since it was null, if the fact could not be pardoned. The truth was, they were encouraged from England, fo they refused to hand to the Capitulation, and rejected the Abfolution. But some ships and Souldiers being fent from France, the Castle was besieged at Land, and that up alo by Sea, and which was worft of all a Plague broke out within it, of which many died. Upon this no help coming suddeny from England, they were forced to deliver up the place on
no better terms, than that their Lives should be spared but they were to be Bann'd Scotland, and never to return to it. The Caffle was demolished according to the Canon Law, that appoints all places where any Cardinal is killed to be razed. This was not compleated this year, and not till two years after, only I thought it best to joyn the whole matter together and set it down all at once.

In November following a New Parliament was held: where toward the expence of the Kings Wars, the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury granted a continuation of the former Subfidy of six Shillings in the pound, to be payed in two years. But for the Temporality, a Subfidy was demanded from them of another kind: There were in the Kingdom several Colledges, Chappels Chanteries, Hospitals, and Fraternities, consisting of Secular Priests, who enjoyed Penfions for saying Mafs for the Souls of thofe who had endowed them. Now the belief of Purgatory being left indifferent, by the Doctrine set out by the Bifhops, and the Trade of redeeming fouls being condemned; it was thought needfles to keep up fo many Endowments to no purpofe. Thofe Priests were also generally ill-affected to the Kings proceedings, since their Trade was fo much leffened by them. Therefore many of them had been dealt with to make refignation: And four and twenty of them had surrendered to the King. It was found alfo, that many of the Founders of these Houfes had taken them into their own hands, and that the Mafters, Wardens, and Governors of them had made agreements for them, and given Leaves of them: Therefore now a Subfidy being demanded, all these were given to the King by Act of Parliament; which alfo confirmed the Deeds that any had made to the King: Empowering him in any time of his life to fife out Commissions for fizing on these Foundations, and taking them into his own poffeffion: which being fofeized on, fhould belong to the King and his fucceffors for ever. They alfo granted another Subfidy for the War. When all their busines was done, the King came to the Houfe, and made a long Speech, of which I cannot sufficiently wonder that no Entry is made in the Journals of the Houfe of Lords; Yet it is not to be doubted but he made it, for it was published by Hall soon after.

When the Speaker of the Houfe of Commons had prefented the Bills, with a Speech full of refpeft and complewent, as is usufal upon these occasions; The King anfwered, 'Thanking them for the Subfide, and the Bill about the Colledges and Chanteries; and affured them that he fhould take care, both for supplying the Minifters, for encouraging Learning, and relieving the Poor; and they fhould quicklly perceive that in these things their expectations fhould be anfwered, beyond what they either wilhed or desired. And after he had expresfed his affection to them, and the affurance he had of their duty and fidelity to him, he advifed them to amend one thing; which was, that in ftead of Charity and Concord, Difcord and Divifion rul'd every where. He cited St. Paul's words, That Charity was gentle, and not envious, nor proud. But when one called another Heretick, and the other called him Papift, and Pharifee, were thefe the signs of Charity? The fault of this he charged chiefly on the Fathers and Teachers of the Spiritualty, who preached one againft another, without Charity.
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Charity or Discretion; some being too stiff in their old Augustinus, others too fritie and curious in their new Augustinus; and few Preached the Word of God truly and sincerely. And how could the poor people live in concord, when they fowled debate among them? Therefore he exhorted them to set forth God's Word, by true Preaching, and giving a good Example; or else he, as Gods Viceroy, and high Minister, would see these Enormities corrected, which if he did not do, he was an unprofitable Servant and an untrue Officer. He next reproved them of the Temporality, who railed at their Bishops and Priests: whereas if they had any thing to lay to their charge, they ought to declare it to the King or his Council, and not take upon them to judge such high points. For tho' they had the Scriptures given them in their Mother-Tongue, yet that was only to inform their own confidences, and instruct their Children and Families; but not to dispute, nor from thence to rail against Priests, and Preachers, as some vain persons did. He was sorry that such a Jewel, as the Word of God, was so ill used; that Rithmes and Songs were taken out of it: but much more sorry that men followed it to hide; for Charity was never hangen, a godly life never lees appeared, and God was never lees reverenced and worshipped. Therefore he exhorted them to live as Brethren in Charity together, to love, dread, and serve God; and then the love and union between Him and them should never be dissolved. And so exhorting them to look to the Execution of the Laws which them selves had directed, he gave his Royal Assent to the Bills, and dismissed the Parliament.

The King gave at this time a Commission to the Bishops of Welfminster, Worcester, and Chichester, and the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentation, Sir Edward North, containing, That whereas the King had founded many Cathedrals, in which he had given large allowances, both to be distributed to the poor, and to be laid out for the mending of High-ways: To Canterbury 100 pounds for the Poor, and 40 pounds for the High-ways: To Rochester 20 pounds for the Poor, and 20 pounds for the High-ways: To Welfminster, 100 pounds for the Poor, and 40 pounds for the High-ways: To Winchester 100 Marks for the Poor, and 50 for the High-ways: To Bristol, Gloucester, Chichester, Burton upon Trent, Thornton, Peterborough, and Ely, 20 pounds a piece for the Poor, and as much for the High-ways: To Worcester 40 pounds for the Poor, and 40 pounds for the High-ways: To Durham 100 Marks for the Poor, and 40 pounds for the High-ways: And to Carlisle 15 pounds for the poor, and as much for the Highways: In all about 550 pounds a year to the Poor, and about 400 pounds a year for the High-ways: They were to enquire how this Money was distributed; and, if they saw cause, they might order it to be applied to any other use which they should judge more charitable and convenient. But what followed upon this, does not appear by the Records.

After the Parliament was dissolwed, the Universities made their applications to the King, that they might not be included within the general words in the Act of Dissolution, of Colledges and Fraternities. And Dr. Cox Tutor to the Prince, wrote to Secretary Paget, to represent to the King the great want of Schools, Preachers, and Houls...
Houses for Orphans; that Beggery would drive the Clergy to Hatred, Superstition, and the old Idolatry: There were ravenous Wolves about the King, that would devour Universities, Cathedrals, and Chantries, and a thousand times as much. Poffertiy would wonder at such things: Therefore he defired the Universities might be secured from their Spoyls. But the King did quickly free them from these feuds.

Now I enter into the laft year of this Kings Reign. The War in France was managed with doubtful success: yet the losses were greater on the English side. And the Forces being commanded by the Earl of Surrey, who was brave, but unsuccessful, he was not only blamed but recalled, and the Earl of Hertford went to Command in his room. But he being a man of an high Spirit, and disdainful the Earl of Hertford, who was now preferred before him, let fall some words of high refumption, and bitter contempt, which not long after wrought his ruine. The King was now alone in the War, which was very chargeable to him; and obferving the Progress that the Council of Trent was making, where Cardinal Pole being one of the Legates, he had reafon to look for fome severe Decree to be made againft himfelf; since none of the Hereticks of Germany were fo much hated by the Court of Rome, as he was: Therefore he listened to the Counfels of peace. And tho' he was not old, yet he felt fuch decays in his strength, that being ex tremely corpulent, he had no reafon to think he could live very long: Therefore that he might not leave his young Son involved in a War of fuch confequence, Peace was concluded in July; which was much to the Kings honour, though the taking and keeping of Bulloign, (which by this Peace the King was to keep for eight years,) cost him above 130,000 pounds.

Upon the peace, the French Admiral Annebaut came over to England. And now again a Reolution of going on with a Reformation was fet on foot: for it was agreed between the King and the Admiral, That in both Kingdoms, the Maf should be changed into a Communion; and Cranmer was Ordered to draw a Form of it. They alfo refolved to pref the Emperor to do the like in his Dominions, other wise to make War upon him. But how this Project failed, does not appear. The Animofities which the former War had raifed between the two Kings, were converted into a firm Friendfhip: which grew fo ftrong on Franca's part, that he never was seen glad at any thing, after he had the news of the Kings death.

But now one of the Kings angry fits took him at the Reformers, fo that there was a new prosecution of them. Nicholas Shaxton, that was Bishop of Salisbury, had been long a Prisoner: but this year, he had laid in his Imprifonment, in the Counter in Bread-street, That Chrifis natural Body was not in the Sacrament, but that it was a Sign and Memorial of his Body that was crucified for us. Upon this he was enicted, and condemned to be burnt. But the King lent the Bishops of London, and Worcester, to deal with him to recant; which on the 9th of Jany he did, acknowledging, 'That that year he had fallen in his old age in the Herefie of the Sacramentaries. But that he was now convinced of that error, by their endeavours whom the King had lent to him. And therefore he thanked the King for delivering him, both
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from Temporal and Eternal fire: and subscribed a Paper of Articles, which will be found in the Collection. Upon this, he had his pardon and discharge sent him the 13 of July, and soon after preached the Sermon at the burning of Anne Askew; and wrote a Book in defence of the Articles he had subscribed. What became of him all Edward the 6th's time, I cannot tell: But I find, he was a cruel professor and Burner of Protestants, in Queen Maries days. Yet it seems those to whom he went over, did not consider him much, for they never raised him higher than to be Bishop Suffragan of Ely. Others were also Endicted upon the same Statute, who got off by Recantation, and were pardoned. But Anne Askews Trial had a more bloody Conclusion.

She was nobly defended, and educated beyond what was ordinary in that age to those of her Sex. But she was unfortunately Married, to one Kyme, who being a violent Papist, drove her out of his House, when he found she favoured the Reformation. So she came to London, where information being given of some words, that she had spoken against the Corporal presence in the Sacrament, she was put in Prison: upon which, great applications were made by many of her friends, to have her let out upon Bail. The Bishop of London examined her, and after much pains, she was brought to fer her hand to a Recantation, by which she acknowledged, 'That the Natural Body of Christ was present in the Sacrament, after the Consecration; whether the Priest were a good or an ill man: and that, whether it was presently consumed, or reserved in the Pox, it was the true Body of Christ.' Yet she added to Her subscription, that she believed all things according to the Catholic Faith, and not otherwise. With this the Bishop was not satisfied; but after much ado, and many importunate addresses, she was Bailed in the end of March this year. But not long after that, she was again apprehended, and examined before the Kings Council then at Greenwich, where she seemed very indifferent what they did with her. She answered them in general words, upon which they could fix nothing, and made some sharp repartees upon the Bishop of Winchester. Some liked the wit and freedom of her discourse, but others thought she was too forward. From thence she was sent to Newgate, where she wrote some devotions, and Letters, that shew her to have been a woman of most extraordinary parts. She wrote to the King, 'That as to the Lords Supper, she believed as much as Christ had said in it, and as much, as the Catholic Church from him did Teach.' Upon Shaxtons Recantation they sent him to her to prevail with her. But she in stead of yielding to him, charged his Inconstancy home upon him. She had been oft at Court, and was much favoured by many great Ladies there; and it was believed the Queen had shewed kindnecst to her. So the Lord Chancellor examined her of what Favour or Encouragement she had from any in the Court, particularly from the Dukes of Suffolk, the Countess of Hertford, and some other Ladies. But he could draw nothing from her, save that one in Livery had brought her some Money, which he said came from two Ladies in the Court. But they resolved to extort further Confessions from her. And therefore carried her to the Tower, they caused her to be laid on the Rack, and gave her a taste of it. Yet she confessed nothing. That she was rackt is very certain, for I find it in an Original Journal of the Transactions in the Tower, written by Anthony...
thy Antony; But Fox adds a passage that seems scarcely credible, the thing is so extraordinary, and so unlike the Character of the Lord Chancellor, who though he was fiercely zealous for the old Superstition, yet was otherwise a great person: it is, that he commanded the Lieutenant of the Tower to stretch her more; but he refused to do it, and being further pressed told him plainly he would not do it. The other threatened him, but to no purpose; so the Lord Chancellor throwing off his Gown, drew the Rack so fiercely, that he almost tore her Body asunder: yet could draw nothing from her, for she endured it with unusual Patience and Courage. When the King heard this, he blamed the Lord Chancellor for his Cruelty, and excused the Lieutenant of the Tower. Fox does not vouch any Warrant for this, so that though I have set it down, yet I give no entire credit to it: if it was true, it shews the strange influence of that Religion, and that it corrupts the Noblest Natures; yet the poor Gentlewomen being Rackt, wrought no pity in the King towards her, for he left her to be proceeded against according to the Sentence: she was carried to the Stake in Smithfield a little after that in a Chair, not being able to stand through the Torments of the Rack. There were brought with her at the same time, one Nicolas Bellowes a Priest, John Adams a Taylor, and John Laffels one of the Kings Servants, (it is likely he was the same person that had discover'd Queen Katherine Howard's Incontinency, for which, all the Popish Party, to be sure, bore him no good will.) They were all convicted upon the Statute of the Six Articles, for denying the Corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament. When they were brought thither, Shaxton, to compleat his Apostasie, made a Sermon of the Sacrament, and inveighed against their Errors. That being ended, they were tied to the Stake; and then the Lord Chancellor sent and offered them their pardon, which was ready passed under the Seal, if they would recant. But they loved not their lives so well, as to redeem them by the loss of a good Conscience; and therefore encouraging one another to suffer patiently for the Testimony of the truth: so they endured to the last, and were made Sacrifices by fire unto God. There were also two in Suffolk, and one in Norfolk, burnt on the same account a little before this. But that party at Court having incensed the King much against those Heretics, resolved to drive it further; and to work the ruin, both of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and of the Queen: Concluding, that if these attempts were successful, they should carry every thing else. They therefore renewed their Complaints of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury; and told the King, That though there were evident proofs ready to be brought against him, yet because of his Greatness, and the Kings Carriage upon the former Complaints, none durst appear against him. But if he were once put in the Tower, that men might hope to be heard, they undertook to bring full and clear Evidences of his being a Heretic. So the King contented, That he should be the next day called before the Council, and sent to the Tower, if they saw cause for it. And now they concluded him ruined. But in the night, the King sent Sir Anthony Denny to Lambert, to bring the Arch-Bishop to speak with him. And when he came, the King told him what Informations had been brought against him,
and how far he had yielded to them, that he should be sent to the Tower next day: And therefore desired to hear from himself what he had to say upon it. Cranmer thanked him, that he had not left him in the dark, to be surprised in a matter that concerned him so nearly. He acknowledged the Equity of the Kings proceedings; and all that he desired, was, That he might be brought to make his answer: And that since he was to be Questioned for some of his Opinions, Judges might be assigned who understood those matters. The King heard this with astonishment, wondering to see a man so little concerned in his own preservation. But pleasently told him, he was a Fool that looked to his own safety so little. For did he think that if he were once put in Prison, abundance of false witnesses would not be suborned to ruine him. Therefore since he did not take care of himself, he would look to it. And so he ordered him to appear next day before the Council, upon their Summons; and when things were objected to him, to say, that since he was a Privy Councillor, he desired they would use him, as they would look to be used in the like case: And therefore to move that his Accusers might be brought face to face, and things be a little better consider'd before he was sent to the Tower. And if they refused to grant that, then he was to appeal personally to the King, (who intended to be absent that day,) and in token of it, should shew them the Kings Seal-Ring which he wore on his finger, and was well known to them all. So the King, giving him his Seal, sent him privately home again. Next Morning a Meffenger of the Council came early, and Summoned him to appear that day before the Council. So he went over, but was long kept waiting in the Lobby, before he was called in. At this un
usual sight many were astonished. But Doctor Butts the Kings Phy
sician, that loved Cranmer, and presumed more on a defeated King than others durst do, went and told the King what a strange thing he had seen: The Primate of all England waiting at the Council-

The Kings great care of him.
that were so dear to him, to be handled in that fashion. He knew the factions that were among them, and the malice that some of them bore to others; which he would either extinguish or punish very speedily. So he commanded them all to be Reconciled to Cranmer: Which was done with the outward Ceremony of taking him by the hand; and was most real on his part, though the other party did not so easily lay down the hatred they bore him. This I place at this time; though Parker, who related it, names no year nor time in which it was done; but he leads us very near it, by saying, it was after the Duke of Suffolk's death; and this being the only time after that, in which the King was in an ill humor against the Reformers, I conclude it fell out at this time.

That Party finding it was in vain to pull at Cranmer any more, did never again endeavour it. Yet one design failing, they set on another against the Queen. She was a great favourer of the Reformers, and had frequently Sermons in her Privy-Chamber, by some of those Preachers; which were not secretly carried; but became generally known: When it came to the Kings ears, he took no notice of it. And the Queen carried her self, in all other things, not only with an exact conduct, but with that wonderful care about the Kings person, which became a Wife that was raised by him to so great an honour, that he was much taken with her: So that none durst adventure on making any complaints against her. Yet the Kings distempers encreasing, and his peevishness growing with them, he became more uneafie; and whereas she had frequently used to talk to him of Religion, and defended the Opinion of the Reformers, in which he would sometimes pleasantly maintain the Argument; now, becoming more impatient, he took it ill at her hands. And she had sometimes in the heat of discourse gone very far. So one night, after she had left him, the King being displeased, vented it to the Bishop of Winchester that stood by: And he craftily and maliciously struck in with the Kings anger, and said all that he could devise against the Queen, to drive his resentments higher: and took in the Lord Chancellor into the design to affit him. They filled the Kings head with many stories of his Queen, and some of her Ladies: and said, They had favoured Anne Askew, and had Heretical Books amongst them; and he persuaded the King, that they were Traitors as well as Heretics. The matter went so far, that Articles were drawn against her, which the King Signed; for without that, it was not safe for any to Impeach the Queen. But the Lord Chancellor putting up that Paper carelessly it dropt from him: And being taken up by one of the Queens Party, was carried to her. Whether the King had really designed her ruine, or not, is differently represented by the Writers who lived near that time. But she seeing his hand to such a Paper, had reason to conclude her selfe loft. Yet by advice of one of her Friends, she went to see the King, who received her kindly, set on a Discourse about Religion. But she answered, that women, by their first Creation, were made subject to men; and they being made after the Image of God, as the Women were after their Image, ought to instruct their Wives; who were to learn of them: and the much more, was to be taught by his Majesty, who was a Prince of such excellent...
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lent Learning, and Wisdom. Not so by St. Mary, said the King, you are become a Doctor, able to instruct us, and not to be instructed by us. To which the answered, That it seemed he had much mistaken the freedom she had taken to argue with him, since she did partly to engage him in discourse, and so put over the time, and make him forget his pain; and partly to receive instructions from him, by which she had profited much. And is it even so? Said the King, then we are friends again. So he embraced her with great affection; and sent her away with very tender assurances of his constant Love to her. But the next day had been appointed for carrying her, and some of her Ladies, to the Tower. The day being fair, the King went to take a little air in the Garden, and sent for her to bear him company. As they were together, the Lord Chancellor came in, having about forty of the Guard with him, to have arrested the Queen. But the King stepped aside to him, and after a little discourse, he was heard to call him Knave, Fool, and Beast, and he bade him get him out of his Sight. The Innocent Queen who understood not that her danger was so near, studied to mitigate the Kings displeasure, and interceded for the Lord Chancellor. But the King told her, he had no reason to plead for him.

So this design miscarried, which as it absolutely disheartned the Papists, so it did totally alienate the King from them; and in particular from the Bishop of Winchester, whole sight he could never after this endure. But he made an humble Submission to the King, which though it prevailed in him from further punishment, yet could not restore him to the Kings favour. But the Duke of Norfolk, and his Son the Earl of Surrey, fell under a deeper Misfortune. The Duke of Norfolk had been long Lord Treasurer of England: He had done great services to the Crown on many signal Occasions, and Success had always accompanied him. His Son the Earl of Surrey was also a brave and noble person, Witty and Learned to an high degree, but did not command Armies with such Success. He was much provoked at the Earl of Hertford being sent over to France in his room, and upon that he said, That within a little while they should smart for it; with some other expressions that favoured of Revenge, and a dislike of the King, and a hatred of the Counsellors. The Duke of Norfolk had endeavoured to ally himself to the Earl of Hertford, and to his Brother Sir Thomas Seimour, perceiving how much they were in the Kings favour, and how great an Interest they were like to have under the succeeding Prince. And therefore would have engaged his Son, being then a Widower, to Marry that Earls Daughter: And pressed his Daughter, the Dutches of Richmond, Widow to the Kings Natural Son, to Marry Sir Thomas Seimour. But though the Earl of Surrey advised his Sister to the Marriage projected for her, yet he would not consent to that designed for himself, nor did the Proposition about his Sister take effect. The Seimours, could not but see the Enmity the Earl of Surrey bore them, and they might well be jealous of the Greatnes of that Family; which was not only too big for a Subject of it fell, but was raised so high by the dependance of the whole Papish Party, both at home and abroad, that they were like to be very dangerous Competitors for the chief Government of Af-
fairs, if the King were once out of the way; whose disease was now growing to fall upon him, that he could not live many weeks. Nor is it unlikely that they perfuaded the King, that if the Earl of Surrey should marry the Lady Mary, it might embroil his Son's Government, and perhaps ruin him. And it was suggested, That he had some such high project in his thoughts, both by his continuing unmarried, and by his using the Arms of Edward the Confessor, which of late he had given in his Coat, without a Diminution. But to compleat the Duke of Norfolk's ruin, his Dutchefs who had complained of his using her ill, and had been separated from him about four years, turned Informer against him. His Son and Daughter were also in ill terms together. So the Sifter informed all that she could against her Brother. And one Mrs. Holland, for whom the Duke was believed to have an unlawful affection, discovered all the know; but all amounted to no more, than some passionate Expressions of the Son, and some Complaints of the Father, who thought he was not beloved by the King, and his Counsellors, and that he was ill used, in not being trusted with the secret of affairs. And all persons being encouraged to bring Informations against them, Sir Richard Southwell charged the Earl of Surrey in some points that were of a higher nature: which the Earl denied, and desired to be admitted, according to the Martial Law, to fight in his shirt with Southwell. But that not being granted, he and his Father were committed to the Tower. That which was most insistent on, was, their giving the Arms of Edward the Confessor which were only to be given by the Kings of England. This the Earl of Surrey justified, and said, they gave their Arms, according to the opinion of the Kings Heralds. But all excuses availed nothing, for his Father and he were designed to be destroyed, upon reasons of State; for which, some colours were to be found out.

The Earl of Surrey being but a Commoner, was brought to his Tryal at Guildhall; and put upon an Inquest of Commoners consisting of nine Knights and three Esquires, by whom he was found guilty of Treason, and had Sentence of death passed upon him, which was executed on the 19th of January at Tower-Hill. It was generally condemned, as an Act of high injustice and severity, which loaded the Seimours with a popular Odium that they could never overcome. He was much pitied, being a man of great parts and high courage, with many other Noble Qualities.

But the King who never hated nor ruined any body by halves, resolved to compleat the misfortunes of that Family, by the Attainder of the Father. And as all his Eminent Services were now forgotten, so the Submissions he made, could not allay a displeasure, that was only to be satisfied with his Life and Fortune. He wrote to the King, professing his Innocency: 'That he had never a thought to his prejudice, and could not imagine what could be laid to his Charge: He had spent his whole Life in his Service, and did not know that ever he had offended any person; or that any were displeased with him, except for prosecuting the breakers of the Act about the Sacrament of the Altar. But in that, and in every thing else, as he had been always obedient to the Kings Laws, so he was resolved still to obey any Laws he should make. He desired he might be
be examined with his Accusers face to face, before the King, or
at least before his Council; and if it did not appear that he was
wrongfully accused, let him be punished as he deserved." In Con-
clution he begged the King would have pity on him, and restore
him to his favour; taking all his Lands, or Goods from him, or as
much of them, as he pleased. Yet all this had no effect on the
King. So he was desired to make a more formal Submission; which
he did on the 12th of January under his hand, ten Privy Councillors
being Witnesses. In it he confessed, 'First, his discovering the
Secrets of the Kings Council. Secondly, his concealing his Sons Tre-
son, in using to give the Arms of St. Edward the Confessor, which
did only belong to the King, and to which his Son had no Right.
Thirdly, That he had ever since his Fathers death, born in the first
quarter of his Arms, the Arms of England; with a difference of the
Labels of Silver, that are the proper Arms of the Prince; which was
done in prejudice of the King and the Prince: and gave occasion
for disturbing or interrupting the Succession to the Crown of the
Realm. This he acknowledged was High Treason, he confessed he
def ered to be attainted of High Treason; and humbly begged the
Kings Mercy and Compassion. He yielded to all this, hoping by
such a Submission and Compliance to have overcome the Kings dif-
pleasure. But his expectations failed him.

A Parliament was called, the reason whereof was pretended to be
the Coronation of the Prince of Wales. But it was thought the true
cause of calling it, was, to Attain the Duke of Norfolk: for which
they had not colour enough, to do it in a Tryal by his Peers. There-
fore an Attainder by Act of Parliament was thought the better way.
So it was moved, that the King intending to Crown his Son, Prince
of Wales, desired they would go on with all possible haste in the
Attainder of the Duke of Norfolk; that so these Places which he held
by Patent, might be disposed of by the King to such as he thought
fit, who should Asell at the Coronation. And upon this flight pre-
rence, since a better could not be found; The Bill of Attainder was
read the first time on the 18th of January: And on the 19th and 20th
it was read the second and third time. And so passed in the Houw
of Lords: and was sent down to the Commons. Who on the 24th
sent it up also passed. On the 27th the Lords were ordered to be in
their Robes, That the Royal assent might be given to it: which the
Lord Chancellor, with some others joyned in Commision, did give
by vertue of the Kings Letters Patents. And it had been executed
the next Morning, if the Kings death had not prevented it. Upon
what grounds this Attainder was founded, I can only give this Ac-
count from the 34th Act of the first Parliament of Quean Mary; in
which this Act is declared null and void, by the Common Law of
the Land; for I cannot find the Act it self upon Record. In the Act
of Repeal it is said, 'That there was no special matter in the Act of
Attainder, but only general words of Treasons and Conspiracies;
and that out of their care of the preservation of the King and the
Prince, they passed it. But the Act of Repeal says also, That the
only thing with which he was charged, was, For bearing of Arms,
which he and his Ancestors had born, both within and without the
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Kingdom: Both in the Kings presence, and in the sight of his Pro-
genitors: which they might Lawfully bear and give, as by good
and substantial matter of Record it did appear. It is also added,
That the King dyed after the date of the Commission, That the
King only empowered them to give his Assent, but did not give
it himself: And that it did not appear by any Record, that they
gave it. That the King did not Sign the Commission with his own
hand, his Stamp being only fet to it, and that not to the upper,
but the nether part of it, contrary to the Kings custom. All
these particulars, though cleared afterwards, I mention now, because
they give light to this matter.

As soon as the Act was passed, a Warrant was sent to the Lieu-
tenant of the Tower, to cut off his head the next Morning; but the
King dying in the night, the Lieutenant could do nothing on that
Warrant. And it seems it was not thought advisable, to begin the
new Kings Reign with such an Odious Execution. And thus the Duke
of Norfolk escaped very narrowly. Both Parties decontented on this
differently. The Conscientious Papists said, it was Gods just Judgment
on him, (who had in all things followed the Kings pleasure, often-
times against his own Conscience;) That he should Smart under that
Power, which himself had helped so considerably to make it be raised
so high. The Protestants could not but observe an hand of God, in
measuring out such a hard measure to him, that was so heavy on all
those poor people that were questioned for Herefie. But Cranmer car-
riage in this matter was suitable to the other parts of his Life, for
he withdrew to Croydon, and would not so much as be present in Par-
liament, when so unjust an Act was passed, and his absence at this
time was the more considerable, since the King was so dangerously ill,
that it must be concluded it could be no Flight Cause that made him
withdraw at such a time. But the Duke of Norfolk had been his
constant Enemy, therefore he would not so much as be near the pub-
llick Councils, when so strange an Act was passing. But at the same
time the Bishop of Winchester was officiously hanging on in the Court;
and though he was forbid to come to Council, yet always when the
Councillors went into the Kings Bed-Chamber, he went with them
to the door, to make the World believe he was still one of the num-
er, and staying at the door till the rest came out, he returned with
them. But he was absolutely lost in the Kings Opinion.

There is but one other step of Forreign business in this Reign;
which was an Embasy sent over by the Duke of Saxony, to let the
King know of the League between the Pope and the Emperor, for
the Extirpation of Herefie: And that the Emperor was making War
on him, and the other Princes, in pursuance of that League. There-
fore he defired the Kings Assiflance. But at the same time, the Em-
peror did by his Agents every-where disown, that the War was made
upon a Religious Account: And said it was only to maintain the
Rights of the Empire; which those Princes had affronted. So the
King answered, that as soon as it did appear to him, that Religion
was the caufe of the War, he would Assift them. But that which
made this so involved, was, That though at Rome the Pope declared
it was a Holy War, and ordered Prayers and Proceffions to be made,
for Success; yet the Emperor in all his Declarations took no notice of Religion: He had also divided the Protestant Party, so that some of them joined with him, and others were Neutrals. And when in Germany it left this matter was so little understood, it was easy to abuse Strangers by giving them a wrong Account of it.

The King was overgrown with corypulency and fatness, so that he became more and more unwieldy. He could not go up or down stairs, but as he was raised up, or let down by an Engine. And an old fore in his Leg became very uneafie to him; so that all the humors in his Body sinking down into his Leg, he was much pained, and became exceeding towaerd and intractable, to which his inexcusable severity to the Duke of Norfolk and his Son may be in a great measure imputed. His Servants durst scarce speak to him, to put him in mind of his approaching end. And an Act of Parliament which was made for the security of the Kings Life, had some words in it against the Foretelling of his death, which made every one afraid to speak to him of it: lest he in his angry and imperious humors should have Ordered them to be Endicted upon that Statute. But he felt nature declining space, and so made the Will and he had left behind him at his last going into France, be written over again; with this only difference, That Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, whom he had appointed one of the Executors of his Will, that of the Counsellors to his Son, till he came of Age, was now left out: Of which when Sir Anthony Brown put the King in mind, apprehending it was only an Omission, he answered, That he knew Gardiners temper well enough, and though he could Govern him, yet none of them would be able to do it; and that he would give them much trouble. And when Brown at another time repeated the motion to the King: he told him, if he spake more of that, he would strike him out of his Will too. The Will was said to be Signed the 30th of December. It is Printed at large by Fuller; and the most Material parts of it by Heylin. So I need say little of it, only the most signal Clause in it, was, That he excluded the Line of Scotland out of the Succession, and preferred the two Daughters of the French Queen by Charles Brandon to them. And this leads me to discover several things concerning this Will, which have been hitherto unknown. I draw them from a Letter written to Sir William Cecil, then Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, (afterwards Lord Burleigh,) by William Maitland of Leithington Secretary of State to the Queen of Scotland. This Maitland was accounted a man of the greatest parts of any in his Nation at that time; though his Treachery in turning over to the Party that was against the Queen, very much blemished his other Qualities: but he expiated his fault by a real Repentance; which appeared in his returning to his duty, and losing all afterwards in her quarrel. His Letter will be found in the Collection. The Substance and design of it is, to clear the Right his Mistress had to the Crown of England: in case the Queen should die without Heirs of her Body. Therein after he had answered other Objections, he comes to this of the Will. To it he says, 'That according to the Act of Parliament, the Kings Will was to be Signed with his own hand; but this Will was only Signed by the Stamp. Then the King never Ordered the
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ordered the Stamp to be put to it: He had been oft defir’d to Sign it, but had always put it off; but when they faw his death approaching, one William Clark servant to Thomas Hennage put the Stamp to it, and some Gentlemen that were waiting without, were called in to Sign it as Witnesses. For this he appeal’d to the deposition of the Lord Paget, and defir’d the Marquess of Winchester, and Northampton, the Earl of Pembroke, Sir William Petre, Sir Henry Neville, Sir Maurice Berkeley, Sir Anthony Denny, Doctor Bats, and some others, might be examined; and that their Depositions might be entered in the Chancery. He also appeal’d to the Original Will, by which it would appear, That it was not Signed, but only Stamped ed; and that not being according to the Act of Parliament, which in such extraordinary things must be strictly taken, the Will was of no force. Thus it appears, what vulgar Errors pass upon the World. And though for seventy five years, the Scotch Race has enjoyed the Crown of England, and after so long a possession it is very superfluous to clear a Title which is universally acknowledged; yet the Reader will not be ill pleased to see how ill-grounded that pretence was, which some managed very seditiously during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, for excluding that Line.

But if this Will was not signed by the King, other Grants were certainly made by him on his death-bed: one was to the City of London, of 500 Marks a year for endowing an Hospital which was called Chrift’s Hospital; and he order’d the Church of the Francifcas a little within Newgate to be opened, which he gave to the Hospital. This was done the 3d of January. Another was of Trinity Colledg in Cambridge one of the Nobleft Foundations in Chriftendom. He continued in a decay till the 27 of the month; and then many Signs of his approaching end appearing, few would adventure on fo unwelcome a thing as to put him in mind of his change then imminent; but Sir Anthony Denny had the honesty and courage to do it, and defir’d him to prepare for death, and remember his former lite, and to call on God for mercy through Chrift his Chrift. Upon which the King expreffed his grief for the Sins of his past Life, yet he faid he trusted in the mercies of Chrift, which were greater than they were. Then Denny asked him if any Churchman should be fent for; and he faid, if any, it should be Arch-Bishop Cranmer: and after he had refl’d a little, finding his Spirits decay apace, he ordered him to be fent for to Croydon, where he was then. But before he could come, the King was speechless. So Cranmer defir’d him to give some Sign of his dying in the Faith of Chrift, upon which he fqueez’d his hand, and foon after died; after he had Reigned 37 years, and 9 months, in the fix and fiftieth year of his age. His death was kept up three days, for the Journals of the House of Lords shew, that they continued reading Bills, and going on in buifness till the 31ft. and no sooner did the Lord Chancellor fignify to them that the King was dead, and that the Parliament was thereby difolved. It is certain the Parliament had no being after the Kings breath was out; fo their fitting till the 31ft. shews, that the Kings death was not generally known all those three days. The reafons of concealing it fo long might either be, that they were considering what to do with the Duke of Norfolk, or that the Seymours were...
were laying their matters, so as to be secure in the Government before they published the Kings Death. I shall not adventure on adding any further Character of him, to that which is done with so much Wit and Judgment by the Lord Herbert, but shall refer the Reader wholly to him: only adding an account of the blackest part of it, the Attainders that paffed the last 13 years of his life: which are comprehended within this Book, of which I have cast over the Relation to the Conclusion of it.

In the latter part of his Reign, there were many things that seem great severities, especially as they are reprefented by the Writers of the Roman party; whose relations are not a little strengthened by the faint excuses and the mistaken accounts, that most of the Protestant Historians have made. The King was naturally impetuous and could not bear provocation: the times were very ticklish; his Subjects were generally addicted to the old Superfition, especially in the Northern parts; the Monks and Friers were both numerous and wealthy; the Pope was his implicable Enemy, the Emperor was a formidable Prince, and being then Master of all the Netherlands, had many advantages for the War he designed against England. Cardinal Pole his Kinman, was going over all the Courts of Christendom, to persuade a League against England; as being a thing of greater necessity and merit than a War against the Turk. This being without the leaft aggravation, the State of affairs at that time, it must be confessed he was foe put to it. A Superfition that was fo blind and headstrong, and Enemies that were both fo powerful, fo spirituall, and fo indulfrious, made rigour necessary: nor is any general of an Army more concerned to deal severely with Spies and Intelligencers, than he was to proceed against all the Popes adherents, or fuch as kept a correspondence with Pole. He had observed in History, that upon much less provocation than himself had given, not only several Emperors and foreign Princes had been defpoifed of their Dominions; but two of his own Anceftors Henry the 2d and King John had been driven to great extremities, and forced to unusual and moft indecent submiſions by the means of the Popes and their Clergy.

The Popes power over the Clergy was fo absolute, and their dependence and obedience to him was fo implicit; and the Popifh Clergy had fo great an interest in the superflitious multitude, whof confidences they governed, that nothing but a stronger passion could either tame the Clergy, or quiet the People. If there had been the leaft hope of impunity; the laft part of his Reign would have been one continued Rebellion; therefore to prevent a more profuse effufion of blood, it seemed necessary to execute Laws severely in some particular inftances.

There is one calumny that runs in a thread through all the Historians of the Popifh fide, which not a few of our own have ignorantly taken up. That many were put to death for not swearing the Kings Supremacy. It is an impudent fallacy; for not fo much as one person suffered on that account; nor was their any Law for any fuch Oath before the Parliament in the 28th year of the Kings Reign, when the unfufferable Bull of Pope Paul the 3d, engaged him to look a little more to his own safety. Then indeed in the Oath for maintaining,
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The first instance of these Capital proceedings was in Easter-Term, in the beginning of the 27th year of his reign. Three Prior{s}, and a Monk, of the Carthusian Order, were then cried of Treason, for saying, that the King was not Supr{ean} head under Christ of the Church of England. There were John Houghton Prior of the Charter--house near London, Augustin Webster Prior of Axbolme, Robert Laurence Prior of Bevoll, and Richard Reynolds a Monk of Sion: this last was esteemed a learned man, for that time, and that Order. They were tried in Westminster-Hall by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer: they pleaded not guilty, but the Jury found them guilty, and judgment was given that they should suffer as Traitors. The Record mentions no other particulars; but the writers of the Popish side make a splendid recital of the courage and constancy they expressed both in their Tryal, and at their Death. it was no difficult thing for men so used to the Legend, and the making of fine stories for Saints and Martyrs of their Orders, to dress up their Narratives with much pomp. But as their pleading Not Guilty to the Enditement, shews no extraordinary resolution, to the account that is given by them of one Hall a Secular Priest that died with them, is so fall{e}, that their is good reason to susp{ect} all. He is said to have suffered on the same account; but the Record of his Attaintor gives a very different relation of it.

He, and Robert Feron, were cried at the same time for having said many spiteful and Tres{onable} things, as that the King was a Tyrant, an Heretick, a Robber, and an Adulterer; that they hoped he should die such a death as King John, and Richard the 3d died; that they looked when those in Ireland and Wales should invade England; and they were assured that three parts of four in England would be against the King: they also said that they should never live mercifully till the King and the Rulers were plucked by the Pates, and brought to the Park, and that it would never be well with the Church till that was done. Hall had not only said this, but had also written it to Feron the 7th of March that year. When they were brought to the Bar, they at first pleaded Not Guilty: but full proof being brought, they themselves confessed the Enditement, before the Jury went aside, and put themselves on the Kings mercy: upon which, this being an imagining and contriving both War against the King, and the Kings death, judgment was given as in cases of Treason: but no mention being made of Ferons death, it seems he had his pardon. Hall suffered with the four Carthusians who were hanged in their habits.

They proceeded no further in Easter-Term: but in Trinity-Term there was another Commission of Oyer and Terminer, by which Humphrey Middlemore, William Exmew, and Sebastian Nudigate, three Monks of the...
Book III. of the Church of England.

the Charter-house near London, were Enacted and Treason, for having laid on the 25 of May, 1547, that they neither could nor would consent to be obedient to the Kings Highness as true lawful and obedient Subjects; to take him to be Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England. They all pleaded Not-Guilty, but were found Guilty by the Jury; and Judgment was given. When they were condemned, they defied that they might receive the body of Christ before their death. But (as Judge Speaman writ) the Court would not grant it, since that was never done in such cases but by Order from the King. Two days after that, they were Executed. Two other Monks of that fame Order, John Rochester, and James Wolver, suffered on the same account at York in May this year. Ten other Carthusian Monks were shut up within their Cells; where nine of them dyed, the tenth was hanged in the beginning of August. Concerning those persons I find this said in some Original Letters, that they had brought over into England, and vented in it, some Books that were written beyond Sea, against the Kings Marriage, and his other proceedings, which being found in their house, they were preferred to peruse the Books that were written for the King, but oblinately refused to do it; they had also been involved in the business of the Maid of Kent, for which, though all the Complices in it, except those who suffered for it, were pardoned by Act of Parliament, yet such as had been concerned in it, were full under jealouie: and it is no wonder that upon new provocations they met with the uttermost rigor of the Law.

These Tryals made way for two others that were more Signal: of the Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More. The first of these had been a Prisoner above a year, and was very severely used: he complained in his Letters to Cromwell, that he had neither Cloaths, nor Fire, being then about fourscore. This was understood at Rome, and upon it, Pope Clement, by an officious kindnefs to him, or rather in spite to King Henry, declared him a Cardinal, and sent him a Red-hat. When the King knew this, he sent to Examine him about it; but he protested he had used no endeavours to procure it, and valued it so little, that if the Hat were lying at his feet, he would not take it up. It never came nearer him than Picardy: yet this did precipitate his ruine. But if he had kept his opinion of the Kings Supremacy to himself, they could not have proceeded further. He would not do that, but did upon several occasions speak against it, so he was brought to his Tryal on the 17th of June. The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk, and some other Lords, together with the Judges, sat upon him by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer. He pleaded Not-Guilty, but being found Guilty, Judgment was passed on him to die as a Traitor: but he was by a Warrant from the King, beheaded. Upon the 22d of June, being the day of his Execution, he dressed himself with more than ordinary care; and when his man took notice of it, he told him, he was to be that day a Bridegroom. As he was led to the place of Execution, being flopt in the way by the crowd, he opened his New Testament, and prayed to this purpose; that as that Book had been his companion and chief comfort in his imprisonment, so then some place might turn up to him, that might comfort
comfort him in his last passage: This being said, he opened the Book
at a venture, in which these words of St. John's Gospel turned up:
This is life eternal to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom
thou hast sent. So he shut the Book with much satisfaction, and all
the way was repeating and meditating on them. When he came to
the Scaffold he pronounced the Te Deum, and after some other devotions
his head was cut off.

Thus died John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, in the 80th year of his
Age. He was a Learned and devout man, but much addicted to the
superstitions in which he had been bred up: And that led him to great
severities against all that opposed them. He had been for many years
Confessor to the Kings Grand-Mother, the Countess of Richmond;
and it was believed that he persuaded her to those Noble designs for
the advancement of Learning, of Founding two Colleges in Cam-
bridge, St. John's, and Christ's Colledge, and Divinity Professors in both
Universities. And in acknowledgment of this, he was chosen Chan-
cellor of the University of Cambridge. Henry the 7th gave him the
Bishopric of Rochester, which he, following the rule of the Primitive
Church, would never change for a better; he used to say his
Church was his Wife, and he would never part with her, because she
was poor. He continued in great favour with the King, till the bu-
iness of the Divorce was set on foot; and then he adhered so firmly
to the Queen's cause, and the Popes Supremacy, that he was car-
ried by that, headlong into great Errors; as appears by the business
of the Maid of Kent: Many thought the King ought to have proceed-
ed against him rather upon that, which was a point of State, than
upon the Supremacy, which was matter of Conscience. But the
King was resolv'd to let all his Subjects see, there was no Mercy
to be expected by any that denied his being Supreme head of the
Church; and therefore made him and More, two Examples for ter-
rifying the rest. This being much cenfured beyond Sea, Gardiner,
that was never wanting in the most servile compliances, wrote a vin-
dication of the Kings proceedings. The Lord Herbert had it in his
hands, and tells us it was written in elegant Latin, but that he thought
it too long, and others judged it was too vehement, to be inserted in
his History.

On the 1st of July, Sir Thomas More was brought to his Tryal.
The special matter in his Endictment, is, that on the 7th of May pre-
ceding, before Cromwell, Bedyl, and some others that were preling
him concerning the Kings Supremacy, he said he would not meddle
with any such matter: and was fully resolv'd to serve God, and think
upon his passion, and his own passage out of this World. He had
also sent diverse messages by one George Gold to Fisher to encourage
him in his obstinacy; and said, the Act of Parliament is like a
'Sword with two edges, for if a man answer one way, it will confound
his Soul, and if he answer another way, it will confound his Body.
He had said the same thing on the third of June, in the hearing of
the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk; and others; and that he
would not be the occasion of the shortning his own Life. And when
Rich the Kings Solicitor came to deal with him further about it,
but protested that he came not with any Authority to examine him,
they
Mr. W. Earle.


Statns 1482
Anglia. Can. Marius
1529

Capite an. 1535
July 6th.

Printed for Ri. Chisw. at the Rea, and Cornuc. in S. Pauls Church yar.
they discoursed the matter fully; Rich pressed him, that since the
Parliament had Enacted that the King was Suprem Head, the Sub-
jects ought to agree to it, and said Rich, what if the Parliament
should declare me King, would you not acknowledge me? I would,
said More, Quis (as it is in the Indictment) Rex per Parliamentum fieri
potest, & per Parliamentum deprivari; but More turned the Argument
on Rich, and said, what if the Parliament made an Act that God
was not God; Rich acknowledged it could not bind: but replied to
More, that since he would acknowledge him King, if he were made
so by Act of Parliament, why would he not acknowledge the King
Suprem Head, since it was enacted by Parliament? To that More
answered, that the Parliament had power to make a King, and the
people were bound to acknowledge him, whom they made; but for
the Supremacy, though the Parliament had enacted it, yet those in
foreign parts had never assented to it. This was carried by Rich
to the King, and all these particulars were laid together, and judged
to amount to a denial of the Supremacy. Judge Spelman writ, that
More being on his Tryal, pleaded strongly against the Statute that
made it Treason to deny the Supremacy, and argued that the King
could not be Suprem Head of the Church: When he was brought
to the Bar, he pleaded not Guilty, but being found Guilty, judgment
was given against him as a Traitor. He received it with that equal
temper of mind, which he had shewed in both conditions of Life,
and then set himself wholly to prepare for death; he expressed great
contempt of the World, and that he was weary of Life; and longed
for death; which was so little terrible to him, that his ordinary
fasciousness remained with him even on the Scaffold. It was censured
by many as light and undecent; but others said, that way having
been so natural to him on all other occasions, it was not at all effec-
ted; but shewed that death did no way discompose him, and could
not so much as put him out of his ordinary humour. Yet his rallying
every thing on the Scaffold, was thought to have more of the
Socrick than the Christian in it. After some time spent in secret devotions,
he was beheaded on the 6th of July.

Thus did Sir Thomas More end his days, in the 53d year of his age.
His Character. He was a man of rare vertues, and excellent parts: In his youth he
had freer thoughts of things, as appears by his Utopia, and his Letters to
Erasimus; but afterwards he became superstitiously devoted to the
interests and passions of the Popish Clergy: and as he served them
when he was in Authority, even to afflit them in all their cruelties;
so he employed his pen in the same cause, both in writing against all
the new opinions in general, and in particular against Tindal, Frith,
and Barnes, as also an unknown Writer, who feemed of neither party,
but reproved the corruptions of the Clergy, and condemned their
cruel proceedings. More was no Divine at all, and it is plain to any
that reads his writings, that he knew nothing of Antiquity; beyond the
quotations he found in the Canon-Law, and in the Master of the sentences:
(only he had read some of St. Ausfinus treatises,) for upon all points of
Controverfie, he quotes only what he found in thofe Collections;
or was he at all converfant in the critical learning upon the Scriptures;
but his peculiar excellency in writing, was, that he had a
natural
natural cafe exprefion, and prefented all the opinions of Popery with their fair fide to the Reader, difguifing or concealing the black fide
of them with great Art; and was no lefs dextrous in expeffing all the ill confequences that could follow on the Doctrine of the Reformers:
and had upon all occasions great store of pleafant tales, which he applied witilly to his purpofe. And in this confulls the great strength
of his Writings, which were defigned rather for the Rable, than for
Learned men. But for justice, contempt of money, humility, and
a true generofity of mind, he was an example to the Age in which
he lived.

But there is one thing unjustly added to the prafie of these two
great men, or rather figned, on defign to leffen the Kings honour;
that Fikher and he penned the Book which the King wrote againft Lu-
ther. This Saunders firt published, and Bellarmin and others fince have
taken it up upon his Authority. Strangers may be pardon'd fuch
errors, but they are inexcufable in an Englifh man. For in More's print-
ed works there is a Letter written by him out of the Tower to Crom-
well, in which he gives an account of his behaviour concerning the
Kings Divorce and Supremacy: among other particulars one is, that
'the King fewed him his Book againft Luther, in which he
had alftered the Popes Primacy to be of Divine right, More defir-
ed him to leave it out; fince as there had been many contfels be-
tween Popes and other Princes, fo there might fall in fome between
the Pope and the King; therefore he thought it was not fift for the
King to publish any thing, which might be afterwards made ufe of
against himfelf; and advised him either to leave out that point, or
to touch it very tenderly; but the King would not follow his coun-
fel, being perhaps fo fond of what he had writ, that he would ra-
ther run himfelf upon a great inconvenience, than leave out any thing
that he fanc'd fo well written. This fhews that More knew that
Book was written by the Kings own pen; and either Saunders never
read this, or maliciously concealed it, left it fhould difcover his foul
dealing.

Thefe Executions fo terrified all people, that there were no further
provocations given; and all persons either took the Oaths, or did fo
dextroufly conceal their opinions, that till the Rebellions of Lincol-
shire, and the North, broke out, none suffered after this upon a pub-
lick account. But when these were quieted, then the King refolved
to make the chief Authors and Leaders of those Commotions publifh
eamples to the reft. The Duke of Norfolk proceeded againft many
of them by Martial Law, there were alto Tryals at Common Law of
a great many more that were taken Prisoners, and fent up to London.
The Lords Darcy and Huflye were tryed by their Peers, the Marquefs
of Exeter fitting Steward. And a Commission of Oyer and Terminer
being iffued out for the Tryal of the reft, Sir Robert Conftable, Sir
John Bulmer and his Lady, Sir Francis Pigot, Sir Stephen Hamilton, and
Sir Thomas Fiercy, and Ask, that had been their Captain; with the Ab-
botts of Whalley, Jerneaux, Bridlington, Lenton, Woburn, and Kingsclad,
and Mackall the Monk that firft raised the Lincoln-fhire Rebellion, with
fifteen more were Indicte of High Treafon, for the late Rebellions.
And after all the fteps of the Rebellion were reckoned up, it is ad-

Attandors after the Re-
bellion was
quited.
ded in the Indictment, that they had met together on the 17th of
January, and consulted how to renew it, and prosecute it further,
being encouraged by the new Risings that were then in the North;
by which they had forfeited all the favour, to which they could have
pretended, by virtue of the Indemnity that was granted in the end
of December, and of the pardons which they had taken out. They were
all found Guilty, and had judgment as in cases of Treason; divers of
them were carried down into Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, and execut-
ed in the places where their Treasons were committed; but most
of them suffered at London, and among others the Lady Bulmer,
whom others call Sir John Bulmers Harlot) was burnt for it in
Smithfield.

The only censure that passed on this, was, that advantages were
taken on too flight grounds to break the Kings Indemnity and pardon;
since it does not appear, that after their pardon they did any thing
more than meet and consult. But the Kingdom was so shaken with
that Rebellion, that if it had not been for the great conduct of the
Duke of Norfolk, the King had by all appearance left his Crown.
And it will not seem strange that a King, (especially so tempered as
this was,) had a mind to strike terror into the rest of his Subjects, by
some signal Examples, and to put out of the way the chief Leaders
of that Design: nor was it to be wondered at, that the Abbots and
other Clergy-men who had been so active in that Commotion, were
feriously handled. It was by their means that the discontentments were
chiefly fomented; they had taken all the Oaths that were enjoined
them, and yet continued to be still practising against the State; which,
as it was highly contrary to the peaceable Doctrines of the Christian
Religion, so it was in a special manner contrary to the Rules which
they professed; that obliged them to forfake the World, and to follow
a Religious and Spiritual course of Life.

The next Example of Justice was a year after this, of one Forrest,
an Observant Frier; he had been, as Sanders said, Confeffor to Queen
Katbarine, but it seems departed from her interests, for he insinuat-
ed himfelf fo into the King, that he recovered his good Opinion. Be-
ing an ignorant and lewd man, he was accounted by the better fort
of that Houfe, to which he belonged in Greenwich, a Reproach to
their Order, (concerning this, I have seen a large account in an Or-
iginal Letter written by a Brother of the fame Houfe.) Having re-
gained the Kings good Opinion, he put all those who had favoured
the Divorce under great fears, for he proceeded cruelly againft them.
And one Raincroft, being suspected to have given secret Intelligence
of what was done among them, was shut up, and fo hardly ufed
that he dyed in their hands, which was (as that Letter relates) done
by Frier Forrests means. This Frier was found to have denied the
Kings Supremacy: for though he himfelf had sworn it, yet he had
infufed it into many in Confession, that the King was not the Su-
prem Head of the Church. Being questioned for thefe practices,
which were fo contrary to the Oath that he had taken, he answered,
that he took that Oath with his outward man, but his inward
man had never confented to it. Being brought to his Tryal, and
accused of feveral Heretical opinions that he held, he submitted him-
self
felt to the Church. Upon this he had more freedom allowed him in the Prison; but some coming to him diverted him from the Submission he had offered; so that when the Paper of Abjuration was brought him, he refused to set his hand to it: upon which he was judged an Obstructed Heretick. The Records of these proceedings are lost, but the Books of that time say, that he denied the Gospel; it is like it was upon that pretence, that without the determination of the Church it had no Authority, upon which, several writers of the Roman Communion have said undecent and scandalous things of the holy Scriptures. He was brought to Smithfield, where were present the Lords of the Council, to offer him his pardon if he would assure. Latimer made a Sermon against his errors, and studied to persuade him to recant; but he continued in his former opinions, so he was put to death in a most severe manner. He was hanged in a chain about his middle, and the great Image that was brought out of Wales, was broken to pieces, and served for fuel to burn him. He shewed great unquietness of mind, and ended his Life in an ungodly manner, as Hall says, who adds this Character of him, *that he had little knowledge of God and his sincere truth, and left trust in him at his ending.*

In Winter that year a correspondence was discovered with Cardinal Pole, who was barefaced in his Treasonable designs against the King. His Brother Sir Geoffrey Pole discovered the whole Plot. For which the Marquefs of Exeter, (that was the Kings Cousin-german by his Mother, who was Edward the 4ths Daughter.) the Lord Montacute, the Cardinals Brother, Sir Geoffrey Pole, and Sir Edward Nevill, were sent to the Tower in the beginning of November. They were accused for having maintained a correspondence with the Cardinal, and for expressing an hatred of the King, with a dislike of his proceedings, and a readiness to rise upon any good opportunity that might offer it self.

The special matter brought against the Lord Montacute, and the Marquefs of Exeter, who were tried by their Peers on the 2d and 3d of December, in the 30th year of this Reign, is, *that whereas Cardinal Pole, and others, had cast off their Aeligiance to the King, and gone and submitted themselves to the Pope the Kings mortal Enemy, the Lord Montacute did on the 24th of July in the 28th year of the Kings Reign, a few months before the Rebellion broke out, say that he liked well the proceedings of his Brother the Cardinal, but did not like the proceedings of the Realm; and said, I trust to see a change of this World; I trust to have a fair day upon those Knaves that rule about the King; and I trust to see a merry World one day. Words to the same purpose were also charged on the Marquefs: the Lord Montacute further said, I would I were over the Sea with my Brother, for this World will one day come to stripes; it must needs come to pass, and I fear we shall lack nothing so much as honest men: he also said, he had dreamed that the King was dead, and though he was not yet dead, he would die suddenly; one day his Leg will kill him, and then we shall have jolly stirring; saying also, that he had never loved him from his childhood, and that Cardinal Wolsey would have been an honest man, if he had had an ho-
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'next' Mafher. And the King having faid to the Lords he would leave them one day, having fome apprehensions he might shortly die, that Lord faid, if he will ferve us fo, we fhall be happily rid; a time will come, I fear we fhall not tarry the time, we fhall do well enough. He had alfo faid, he was forry the Lord Abergavenny was dead, for he could have made ten thoufand men; and for his part he would go and live in the Weft, where the Marquefs of Exeter was strong: and had alfo faid upon the breaking of the Northern Rebellion, that the Lord Darcy played the fool, for he went to pluck away the Council, but he fhould have begun with the head fift, 'but I befhew him for leaving off fo soon. These were the Words charged on thofe Lords, as clear discoveries of their Treafonable de-
signs; and that they knew of the Rebellion that brake out, and only intended to have kept it off to a fitter opportunity: they were alfo accused of Correfpondence with Cardinal Pole, that was the Kings declared Enemy. Upon these points the Lords pleaded not Guilty, but were found Guilty by their Peers, and fo Judgment was given.

On the 4th of December were Indicted Sir Geoffrey Pole, for holding Correfpondence with his Brother the Cardinal, and faying that he approved of his proceedings; but not of the Kings; Sir Edward Nevill, Brother to the Lord Abergavenny, for faying, the King was a Beast, and worfe than a Beast; George Crofts, Chancellor of the Cathedral of Chicheffer, for faying, the King was not, but the Pope was, Supremac head of the Church; and John Collins, for faying, the King would hang in Hell one day for the plucking down of Abbeys: All thofe, Sir Edward Nevill only excepted, pleaded Guilty, and fo they were condemned; but Sir Geoffrey Pole was the only perfon of the number that was not Executed, for he had discovered the matter. At the fame time alfo, Cardinal Pole, Michael Throgmorton Gentleman, John Hilliard and Thomas Goldwell Clerks, and William Peys to a Francifean of the Obfervance, were Attainted in Absence; because they had caft off their duty to the King, and had subjected themselves to the Bishop of Rome, Pole being made Cardinal by him; and for writing Treafonable Letters, and fending them into England. On the 4th of February following, Sir Nicholas Carew, that was both Mafter of the Horfe, and Knight of the Garter, was Arraigned for being an adhe-
rer to the Marquefs of Exeter, and having fpoke of his Attaindor as unjust and cruel, he was alfo Attained and Executed upon the 3d of March. When he was brought to the Scaffold, he openly acknowledged the errors and superflition in which he had formerly lived; and blefsed God for his Imprifonment, 'for he then began to relift the Life and sweetnefs of Gods holy Word, which was brought him by his Keeper, one Phillips, who followed the Reformation, and had formerlyuffered for it.

After thefes Executions, followed the Parliament in the year 1539, in which not only thefe Attaindors that were already put to death were confirmed, but new ones of a strange and unheard-of nature were Enacted. It is a blemish never to be washed off, and which cannot be enough condemned, and was a breach of the moft sacred and un-
terable Rules of Justice, which is capable of no excufe; it was the Attainting of fome perfon, whom they held in custody, without bringing

1539.
Some Attain-
days without hearing the parties.
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brining them to a Tryal. Concerning which, I shall add what the great Lord Chief Justice Cook writes, "although I question not the 'Power of the Parliament, for without question the Attainders stands of force in Law, yet this I say of the manner of proceeding, Au-
ferat Oblivio, sit potest, sit non unumque silentium tegat. For the more 'high and absolute the Jurisdiction of the Court is, the more just 'and honourable it ought to be in the proceedings, and to give Ex-
ample of Justice to inferior Courts. The chief of these were the 'Marchioness of Exeter and the Countess of Sarum. The special mat-
ter charged on the former, is, her confederating her self to Sir Nico-
las Carew in his Treasons; to which is added, 'that she had com-
mittet divers other abominable Treasons. The latter is said to have 'confederet her self with her Son the Cardinal, with other aggra-
varing words. It does not appear by the Journal that any Wit-
nesses were examined; only that day that the Bills were read the 'third time in the House of Lords, Cromwell shewed them a Coat of 'white silk, which the Lord Admiral had found among the Countefs 'of Sarum's Cloaths, in which the Arms of England were wrought on the one fide, and the Standard that was carried before the Rebels was on the other side. This was brought as an evidence that the approv-
ed of the Rebellion. Three Irish Priests were also Attainted for car-
rying Letters out of Ireland, to the Pope and Cardinal Pole, as also 'Sir Adrian Fortescue for endeavouring to raise Rebellion, Thomas Ding-
ley a Knight of St. John of Jerusalem, and Robert Graneter Merchant, for going to several Forreign Princes, and persuyding them to make War upon the King, and afflit the Lords Darcy and Huffle in the Re-
bellion they had raiwed. Two Gentlemen, a Dominican Frier, and a 'Yeoman, were by the same Act Attainted, for saying that, that ven-
emous Serpent the Bishop of Rome was Supream Head of the Church of Eng-
land. Another Gentleman, two Priests, and a Yeoman are Attainted for Treason in general, no particular crime being specified. Thus six-
teen persons were in this manner Attainted, and if there was any Exa-
mination of Witnesses for convicting them, it was either in the Star-
Chamber, or before the Privy Council; for there is no mention of a-
y evidence that was brought in the Journals: There was also much haftet made in the passing this Bill: it being brought in the 10th of May, was read that day for the first, and second time, and the 11th of May for the third time. The Commons kept it five days before they sent it back, and added some more to those that were in the Bill at first; but how many were named in the Bill Originally, and how many were afterwards added, cannot be known. Fortescue and Dingley suffered the 10th of July. As for the Countefs of Sarum, the Lord Herbert 'faw in a Record, that Bulls from the Pope were found in her Houfe, 'that the kept correspondance with her Son, and that she forbade 'her Tenants to have the new Testament in Engfish, or any other 'of the Books that had been publishet by the King's Authority. She 'was then about seventy years of Age, but shewed by the answers the made, that she had a vigorous and masculine mind. She was kept two years Prisoner in the Tower, after the Act had pafl, the King by that reprieve designing to oblige her Son to a better behaviour; but upon a fresh provocation by a new Rebellion in the North, she was be-
headed,
headed, and in her, the name and life of Plantagenet determined. The Marchioness of Exeter died a natural death. In November this year were the Abbots of Reading, Gliffenhury and Colchester Attainted of Treason, of which mention was made formerly.

In the Parliament that sat in the year 1540 they went on to follow that strange precedent, which they had made the former year. By the 56th Act Giles Heron was Attainted of Treason, no special matter being mentioned.

By the 57th Act, Richard Fetherstone, Thomas Abell, and Edward Powel Priests, and William Horn a Yeoman were Attainted, for denying the Kings Supremacy, and adhering to the Bishop of Rome: by the fame Act the Wife of one Tyrrell Esq; was Attainted, for refusing her duty of Allegiance, and denying Prince Edward to be Prince and Heir of the Crown; and one Laurence Cook of Doncaster was also Attainted for contriving the Kings death.

By the 58th Act, Gregory Buttolph, Adam Dampil, and Edward Brindboim Clerks, and Clement Philpot Gentleman, were Attainted, for adhering to the Bishop of Rome, for corresponding with Cardinal Pole, and endeavouring to surprize the Town of Callais: By the fame Act Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome, were Attainted, of whose sufferings an account has been already given.

By the 59th Act, William Bird a Priest, and Chaplain to the Lord Hungerford was attainted, for having said to one that was going to Assift the King against the Rebels in the North, 'I am sorry thou goest, feest thou not how the King plucketh down Images and Abbeys every day? And if the King go thither himself, he will never come home again, nor any of them all which go with him, and in truth if were pity he should ever come home again; and at another time upon ones saying, O good Lord, I ween all the World will be Hereticks in a little time: Bird said, Doest thou marvel at that? I tell thee it is no marvel, for the great Master of all is an Heretick, and such a one as there is not his like in the World.

By the fame Act the Lord Hungerford was likewise Attainted. The Crimes specified are, that he knowing Bird to be a Traitor, did entertain him in his house as his Chaplain; that he ordered another of his Chaplains, Sir Hugh Wood, and one Dr. Maudlin to use Conjuring, that they might know how long the King should live, and whether he should be victorious over his Enemies or not; and that these three years last past he had frequently committed the detestable Sin of Sodomy with several of his Servants: All these were Attainted by that Parliament. The Lord Hungerford was Executed the same day with Cromwell; he dyed in such disorder that some thought he was frantic, for he called often to the Executioner to dispatch him, and said he was weary of Life, and longed to be dead, which seemed strange in a man that had so little cause to hope in his death. For Powel, Fetherstone, and Abell, they suffered the same day with Barnes and his friends, as hath been already shewn.

This year Sampson Bishop of Chichester, and one Doctor Wilton were put in the Tower, upon fulpition of correspondence with the Pope. But upon their submission they had their pardon and liberty. In the year 1541, five Priests and ten secular persons, some of them being Gentlemen
tlemen of Quality, were raising a new Rebellion in Yorkshire; which was suppressed in time; and the Promoters of it being apprehended, were Attainted and Executed, and this occasioned the death of the Countess of Sarum, after the Execution of the Sentence had been delayed almost two years.

The last instance of the King's severity was in the year 1543, in which one Gardiner that was the Bishop of Winchester's Kinsman and Secretary, and three other Priests, were tried, for denying the Kings Supremacy, and soon after executed. But what special matter was laid to their charge, cannot be known, for the Record of their Attainder is lost.

These were the proceedings of this King against those that adhered to the interests of Rome; in which, though there is great ground for just censure, for as the Laws were rigorous, to the Execution of them was raised to the highest that the Law could admit; yet there is nothing in them to justify all the clamours, which that party have railed against King Henry, and by which they pursue his memory to this day; and are far short, both in number and degrees, of the cruelties of Queen Mary's Reign, which yet they endeavour all that is possible to extenuate or deny.

To Conclude, we have now gone through the Reign of King Henry the 8th, who is rather to be reckoned among the Great than the Good Princes. He exerted so much severity on men of both persuasions, that the writers of both sides have laid open his faults, and taxed his cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him, so none have taken so much care to set forth his good qualities, as his Enemies have done to enlarge on his Vices: I do not deny that he is to be numbered among the ill Princes, yet I cannot rank him with the worst.

The End of the third Book and of the first Part.
ADDENDA.

After some of the sheets of this History were wrought off, I met with Manuscripts of great Authority, out of which I have Collected several particulars, that give a clear light to the proceedings in those times, which since they came too late to my knowledge to be put in their proper places, I shall here add them with references to the places to which they belong.

Ad Page 202. line 15.

There it is said, that the Earl of Wiltshire Father to Queen Anne Boleyn was one of the Peers that Judged her.

In this I too Implicitly followed Doctor Heylin, he seeming to write with more than ordinary care for the Vindication of that Queen, and with such assurance, as if he had seen the Records concerning her, so that I took this upon trust from him. The reason of it was, that in the search I made of Attainders, I did not find the Record of her Tryal; so I concluded, that either it was destroyed by Order during her Daughters Reign, or was accidentally lost since that time: And thus having no Record to direct me, I too easily followed the Printed Books in that particular. But after that part of this History was wrought off, I by chance met with it in another place where it was mislaid; and there I discovered the error I had committed. The Earl of Wiltshire was not one of her Judges; these by whom she was tryed were the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquis of Exeter, the Earls of Arundell, Oxford, Northumberland, Wiltmoreland, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Suffolk, and Huntington, and the Lords Audley, Delaware, Mountague, Morley, Dacres, Cobham, Marlavers, Powis, Mounteagle, Clinton, Sands, Windfor, Wentworth, Burgh, and Mordant: in all twenty six, and not twenty Eight as I reckoned them upon a Vulgar Error. The Record mentions one particular concerning the Earl of Northumberland, that he was taken with a sudden fit of sickness, and was forced to leave the Court before the Lord Rockford was Tryed. This might have been only Casual: but since he was once in Love with the Queen, and had designed to Marry her (see Page 44) it is no wonder if so sad a change in her Condition, did raise an unusual disorder in him.

When I had discovered the mistake I had made, as I resolved to publish this free Confession of it; so I let my felt not without some Indignation to examine upon what Authority Doctor Heylin had led me into it. I could find no Author that went before him in it, but Sanders; the chief design of whole writing, was to defame Queen Elizabeth, and to blait her Title to the Crown. To that end it was no ill piece of his skill, to persuade the World of her Mothers lewdness, to say, that her own Father was convinced of it, and condemned.
ed her for it. And Doctor Heylin took this, as he has done many other things, too easily upon Sanders Testimony.

Ad Page 217, line 37.

The Articles of Religion of which an abstract is there set down, are indeed published by Fuller; but he saw not the Original, with all the Subscriptions to it; which I have had in my hands, and therefore I have put it in the Collection with three other Papers, which were soon after offered to the King by Cranmer.

The one is in the form of fifteen queries, concerning some abuses by which the people had been deceived; as namely, by these Doctrines, that without Contrition sinners may be reconciled to God; that it is in the Power of the Priest, to pardon or not to pardon sin at his pleasure; and that God's pardon cannot be attained without Priestly Absolution. Also he complained that the people trusted to outward Ceremonies; and their Curates for their own gain, encouraged them in it. It was observed that the opinion of Clergy-men being exempted from the secular Judge was ill grounded; that Bishops did ordain without due care and Tryal: that the Dignified Clergy misapplied their Revenues, did not follow their first Institution, and did not reside upon their Benefices.

And in fine he moves that the four Sacraments, which had been left undetermined by the former Articles, might be examined: the outward signs and actions, the promises made upon them, and the efficacy that was in them being well considered.

The second Paper consists of two Resolutions; made concerning Confirmation by the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and Stokesley Bishop of London (by which I perceive the way of examining matters by giving out of questions to Bishops and Divines was sooner practised, than when I first took notice of it page 286.) there are several other Papers concerning Confirmation, but these are only Subscribed: and the rest do generally follow these two Prelates who were then the heads of two different parties. The Arch-Bishop went on this ground, that all things were to be tried by the Scripture; but Stokesley and almost the whole Clergy, were for receiving the Tradition of the Church, as not much inferior to the Scriptures, which he affirms in his Subcription.

The third Paper was offered to the King by Cranmer, to perswade him to proceed to a further Reformation: that things might be long and well considered before they were determined, that nothing might be declared a part of God's faith, without good proofs from Scripture: the departing from which rule had been the occasion of all the Errors that had been in the Church: that now men would not be led as they had been, but would examine matters: that many things were now acknowledged to be truths, such as the unlawfulness of the Popes Usurped Power, for which many had formerly suffered death. Whereupon he desires that some points might be Examined by Scripture, as, whether there is a Purgatory, whether departed Souls ought to be Invocated, whether Tradition ought to be believed; whether there be any satisfaction besides the satisfaction of Christ; whether free will may
may dispose it self to grace, and whether Images ought to be killed, or used to any other end, but as representations of a piece of History? In all these he defied the King would suspend his Judgment: and in particular, that he would not determine against the Lawfulness of the Marriage of the Clergy, but would for some time silence both parties. He also proposed that this point might by order from the King, be examined in the Universities before indifferent Judges: that all the Arguments against it, might be given to the Defendants twelve days before the publick disputation; and he offered, that if those who should defend the Lawfulness of Priests Marriage, were in the Opinion of indifferent Judges overcome, they should willingly suffer death for it; but if otherwise, all they desired was, that in that point the King might leave them in the liberty to which the Word of God left them.

Ad Page 249. line 18.

I have seen a much fuller Paper concerning Orders and Ecclesiastical functions (which the Reader will find in the Collection signed by Cromwell, the two Arch-Bishops and eleven Bishops, and twenty Divines and Canonists, Declaring that the Power of the Keys and other Church-functions is formally distinct from the Power of the Sword. That this Power is not absolute, but to be limited by the Rules that are in the Scripture; and is ordained only for the edification and good of the Church: that this Power ought to be still preserved, since it was given by Christ as the mean of reconciling sinners to God. Orders were also declared a Sacrament, since they consisted of an outward action instituted by Christ, and an inward grace conferred with them: But that all Interior Orders, Junior, Lectors, &c. were brought into the Church to beautifie and adorn it, and were taken from the Temple of the Jews: And that in the New Testament there is no mention made but of Deacons or Miniflers, and Priests or Bishops: nor is there belonging to Orders any other Ceremony mentioned in the Scripture, but Prayer and Impofition of hands. This was signed either in the year 1537, or 1538, since it is Subscribed both by John Hilsley Bishop of Rochester, and Edward Fox Bishop of Hereford, for the one was consecrated in 1537, and the other dyed in May 1538.

On this Paper I will add two remarks, the one is, that after this I do never find the Inferiour Degrees under a Deacon mentioned in this Church; so it seems at this time they were laid aside. They were first set up in the Church about the end of the second, or the beginning of the third Century, in the middle of which we find both Cornelius Bishop of Rome, and St. Cyprian mentioning them as Orders that were then establihed; and it seems they were designed as previous steps to the Sacred functions, that none might be Ordained to these, but such as had been long before separated from a secular state of Life, and had given good proofs of themselves in these lower degrees. But it turned in the Church of Rome to be only a matter of form; and many took the first Tonfure, that they might be exempted from the Secular Power, and be qualified for Commendams, and some other Worldly advantages to which these lower Orders were sufficient, by those Rules which the Canonists had brought in.
Another thing is, that both in this Writing, and in the Necessary
Erudition of a Christian man, Bishops and Priests are spoken of as
one and the same Office. In the Ancient Church they knew none of
these Subtilities which were found out in the latter Ages. It was then
thought enough that a Bishop was to be dedicated to his function by
a new Imposition of hands, and that several Offices could not be per-
formed without Bishops, such as Ordination, Confirmation, &c. but
they did not refine in these matters, so much as to examine, whether
Bishops and Priests differed in Order and Office or only in degree. But
after the Schoolmen fell to examine matters of Divinity with Logi-
cal and Unintelligible meteories, and the Canonists began to Comment
upon the rules of the Ancient Church, they studied to make Bishops
and Priests seem very near one another, so that the difference was but
small. They did it with different designs. The Schoolmen having set
up the grand Mystery of Transubstantiation, were to exalt the Priest-
ly Office as much as was possible: for the turning the Host into God
was so great an action, that they reckoned there could be no Office
higher than that which qualified a man to so mighty a Performance:
therefore as they changed the form of Ordination from what it was
Anciently believed to consist in, to a delivering of the Sacred Vessels,
and held that a Priest had his Orders by that rite, and not by the Im-
position of hands; so they raised their Order or Office so high as to
make it equal with the Order of a Bishop: But as they designed to
exalt the Order of Priesthood, so theCanonists had as great a mind
to depress the Episcopal Order. They generally wrote for preferment,
and the way to it was to exalt the Papaey. Nothing could do that to
effectually as to bring down the Power of Bishops. This only could
justify the Exemptions of the Monks and Friers, the Popes setting up
Legantine Courts, and receiving at first Appeals, and then Original
causes before them; together with many other Encroachments on
their Jurisdiction: All which were unlawful, if the Bishops had by
Divine right, Jurisdiction in their Dioceses: Therefore it was neces-

dary to lay them as low as could be, and to make them think that the
Power they held, was rather as Delegates of the Apostolic See, than
by a Commission from Christ or his Apostles: So that they looked on
the declaring Episcopal Authority to be of Divine right, as a blow
that would be fatal to the Court of Rome; and therefore they did after
this at Troy use all possible endeavours to hinder any such Decision.
It having been then the Common style of that Age to reckon Bishops
and Priests as the same Office, it is no wonder if at this time the Clergy
of this Church, the greatest part of them being still leavened with the
old superstitution, and the rest of them not having enough of spare-time
to examine lesser matters, retained still the former phrases in this par-

On this I have insisted the more, that it may appear how little they
have considered things, who are so far carried with their zeal against
the established Government of this Church, as to make much use of
some passages of the Schoolmen and Canonists that deny them to be
distinct Offices: for these are the very dregs of Popery, the one rais-
ing the Priests higher for the sake of Transubstantiation, the other
pulling the Bishops lower for the sake of the Popes Supremacy, and
by
by such means bringing them almost to an equality. So partial are some men to their particular conceits, that they make use of the most mischievous Topicks when they can serve their turn, not considering how much further these Arguments will run if they ever admit them.

Ad Page 255. line 28.

The Princes of Germany did always press the King to enter into a Religious League with them: the first League that was made in the year 1536 was conceived in general terms, against the Pope as the Common Enemy, and for setting up true Religion according to the Gospel: But they did afterwards send over Ambassadors to treat about particulars; and they having presented a Memorial of these, there were Conferences appointed between them and some Bishops and Divines of this Church. I find no Divines was sent over hither but Frederick Micoitus Minifter of Gorbau, by whom Melanthon, who could not be spared out of Germany, sent several Letters to the King; the fullest and longest of them will be found in the Collection. It is all to this purpose, to pervert the King to go on vigorously in the Reforming of Abuses, according to the word of God. The King sent over the particulars which they proposed in order to a perfect agreement, to Gardiner who was then at Paris: Upon which he sent back his Opinion touching them all; the Original of which, under his own hand I have seen, but it relates so much to the other Paper that was sent him, which I never saw, that without it his meaning can hardly be understood, and therefore I have not put it in the Collection. The main thing in it, at which it chiefly drives, is to press the King to finish first a Civil League with them, and to leave those particulars concerning Religion to be afterwards treated of: The King followed his advice so far as to write to the German Princes to that effect. But when the King declared his resolution to have the fix Articles established, all that favoured the Reformation were much alarmed at it, and pressed their friends in Germany to interpose with the King for preventing it. I have seen an Original Letter of Hains Dean of Exeter, in which he laments the sad effects that would follow on that Act, which was then preparing; that all the Corruptions in the Church rose from the establishing some points without clear proofs from Scripture: he wished the Germans would consider of it, for if the King and Parliament should make such a Law, this was a Presidnt for the Emperor to make the like in the Diet of the Empire. Neither were the German Ambassadors backward in doing their friends in England all the service they could: for after they had held several conferences with these that were appointed by the King to treat with them; they finding they could not prevail with them, wrote a long and Learned Letter to the King, against the taking away the Chalice in the Sacrament, and against private Masses and the Celibate of the Clergy, with some other abuses which the Reader will find in the Collection, as it is Copied from the Original which I have seen. To this I have added the Answer which the King wrote to it: He employed Tower, Bishop of Durham to draw it, for I have seen a rude draught of a great part of it written with his hand. By both
both these compared together, every indifferent Reader will clearly see the force and simplicity of the Arguments on the one hand, and the art and shuffling that was used on the other side. As soon as the Act was past, notwithstanding all their endeavours to the contrary, they in an Audience before the King, represented the great concern their Masters would have, when the King on whom they had relied so much, as the Defender of the faith, should proceed with the severity expressed in that Act, against those that agreed with them in Doctrine, and pressed the King earnestly to put a stop to the Execution of it. The King promised he would sec to it, and that though he judged the Act necessary to restrain the insolence of some of his Subjects; yet it should not be executed but upon great provocation: he also proposed the renewing a Civil League with them, without mentioning matters of Religion. To this the Princes made answer, that the League as it was at first projected, was chiefly upon a design of Religion, and therefore without a common consent of all that were in their League, they could not alter it: they lamented this passing of the late Act, but wrote their thanks to the King for stopping the Execution of it, and warned him that some of his Bishops, who set him on to these courses, were in their hearts still for all the old Abuses, and for the Popes Supremacy, and were pressing on the King to be severe against his own Subjects, that they might thereby bring on a desigh when they could not hope to effect any other way: they advised the King to beware of such Counsels. They also proposed that there might be a Conference agreed on between such Divines as the King would name, and such as they should depute, to meet either in Gueldres, Hamburgh, Bremen, or any other place that should be appointed by the King, to examine the Lawfulness of private Masles, of denying the Chalice, and the Prohibiting the Marriage of the Clergy. On these things they continued treating till the Divorce of Anne of Cleve and Cromwell's fall, after which I find little Correspondence between the King and them.

Ad Page 256. line 4.

When I mentioned the Kings Letters, directing the Bishops how to proceed in a Reformation, I had not seen them, but I have since seen an Original of them subscribed by the Kings hand. In these he challenged the Clergy as guilty of great Indiscretions: that the late Rebellion had been occasioned by them; therefore he required the Bishops to take care, that the Articles formerly published should be exactly obeyed; and to go over their Dioceses in person, and preach Obedience to the Laws, and the good ends of those Ceremonies that were then retained, that the people might neither despise them, nor put too much trust in them: and to silence all disputes and contentions concerning things indifferent; and to signifie to the Kings Council, if there were any Priests in their Dioceses that were Married, and yet did discharge any part of the Priestly Office. All which, will be better understood by the Letter it self, that I have put into the Collection.
Ad Page 258. line 8.

I do there acknowledge that I knew not what Arguments were used against the necessity of Auricular Confession: But I have made since that time, a Considerable discovery in this particular, from an Original Letter written all with the Kings own hand to Tongall; by which it appears, there had been conferences in the House, and that the Arch-Bishop of York, the Bishop of Winchester and Duresin had pleaded much for it, as necessary by a Divine Institution, and that both the King and the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury had maintained, that though it was good and profitable, yet it was not necessary by any precept of the Gospel: and that though the Bishops brought several texts out of Scripture and Ancient Doctors, yet there were to clearly answered by the King, and the Arch-Bishop, that the whole House was satisfied with it: Yet Tongall drew up in a writing all the reasons he had made use of in that debate, and brought them to the King, which will be found in the Collection, with the Annotations and reflections which the King wrote on the Margent, with his own hand, taken from the Original; together with the Kings Letter written in answer to them: By this it will appear that the King did set him self much to study points of Divinity, and examined matters with a scrupulous exactness. The issue of the debate was, that though the Popish party endeavoured to have got Auricular Confession declared to be Commanded by Christ, as a part of the Sacrament of Penance: yet the King overruled that, so it was enacted that Auricular Confession was necessary and expedient to be retained in the Church of God. These debates were in the House of Lords, which appears not only by the Kings Letter, that speaks of the House, but by the Act of Parliament in the Preamble of which it is said, that the King had come himself to the Parliament, and had opened several points of high Learning to them.

Ad Page 262. line 23.

There I mention the Kings diligence in drawing an Act of Parliament with his own hand; but since that was Printed, I have seen many other Acts and Papers, if not Originally Penned by the King, yet so much altered by his Corrections, that in some sort they may be esteemed his draughts. There are two draughts of the Act of the six Articles, both corrected in many places by the King, and in some of these the Correction is three lines long. There is another Act concerning Precontracts of Marriage, likewise Corrected very much by his Pen. Many draughts of Proclamations, particularly these about the use of the Bible in English are yet extant interlined and altered with his Pen. There is a large Paper written by Tongall, of arguments for Purgatory, with Copious Animadversions on it, likewise written by the King; which shew that then he did not believe there was a Purgatory. I have also seen the draught of that part of the Necessary Erudition for a Christian man, which explains the Creed, full of Corrections with
with the Kings own Pen; as also the Queries concerning the Sacraments mentioned page 289, with large Annotations written with his hand on the Margent, likewise an Extract all written with his own hand of passages out of the Fathers against the Marriage of the Clergy: and to conclude there is a Paper with which the Collection ends, containing the true Notion of the Catholick Church, which has large Emendations added with the Kings hand, those I have set by themselves on the Margent of the Paper.
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A COLLECTION OF RECORDS AND Original Papers;
With other INSTRUMENTS Referred to in the Former History.
I. The Record of Card. Adrian's Oath of Fidelity to Henry VII. for the Bishopric of Bath and Wells.

H Enricus Rex, &c. Reverend. in Chripto Patri Domino Sylvestro Episcopo Wigmori. venerabili viro Domino Roberto Sherburnus Ecclesiarum Sancti Pauli London. decano, notris in Romana curia oratoribus, ac Magistro Hugoni Young Sacre Theologiae Professori, faltum. Cum omnes & singuli Archiepiscopi & Episcopi hujus notri Incliti Regni, quorum omnium nominationes, & promotiones, ad ipsas supremas dignitates, nobis attinent ex regali & peculiaribus quodam Prerogativa, jure; municipali, ac inveterata confuetudine, ha-cetum in hoc nostro Regno inconcuss & inviolabiliter observata, teneatur & altrangatur, itatim & immediate poll imperatas Bullas Apostolicae, fuper coram promisiione ad ipsum nostram nominationem, com nos nobis & in praeventia nostra, in hoc Regno nostro fuerunt, vel coram Commissariis nostris, ad hoc sufficienter & legitime deputatis, si alibi moram traxeris, non solum palam, publice & expresse, totaliter cedere, & in manus nostras renunciare omnibus, & quisquecom; verbis, clauilibus, & fementis in ipsis Bullis Apostolicis contentis, & descriptis, quantum vel quovis modo in futurum e refreshing, prehijudicialia, five damno-s, nobis, hæreditibus; de corpore nostro legitime procreatis Angliae regibus, Corone aut Regno nostro, juribus vel confuetudinibus aut Praerogativis ejusdem Regni notri, & quoad hoc totaliter eiplos submittere & ponere in nostra bona vera & gratia; fed eorum juramentum fidelitatis & homagi ad Sancta Dei Evangelia, per eodem respectue corporali tæta, nobis facere & præfatare: Cumque nos ob praecla merita examinatif, & virtutes quibus Reverendifimum in Chripto Patrem, Domum Adminum tituli Sancti Chriftifoni Presbyterum Cardinalem abunde referunt confpicimus, obq; diuurnum & fidele obliequum per ipsum Cardinalem nobis fæcunt & impennum, eundem ad Ecclesias Bathom. & Wellen, in-vicem unitas nomināvīmus & promovimus, qui idcirco & ob id quod in curia Romana continue moram fubficit, non poef commodo huifinodi renunciationem & juramentum coram nobis personaliter facere & præfatare: Hinc est quod nos de fidelitatis vestris & provida circumspici- one, ad plenum confidentes, deditus, & conceffimus, ac per praefentes damus & concefimus, vos, tribus aut duobus vestrum, quorum prefatum Episcopum Wigmori. unicurn esse volumus, plenam potestatem & autoritatem, vice & nomine nostris, huifinodi renunciationem in manus veftras, & juramentum ad Sancta Dei Evangelia corporali tæta, iuxta formam & verum tenorem, de verbo in verbum inferius descriptum, ab eodem Reverendifimo Domino Cardinali recipiendi, exigendi, & cum effectu præfenti videndi; ipsumq; Cardinalem, ut huifinodi renunciationem & juramentum per ipsum fie ut permittatis hisdem, & praetandum, manu & subcriptione huius firguit, & munit, requirendi, & ut ita fiat cum effectu videndi, literas quoq; & instrumenta publica super huifinodi renunciationem, & juramentum fieri petendi, & notarium vnum notarios publicos.
unum vel plures, ut ipsa instrumenta confiant; Necon teftes qui tunc prædentes crunt, ut veritatis testifetimonia perhibant rogandi & requeirenti, ipfa; iura omen vel instrumenta taliter fienda, verum ordinem rei gerendi, & renunciationis ac juramenti tenores in fe continens vel continentia, nobis dettinnandi & tranfinitioni: Et generaliter omnia & fin.


gula facienda, gerendi, & exercendi, quae in præditi & quolibet predicto omen necelaria fuerint, feu quomodolibet opportunae, ac que rei qualitas exigit & requirit, & que solipi facere & exercere possetis si praefens & præsumtum intelligere, etiam faltia forent quæ de fe mandatum exigat magis speciale. Tenor Renunciationis fequitur & eff tali: Ego Adrianus nifertatione divinae titulus Sancti Chrislogoni Presbyt. Card. Epis. Bathon. & Wellen, coram vobis Reverendo Patre Episcopo Wigorn. Domino Roberto Shurborno decano Sancti Pauli London, & Hugone Young in Theologia Prefere, Commiffariis ad hoc a ferenifimo arq. excellentissimo Princepo Domino Henrico Dei Gratia Rege Angliae, & Francie, & Domino Hibernie, ejus nominis feptimo, Domino meo fupremo, sufficiénter & ligittime deputatis, exposphate renunciation, & in his scriptis manu & figillo meis in praefentia notariorum & testium subscriptorum munitis, totaliter cedo omnis & quibusfucin; verba, clafìfius & fententia, in bullis Apotypolici mihi factis de predict. Episcopat. Bathon, & Wellen, contentis & decriptionibus,que sunt vel quovis modo in futum esse pofteritum praediéntis, five damna praefato ferenifimo Regi. Domino meo fupremo, & in hereditibus suis de corpore fio legittime procreatis Angl. Regibus, Corone aut Regno, five Majefartis Juribus vel constructibus, aut Praegatibus ejufdem Regni: & quod hoc me integraliter submittito & pono in gratia feu Cellfudinis, humiflime fupplicans fiam Majefariam, dignetur mihi concedere temporalia dicti Episcopatus Bathon, & Wellen, qua recognofco tenere & fia Majeflate tanquam a Domino meo Supremo. Tenor Juramenti fequitur & eff tali: Ego idem Adrianus Cardinalis praefatus Juro ad hoc Sancta Dei Evangelia per me corporaliter taeta, quod ab hoc die & in antea, vita mea naturali duret, ero fidelis & verus ligens, ac fidelis in ligentia mea pure & sincere fervabo, fideleque; & verum obferuatione fecundum optimum poftem fiam faciam & impendam ferenifimo Principi Henrico ejus nominis feptimo, Dei Gratia Angl. & Fran. Regi ac Domino Hiber. Domino meo fupremo, & in hereditibus suis de corpore fio legittime procreatis Angl. Regibus, contra quacunqu; perfonas, cuiusq; fatus, gradus, praeminentia aut conditionibus extirent; nec quicum faciam aut atemptabo feri, ne aut atemptati confiantiam, quod in damnum, incommum, aut praefudium, ipsius ferenifimi Regis aut hereditum fiorum prædictorumjurium, libertatum, Praegatariarum, privilegiorum & constructibum fui incliti Regni, quovis modo edere poterit; fed omne id quod jam fecio, vel impofterum cognoscam inhonorable, damaging aut praefudiciale, fue Serenitati, aut Regno fio, le contrarium honori aut Serenitati fui Majefartis, aut hereditum fiorum prædicitum, non folum impendiam ad extremum potentiam max, sed etiam cum omni possibili diligence id offendam & significalo, offendave aut significalo faeclam eodem ferenifimo Regi, omni favore, metu, promilfo aut Jurejurando cujecunq; perfonas aut quibusfucin; perfonis cunqueq; fatus, gradus, ordinis, praefumably fationem fietente, quod ante hac per me facu aut interpofo feu impofterum fiendu aut interponendum, penitus ftulato & non obftrantibus. Honorem infuper fue Majefartis ad extremum potentiam max
II. Pope Julius's Letter to Archbishop Warham for giving K. Henry the 8th the Golden Rose.

Julius Secundus Papa venerabili Fratri Guilielmo Archiepiscop. Cantuarien.


Sigismundus.

The Note of the Ceremonies of delivering the Rose, referred to in the Letter, was not thought worthy to be put in the Register.

III. A Writ for Summoning Convocations.

buldum arduis & urgentibus negotis, Nos, defenseonem & securitatem Ecclesie

Warham in his Writ of executing this Summons, prefixes the 20th of April for the day of their meeting.

IV. A Writ for a Convocation summoned by Warham on an Ecclesiastical account.

Williamus permissione divina Cantuar. Archiepiscopus, toius Angliae Primas & Apostolice fedis Legatus, venerabilis confratris nostri Domino Ricardo Dei Gratia London. Episcopo, salutem & fraternam in Domino caritatem. Cum nuper Ecclesia Anglicana, qua majorum nostrorum temporibus, multis et magnis libertatibus & immunitatibus gaudere foletbat, quorumdam iniquorum hominum malitiis, & nequitias fortiter fuerit inquietata & perturbata, qui omnia quæ a majoribus nostris lancte & pie, ob tranquillitatem dictæ Ecclesiae fuerunt ordinata ac facitam, vel prava & sinistra interpretatione prope subvertentes, vel personas Ecclesiasticas male traçantes, ac eas contemptui habentes, dictam Ecclesiam pene proftraverunt ac pedibus concuclurunt: Ne igitur dictæ Ecclesiae Anglicana ad calamitatem infignem feu ruinam ac jacturam, & quod abit, defolationem perveniat, quas diu eadem Ecclesia Anglicana per diversas personas, ut praefertur præ oculis suis Deum non habentes, nec cenfuras Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiae timentes, fistinuit & fistinebat, prout de verisimili Reformacione non habita in futurum sustinere debebat; Nos prout tenemur, congruum remedium in hac parte providere cupientes, & ob id ipsum Pralatos & Clerum nostrae Cantuar. Provincie convocare volentes; Fraternitati velfra igitur committimus & mandamus, quatenus omnes & singulos dictæ nostre Cant. Ecclesiae Suffraganeos infra nostram Provinctiam consitutos, & absentium Episcoporum li qui fuerunt Vicarios in Spiritualibus generales, ac Diocesium vacantium Cultodes Spiritualitatis, & Officiles ceteris feu citari faciatis, peremotiris, & per eos Decanos & Priors Ecclesiariwm Cath. ac singula Capitula eorundem, Archidioconos, Abbates & Priors, Conventus sub se habentes, & alios Ecclesiariwm Praalatos exemptos, & non exemptos, Clerumq; cujuslibet Dioceses Provincie nostræ antedictæ, citari peremptoria & præmoneri volumus.
V. The Preamble of the Act of Subsidy granted by the Clergy.

Quum Illustriissimus & Potentiissimus Dominus nostro Rex Angliae & Franciae, Defenfor Fidei & Dominus Hiberniæ, semper extitit confiantissimus Ecclesiae Protector & Patronus optime meritus, ac superioribus annis, in diebus fœlicis recordationis Iulij ejus nominis Papiæ secundti, grave Schilma in Ecclesia Romana exortum pacavit et extinxit; & potest ipsam Ecclesiam Romanam contra victam & potentiam Gallorum, qui sunt Iatianum & Urbem Romanam in servitutem redigere moliantur, validissimo exercitu & bello longe omnium sumptuosissimo feliciter defendit, & securum reddidit: Ac praterea postremis his diebus Lutheranæ Heresies; in Ecclesiam Sacramentam Ecclesiarum; ftatii furiose debacchantes dolisimo & nunquam fatis laudato libello contrudit & superavit; vicissim tam gladio quam calamo hostes Ecclesiae strenuissime profligant, quibus meritis fuis clarissimam fanam immortalis gloria pariter confeccrabat, tales laudes & gratias fia in incomparabili bonitate ab Ecclesia promeruit, quales nunquam fatis dignas quifquain mortalium referre poterit, fed Deus efflatim perfolvet præmia digna. Quomum idem Rex nostro & Protector illustriissimus à Regis Gallorum per Mare & per Terras, incolum hujus Regni contra perculfium fæudus, promiflam fidem, & fuum ipfius fælum confeedum affidue infellant, & Scotos contra Regnum hoc infingane ac suis fipendious conducente, acque Duceque Albaniam in pernicie principis Scotorum nostrorum Regis ex forore Neporis impellence, aliafæ; injurias multas & graves contra Regiam Majfestatem fuam; amicos & ludibios quotidie multiplicantis; provocatur, irritatur acque urgetur ut bellum fuscipiat, fiumque Regnum tam contra Gallos quam contra Scotos ut decet invictissimum Principem potenter defendat; non enim ultra pacem colere vel pacem longius expectare convenit, potfquam Rex Gallorum fuum Regnum Pontificem bene moventem, & quæ pacis sunt fuentem, audire recusat, exercitium infruens & bellum apparat, fortasse in multis annis duraturn: dignissimum est ob præfata tam præclara fcinora, ut ficut Rex nostrus illustriissimus plus careris Regibus antecedioribus suis pro Ecclesie defenfione utilitate & honore infudavit, & plus expenfaram fuituitur; ita ad fufficience Anno Dvo tertio.
nendae bellorum onera imminentia, pro Ecclesia & totius Regni hujus defensione, & per Ecclesiam tali subdito adhucetur quale anterioribus Regibus rumquam antehic concepturn eff, nec forasatis posteriories Regibus unquam simile, nisi obhaha benefacta vel extremam bellorum necessitatem pohta concedetur. Quocirca ut Regia Majestas ad fovendam & pro-
tegendam Ecclesiam, & Clerum Anglicam, magis indies animetur, & ut ju-
rar, libertates & privilegia Ecclesiae concessa beneigne Ecclesiae servet, &
av aliis fervari faciat, & ne prefata benefacta in ingratos contuliffe videatur.

Natos Prelati & Clerus Cant. Provinciae in haec Sacra Synoda Pro-
vincialis vice Prelatorum & Cleri ejusdem Convocatione, in Ecclesia Cathed. Divi Pauli London. vicepsimo die mensis Aprilis Anno Dom. mil-
hilisimo quingentesimo vicetimo tertio inchoata, ac ufe; ad & in decimum quattuor diem mensis Augusti proxime extune frequentis de diebus in
dies continuata, congregati, illufterissimo Domino Regi perpetuo & pot-
tenti. Fidei & Ecclesiae defenfori, subjidium dare & concedere De-
crevimus, quam noftram Beneficentiam ut gratam & acceptam habeat
ehumillime depreamur, protestantes exprefse, quod per pretemem conce-
tionem, quam tanquam novam & ante infolitam pro noftra singulari &
personali in Regiam Majestatem observantia fine exemplo donamus,
onimo nonumus Ecclesiae Anglicane aut succeditoris noftris in aliqua
praejudicium generali, nec calum hunc singularem ad sequen. trahi: Quod
fi praetemem Concellionem pro exemplo & (ut vocant) pro Praefidente ad
fimiles unquam Concelliones exiendas accipientem fore prefentiremus,
certe in eum omnino confentire recuefelemus: quandouquidem subjidium
sub modis, formis, conditionibus, exceptionibus ac provisionibus, & pro-
tefatione super & infrafcriptis, & non alter, neq; alio modo, Damus
& Concedimus, viz. Subjilium fe extendens ad Medietatem fine medium
partem valoris omnium fructuum, reddituum, & provenium, poftellio-
num, uniusannis, omnium & singulorum Epifcopatum, Ecclesiarum Ca-
thed. & Collegiarum, Dignitatum, Epiftolarum, Monar. Abbatiarum,
Prioratum弥补um; domorum Religionarum, necnon quorumcunq; beneficiorum & Poftellionum Ecclesiasticum, &c.

VI. Bishop Tonstal's Licence to Sir Thomas More for reading Heretical Books.
Ad Librum Secundum.

I. The Bull for the King’s Marriage with Queen Katherine.


quamvis jure The Nos noverit five quis ac Cum poft-Book Hcginam, & quia volun

Cotton piteU3...

TO Libr.

traxeritis ContraXwetis. Sententia vel iequendum, here, autem Arthurus elia licite quam modi quomodolibet tionis, bus effectamus, c.ipi.tis juimodi Pcenis, tu um uittr, Pnui'pes, I'.itisv vos iufceptam Prolem temptare gentefimo apudSan&um Petrum, tis Petri fcopo "I mes vigoris SercniiTima minore veniente, aem, I

K- K-

(ilia clandeftine contraxeritis, Apof'tolicis & kges Hifpaniarum &ges & & mu nerum Domino, quemlibet qui hujuimodi a

Verba legitime aetate ex

Elizabeth. Contractus per tertiae Conflentium, mutuum cohebati o

em, munerum aut interfignium dationem feu receptionem, vel alium quem-

II. The King's Protestation against the Marriage.

Cassin. Libr.

Vitell.B.1

N. Dei Nomine, Amen. Coram vobis Reverendo in Chrifto Patre & Domino, Domino Richardo Dei & Apostolicæ fedis gratia Episco$p0 Wimonienfis, Ego Henricus Wallie Princeps,Dux Cornubias & Co-

mes Cæftria, dico, allego & in his Scriptis propono, Quod licet ego minorem atatemagens, & intra annos puberabitis notorie exiftens, cum Serenissima Domina Katharina Hifpaniarum Regis Filia, Matrimonium de facto contraexerim, qui quidem Condactus, quamvis obfntare ipfa minore atate me de fe jam invalidus, imperfectus, nullius efficacie aut vigoris extirerit; quia ramen annis puberabitis & matura atate jam fuper veniente, Condactus ipse per tacitum Conflentium, mutuum cohebati o

em, munerum aut interfignium dationem feu receptionem, vel alium quem-
quemcumq; modum jure declaratum, farsan existimari seu videri poterit apparenter validatus aut confirmatus; Ea-propter, Ego Henricus Wallia Princeps praedictus, jam proximus pubertas et existens, & annos pubertas aitringens, Protecror, quod non intendo eundem praefermum contractum per quae cunq; per me dicta feu dicenda, facta aut facienda, in aliquo approxare, validare, seu ratum habere, sed nunc in praeferint, non vi, dolo, nec prece inducitus, sed sponte & libere, nullo modo coactus, contra huicmodi Contractum reclamo, & eidem dificientio, volo; & omniuo intendo ab eodem contractu Matrimoniali pratenfo, melioribus modo & forma, quibus de jure melius, validius, aut efficacius poterio vel poftim, penitus refilire, & cidente exficientio, piout in praeferint contra eundem reclamo, & cidente difientio. Protecror; quod per nullum dictum, factum, actum, aut gestum per me, aut nomine meo per alium quemcunque, quandocunq; aut qualemquaque, impofterum facier, ager, gerender, aut explicandum, volo aut intendo in praefatum contractu Matrimoniali, aut in dictam Dominam Catharinae tanquam Sponsam aut Uxorem meam confentire. Super quibus vos omnes testimonium perlibere volo, requiro, rogo, arque obtentor.

Per me Henricum Wallia Principem.


Giles Daubney, C. Somerset.
Thomas Rowthale.
Nicholas West.
Henry Marny.
;

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II

III.

Cinluul Wolley'j ^-/? £*««*

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Book

QoUeWion

II.

Caflali,

the Original.

Poft meam cordatiflimam Commendationem, poll
ultimum vcftrum a me difceifum ex compendio ad vos fcripfi, ut
ob nonnullas maximi momenti caufas procurare dift'erretis quod de Regis
Majeftatis negotio in quibufdam nobis traditis Commiffionibus continequoad rurfus vobis fignificarem quid ea in re fieri vellemus. Ubi
1) atur,

T~x Ominc Grcgori,

.

J

vero ad Regiam Majeftatem rediilTem, variis crebrifq; cum ea habitis
fcnnonibus, adeo abundeac diftin&e illi aperuiquam ex animoac diligcntcr, &• quam fincereSc ex fide, diu noftuque exoptetis eidem Regiae
Majeftati inlervire ; neque ullum unquam laborem, periculum aut moleftiam vosvelle recufare, ut omni ftudio ac viribusid fideliter praeftare
poifitis quod illi gratum aut acceptum quoquo modo efle poffe cognoveomnemq; induftriam vos efle adhibituros quo veftrae fidei curaeque
i itis,

commifla optatum finem confequantur

;

quern veftrum

animum

pro-

penfiirima voluntate fie fub mea fide Regia° Majeftati infinuavi, ut meam banc relationem atque fponfionem pectori fuo conftantiffime adfixe-

omnino futurum ut

tunc exoccafione refpondeatis : Ex quo fit ut veprocuranda
ihx opera? , cura: atque prudentia? ea nunc traftanda
committat, quibus nihil magis cordi habeat, nihil ardentius exoptet, aut
rit,

certiffimaque fiducia concepit,

pectation!

quacunque

in re

noftrae

&

&

majoris

fit

momenti vel

gravioris fucceifus, nee

um, utcunque intimum,

ullum habet

cui graviora poflit committere.

me

intercedente 3c procurante,

hoc

fidei adlciverit

Confiliari-

Quum itaque,

nunc vos Regia Majeftasprae ceteris ad

& elegerit, ut in re tarn gravi fidelifiima veftra opera ac

illi meam de vobis jam ei adftrinxerim, nihil
ambigens quin poftquam ejus animam ac voluntatem cognoveritis, fueritifque abunde inftruftiquam maximi haec qua; nunc expono fiint momenti, utpote quae potifiimum concernunt Regiae confeientiae exonerationem animaeque fuse falutem, vitae confervationem 8c incolumitatem,
Regii Stemmatis continuationem, publicumquecommodum & quietem
f iibditorum omnium,
eorum pariter qui fub ejus imperio nunc vivunt
vel qui poftea unquam in hoc fuo Regno vivent
quumque perfpiciam
;
fedulum veftrum Minifterium hoc in negotio impendendum omnino redundaturum efle in praecipuam veftram exaltationem 8c utilitatem, poftquam infelices iftos jam paflbs fuccelTus occafionem fe obtulifTe videtis,
qua veftra familia hujufmodi operamhuic Sereniflimo Principi navare
poflit, quod ftatum omnem veftrum in longe meliorem quam antea fit
baud dubie reftituturus & adautturus, certiflimum compertifiimumque
liabeo, quod bb has tarn urgentes caufas k tarn graves fuccefluros effe&us,adeototopeQore vires omnes veftras induftria ac ftudio tantas con-

minifterio utatur, fidemque

ficienda rei addicetis,

ut

omnia queatis ad optatum exitum perducere

meam prasftabitis, tarn optimum Regias
Majeftatis inftitutum juvabitis, ejus defiderio
expeftationi omni ex
parte latisfacietis,
praeter bene peraft* rei honorem
atque

ita

promiflum fidemque

&

&

& laudem

com-

parandam, mercedem quoque reportabitis tanti Principis liberalitate dignam, quxcertiffimecedet in perpetuum veftrum totiufque veftra? fami-

hx commodum

8c

incrementum

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Et

quum jam mihi perfuadeam futurum


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rum omnino ut officiis actionibusque vestris suis promissis sponsonibusque meis omnino factis statui, ad id pluribus verbis nequietam adhortabor, proinde ad rem nunc iisiam venio. Ante hoc tempus vosis aperuis, quemadmodum Regina Majestas, partim assidue suo studio & eruditione, partim relatu ac judicio multorum Theologorum, & in omnino Doctiorum genere doctorum virorum afferratione, eexistimans conscientiam suam non esse sufficienter exoneratum, quod in conjugio existiteret cum Regina, Deumque primo & ante omnia actum quiescum & saltem responsios, mox vero suam Successionis securitatem, perpendensque accurate quam gravia hinc mala provenirent, aperte fentit quam maxime futurum sit Deo molestum, in honorificum fibi, & ingratum apud homines, sibique subditis periculo summum, ex hoc non sufficienti conjugio, si depressitudatur dicta Majestatis fiensis ac volens in eo perfarme, & vivere prater modum debitum, juxtaque ritum & legitem Ecclesiæ Statutam: quibus igitur ex caulis longo jam tempore, intimo ture conscientia remoribus, fum multique Dei rationem habens, eexistimam fiam ietam & offenam, adeo quod, quum in suis conatibus actionibusque quibuscunque Deum potissimum fibi semper proponat, ingenti cum moleflia cordique perturbatione in hoc Matrimonio degit; super qua re maturnum fumnumque judicium consiliatur clarissimum celeberrimumque Doctorum aliorum, complurium in omnii eruditionis genere excellentiorem virorum ac Prelatorum, partim Theologorum, partim Jurisperitorum, tum in suo Regne, tum aliis exsistentium, ut aperte rerum cognoscerent, an Dispenfatione antea conceffae pro se & Regina, ex eo quod Regina Fratris sui uteriini Uxor antea extiterit, valida & sufficiens forat, nee; demum; a variis multis; ex his Doctorbibus afferterit, quod Papa non potest dispenfare in primo gradu affertratis, tanquam ex jure Divino, moraliter, naturaliter; prohibito, acf poefit, omnes affertrantes & contentientes quod hoc non potest, nisi ex urgentissimis & arduis caulis, quales non subinerunt; Bulla pratera Dispenfationis fundatur & concella est sub quibusdam rationibus fallo fuggefitis & erraratis, in ea namque affertratur, quod haec Regina Majestas Matrimonium hoc cum Regina percipiebat, pro bono pacis inter Henricum septimum Ferdinandum & Elizabetham, quum reversa nulla tunc dixit infinito aut belli fupplicii eflet inter dictos Principes, vel Regiam Majestatem pradixtam, quae in teneris adhuc annis, nec in differtione aut judicio constituiris agebat; nunquam deinde af fenit, aut quicquam cognovet de hujusmodi bullo Imperacione, nec unquam hoc Matrimonium opavirat, aut aliquid de eo acceptum antequam Imperationem. Quocirca ab his omnibus Doctoribus atq; Pralatis judicat hujusmodi Dispenfationem non adeo validam & idoneam elle ac efficacem, ut pradixtam Matrimonium manifeffe justum legitimum; fit; fed potius quod multa foflunt objici, magnis probabilibusque fundata & corroborata rationibus, in non leve peritum Regie proles, toto quo; Regni ac subditorum gravem perturbationem. Ad haec potius, quam Regina Majestas, qui Wallia Princeps tunc erat, decimum quartum annum antiffiglet, contraftus Revocationis Subfequenta erat, Rege Patre exprefse nolarent quod hujusmodi Matrimonium ullo pacto turtheretur ef fetum. His caulis Rex hic Serenissimus, tanquam bonus & CatholicusPrinceps, timens ne ob tam diuturnam cum Regina continuationem, indignatus & iratus Deus citius ex humanis evocaverit Macfculam & Reginam fufeceptam prolem, gravius; Deo supplicium expavescit & in Matrimonio
A Collection

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trinumio hoc non-1egitimo perseveraverit; ex hac ideo occasione, in-
timis praeordini lunct Conslentia fecupulum conceptus, in animo nihil-
ominis habens, pro animi conscientiaf; fine quieta & faltate, prolifqi,
uritate, ad Sanctum Domini nostril deemq; Apofiolicae confugurc,
tante remedium perpetraturum confidentis, quod ob complura fia erga
cum merita & officia tum calamo ingenioq; viribus, tum armis praftria,
subflitia in Ecclesie caliinetrabirbis prompte subministrata,SanclifinusDo-
mìnus notor non gravabiturfia benignitate, Authoritate ac facultate,
inimum lunci Regis Majefiatis cordi inhalentem dolorem amovcre,
cum; modo ac rationem intire qua Regia Majefas praddita Uxorem
abiam ducere, & Deo volente, facultatem prolem in fias succ:fessionis
uritatem quin et ca fulciere, & tam certan quietem in fio Regno
continuere: Quamph; ejus Sanètitas ab his nunc captiva detineatur, qui
pro virili funa forfan combuntrur impedire, turbarer; hoc Regis Majef-
ftatis defiderium & Statutum, ipfa praterela cognitt visias omnes excogit-
rare, qui ad fia Sanètitas de hac re dexterius & commodius infiri, & fa-
cilius adduci quin ad ea concendeda, quaor medio & vigore Regis Majef-
ftatis animus & defiderium quin optarum fortriri effe&fum: Proinde ipfa
Regia Majelfas de fide, indunitia, dexteritate praudientia; vestra plenif-
mime confidentis, vult ut statim his literis acceptis, rebus alius omnibus qui-
buscum; ab eo vel & quovis alio vobis commiflts omnino pothabitis, visas
modofu omnes possibilis excogitatis quibus potefis fecrefitum, mutato
habitu & tanquam allicatus Minifter, vel tanquam Commissionem habens
a Deu Ferratia pro nonnullis inter Pontificem & eum componendoris con-
троverfis, vel alia qua licuerit fcurroria via, ad Pontificis prefentiam &
 colloquia accedendi, omnibus arbitris femotis, ficii perfett, pro ve-
ftis obiundis mandatis; quorum obtinendorum gratia, fia ita expedire
judicaveritis, eman mercedem ac pecuniarum fummam promitteris ac tra-
detis, his qui revera volent arq; poterunt hoc negotium ad fectum per-
trahere, quam fummam, & ejus limitationem, judicio, prudcntiaque
veffra integram Regiam Majefas remittit; etiam &his danda focrates qui
Pontificem affervant, vel cuicunque alio qui vos tum ad fecretum cum
fia Sanètitate Sermonem adducere, in locumq; tumum reducere pofer:
Cius rei graria, aliiq; ad hunc finem confequendum futfimendis oneri-
bis necelfaris, pecunia ad fummam decem mille ducatorum, per Menfari-
s Venetiam transmittuntur, qui illic in promptu aderunt, perfolvendo
& confignando Protonotarico Pratrie veftro, Regio illic exiftenti Orato-
ri; per eumq; de tempore in tempus ad vos tranmittiti ea fummma poterit
quam huic obtinendo negotio conducere pofe extimaveritis, nilhique
ambigo quin dicitam pecuniam fideliter collocetis,ex Regis Majefiatis uti-
litate, expe&fatione arq; fententia. Arq; ubi ad Sanctum Dominum no-
strum acefleiris, polt filiales & cordatiffimas Regis Majefiatis meafq;
devotis & humillimis commendationes, & polt exhibitas a Rege Cre-
dentiae literas, in quibus in negotii adjunctum clauffula vchemens eft
propria eus manu concripta, ut ex earum exemplo cognofcitis, ejus
Sanètitatis exoneris quam grave, moleftumq; Regia Majefiati & mihi fit,
audire inofciellsimos eventus, calamitateque miserandum,in qua nunc
equis Sanètitas cum Reverendiff.Cardinalib. verfatur, cum graviflima de-
trimento irreparabileq; fedis Aposiolicae illufque Patrimonii jaetur, ad
que mala fublevanda & corrigenda nullum in Regia Majefiata officium
defideberitur, quod ab illo erga Sanctum Domini nostril vel fedem Apo-
sfolicam
Santissimo Domino nostro solita veltra dexterrate aperit:is idqquad in his ipsis literis ad vos scripsi concernens hujus Matrimonii insufficientiam, ab illo: rationibus & causis fundamentum capiendum, quae superius enarratur integrum; discursum ejus Sanctitati declarabitis, non omittentes intrinsecum dolorem, conscientia scriptum, Dei rationem, Malum prolatus respectum, hujus Regni bonum, & alia omnia ut superius scripsi sunt: addentes infuper, nihil vehemens operi a tota Regni Nobilitate, subditiffique omnibus nullo discrimine, quam e Regiae Majestatis corpore Malum hæredem ad Deo fibi dari, in perpetuum consolationem, gaudium, quiem, ac totius Regni securitatem, postteritatiqque firmissimum columnam; prudenteriumq; opinionem esse, quod Deus omnipotens à tanto bono concedendo divinam suam manum substrahat, ob errorem, culpamque in dixto Matrimonio haçtenus admiratam, quo nisi mature corrigitur, graviora ex hac occasione in hoc Regno mala succedant, quam antea unquam fuerunt audita; etenim si hoc negotium in suspensio & indiscutium relinquetur, hujusmodi possent questiones, controversiae & contentiones ac factiones polt defunctum Regem exoriri, ob Regni hæreditatem, quae non possent in multorum evo reftingu, ut antea olim ex caufa longe levis accidit, neq; ex re tam ambiguous, tam $a$ $a$ olim depopulationes, bella, interius, controversia exorta, & ad multum tempus continuata sunt, in extremum & ferme ultimum Regni excidium; quae quam tam grava frivat, Santissimus Dominus nofior veluti pater & gubernator Chrifti, nicatis prospicer ex officio deber, & quibus & quo modis potest, proviribus adniti & conari, ut he Regna ac dominia quae nunc super-funt in fide & obedientia Ecclefiae aëthiusam, inter quae, Deo fit laus, hoc Regnum hauz recentendum eff inter minima, fed tanquam illud quod haçtenus juvavit, & pofthum pro tuto præfido femper haber poterit, adverfus ea quæ cedere possent in Ecclefiae Catholicae vel Santae fidei deterrimentum.

Tertio, Santissimo Domino nostro proponeris praefentem Ecclefiae statum, rogabitiqque ut in mentem velit redigere, quo nunc in statu fuis Sanctitatis res cum Christianis Principibus verfoentur, cumq; privata contentiones, quae illi funt cum magna corum Principum parte, addita & ambitione immoderato; regum appetitu & ex arbitrio sio, Tempore jusome arq; Spiritualetractandi, Ecclesiamque; Jurisdictionem & Authoritatem invertendi, eo certe animo ut fedis Apostolicae dignitatem extinguam; his omnibus in unum conncxiss ac bene consideratis, ejus Sanctitas manifeste cognocer, Principem nullum, neq; portum, aut refugium tam tuum, cui in omnem eventum quae innehere, fibi reliquum esse, quam hoc Regia Majestas est que nihil fibi vendicar, nil ambit, quod praedipio esse possit dicta Sanctitati, fed ejus, Apostolicae-
que fedis, temper futit, est, eileq; decretiv firmissimum lctum, tutissimunq; propugnaculum, ita suas actiones cum caretis Principibus firmans & connectens, ut temper ex ea occasione in suam hanc optimam lenientiam reliquis poftir attrahere, adeo quod Regi tam optimae in Sanctissimum Dominum nostrarum affecto nihil denegari debeat, utherumq; maximum quod poftir ab eiusmoditate prafirai ordinaria vel absolura tua Authoritate, nam procudulbio, post vias modosq; omnes tentatos, omnino perScience omnia alia amicitia officia, ihiue quod petitur comperentur, cefe perquam exigua, & hoc amicum officium hujusmodi futurum, ex quo reliqua quaniam incrementum capere, sine eo futura alioquin parvi ac nullius feri momenti.

Tertio, probe norandum est, quod res nunc aperta & petita, a Regia Majestatian toate, ex tam magno conscientiae sperulo, confide, remorlurioritur, ut unicuiq; debita fit, quantumcumq; minor quam Regia Majestas sit de Sanctissimo Domino nostro merito. Qvo-circa judicar, & pro re comperta firi perluader, quod fi illa merito- rum vel officiorum ratio habeatur, nunc ipius Sanctitas huic suo de-fiderio & petitioni benignimque liberimque aduerter, nullo probus- dubio, dificultate, contradictione aut mera inieeta, Negotiumque hujiusmodi est, ut cognita Dispensationis insufficiencia, quamvis id non requirivisset Rex, altero proponi oferrique debuiisset ab eadem Sanctitate tanquam a Patre Spirituali, in eius laudis & conscientiae benefi-cium.

In gratiam igitum & contemplationem praeiilorum omnium instant-tissime vehemensittimeque a Sanctissimo Domino nostro requiretis & condenditis, ut dubio, metuque omni foexoff, respicere velit ad caufe fitarum, & ad ea quae subequtuira videantur, rationemq; habere infini-torum commororum, que ex hac re fine Sanctitatii Apostolicae; sedi inde provenient, rem hane statum, abfj; temporis tractu, & caufe cir-cumstantia, nemini quam apertius, libere concedere & indulgere nulli; communicata specialm Commiilionem ad hunc effeetum & finem con-fectam in forma Brevis concedere, & ad me dirigere, Facultatem ad-dens, ut mihi liceat quosque; voluero ad me vocare, mihiq; acfere ad procedendum in hac caufa, & inquisitionem de dictae Bullae ac Dis-pensationis insufficiencia, iuxta formam ac tenorem expressum in quodam libello hujus rei gratia confeet; quam cum his ad vos mitto, fie in debita forma confeiptrum & digelatum ut non fit futurum opus quo denuo ab ullo alio exferibur, fi forsam periculo tantum putaretur conn rem cuic; patefacere vel in dubium aut dilationem protractum iri negotium, siuli ex Sanctissimi Domini noftri officiariis committeretur futuris confriben-dum; fed quod in hujusmodi periculo eventum poftit eipos Sanctitas fine ullo discriminem vel alicuius cognitionem eam dictae libello signaturam, signillum; apponere, ut aperte proinde confert, Pontificis meram voluntatem fie eile, illiueque Signatura ac Sigilli vigore, legitimem & sufficiient poftim ego procedere ad inquisitionem de dictae Dispensationis insuffi-ciencia, cognitionem & alienam cauturam & rationem, quae adduci poffit pro dicti Matrimoni invaliditate.

Item cum his ad vos mitti Dispensationem in debita forma confeetam & scriptam in modum Brevis, ffercro impermandam & expedirendam eia-dem Signaturam vel Sigillum apponendo, vel alio quovis modo valido: Et quamvis ex hac re multa pendente, ob quae iifa requiruntur, &

qux,
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que, Deo favente, neutiquam timenda sunt; Attamen Regia Majestas eximio intentis, & recordationi complurium rerum; quæ olim præteritis temporibus fuertum injuste afferita, vel adducta, in animo habens causas suas omnes abhis; uila controversia aut difficultate ad perfectum finem perducere, & ut ullo quoqu prætextu, argumento aut colore, pastumodum emergentem perturbarentur, hoc à Sanctissimo Domino nostrò requiris, veluti rem necessariam, quà nullo pacò carere queat; firméter confidens, quod Sanctitas tua, benigne atq; amanter isti ejus desiderio asserier, & conceder fine ullo obstaculo dictam Commissionsn, juxta formam quam Regia Majestas peti & codem tempore, atque hee omnìa bene ac liberaliter expedire, secretiori & validiori quo fieri possit modo, quo opus situs subsequei possit in eum effectum, laudabilique propofitorum, de quo superius dictum est; Qua ex occasione Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum in perpetuumibi adstringer, indisolubili; amicitia vinculo hanc Regiam Majestatem fiibi alligabit, que nulli labori, periculo,opibus,Regno, fubdiciis, nec ipfi languimi parcens, ab ejus Sanctitate nunquam divelleter aut eam deferere, ted totis fuis viribus contantissimi tepemper illi adherebit, tum in fine sanctissatis & Cardinalium liberationem, tum in honestis perfecundis; ad quem finem, magnam jam paulumam Regem Christianissimum mifi, pro illo Italiæ exercitu continuando, & prazer id in animo statutum habet, quod nifi Caesar de dicta Sanctitate liberanda conferire, & ad pacem devenire voluerit, bellum gerere adversus has inferiores Caefaris Regiones & Domini, quo vehementius urget Sanctissimi Domini nostri liberationem Ecclesiæ; in pristinam suam dignitatem & auctoritatem restitutionem, caeque de fide indica exhibebit ut universalis orbì manifestum sit futurum; dictam suam Majestatem effe solidum perfectum amicum, filium obfquentissimum & ejus devotissimum; a qua prectoris suis fententia, nullo thesaurio, nullis opibus, nullis Regnis, fcu Ditionibus, vel occasione quaundam; unquam adductur, fed ex filiali fua observantia & in Christianam Religionem zelo, innatoq; erga fede Apostolica studio, & precipuo quoquam affectu, quem Sanctissimo Domino nostro gerit: in compellationem quoq; gratitudinis, quam tam avide in hoc furo negotiЪ ab ejus Sanctitate expefentar, decretern pròprius habet in confantissimo hoc & indissolubili amicitia & conjunctionis vinculo fincriffimo perflare, id quod dicta Regia Majeflata Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum vehementissime rogat, ut probe velit in omne partem libraré, viciffenq; effecer, ut ex Regio petitionis indulgentia palam confet parem benevolentiam & humanitatem à Sanctissimo Domino nostro ex mutuo præfari.

Hac autem caufa ipfius Sanctitati à vobis, ut dictum est, exposita & declarata, neutiquam dubitantum est, quin benevole atq; libenter fiat adnatur Regia Majestatis expectationi & quod huic asfcrer, dictam Commissions tefercro modo ipfa concedens, nominem de eare ut dictum est, participem faciens; qui modus fervandus est, si videritis haec effici non poss, nisi eum periculo quin haec res eis comunieerur, qui eam eirn interurarur, vel si id praftare fuerit in Sanctissimi Domini nostri arbitrio, tunc ejus Sanctitas non gravetur, per Brevia; vel per Bullas, prout validius & magis sufficijens fore judicaverit, præmissa omnia concedere, ad quod vestram omnem industiam, prudentiam, studium, diligentiam, adhibebitis: Sic omnia prudenter & circumbias agentes,
ne in differenti en deventiur negotiun hoc his dtegregendi, qui illud vel 
impedire vel retardare forfan voluenter aut poterint, sed potius quam 
ad id periculi res deducetur contenti critis sola dictorum libellorum Sig-
nature, in eam formam contechta, quam ex ca palam confet, Pontificis 
afflentiam in id actealiter concurrendi, qui pollela recentioribus scriptis, si 
ita opus fuerit, firmius confirmari corroboratio; poterit.

Et quoniam incertum est, utrum ante veftrum ad Pontificem acced-
sum, eis Sanctitates fuerit in suam libertarem retinuita, necque, que 
fut libera non tanti facile Regia Majef[aris amicitiam & jontionem, 
vel allegabibit, seneaucedere nec polle, ex fuis cum C[afare conventioni-
bus ifta concedere, nec securo ullo modo, vel ullo colore, quod ea in 
refecififer apud Caferem justificare, & potuiifer ante in Regia Majef-
tis auxilio pro sua liberatione fperans, quam adhuc deneineretur captivus ; 
eo caufa Sanctiflimo Domino nostro in mentem redegiteris, quam parum fi-
dere possit ulsit fibi facitis a Caferam promitis, quam nulla in parte redun-
dare potuit in commodum aut securitarem, fed folum in extremum exci-
dium ac detrimentum fedis Apofdlici ; & licet ad breve tempus multa 
videretur Caesar in euis Sanctitatis gratiam facturus, fepuriflimum ramen 
lemper Pontifici effe debebat Cafarianos ea facere, fempere; facturos, 
que Caferem possit exclare, & tendant ad ufurpationem potius & de-
pressionem flarus Ecclefiaficic, quam ad ejus continuationem, vel con-
fevationem; & quotiens adverfus Ecclefiam ifta tentarentur, Regia 
Majef[atis in lac sua petizione passa repullam, que aloquin ejus Sancti-
tati in omnem evenetum firmiflime adhafeitar, & alias fusconfe-
tatos in eandem fententiam pertraxifet, quam, ea deficient, in contra-
rum facile potenter allici, quo animo futura fit, & quam bene fium af-
fectum & obfervantium collocase exiftimatur: summa est prudentis 
omnia considerare.

Haud incognitum praterea est Sanctiifimus Dominus nostrum ad 
Caferis inhafliam, quam non multam ab ejus Sanctitate gratiam pro-
xerit effe, ei concedife Diffenfationem & Abjolutionem à jurejurando 
ab illo praefito, de ducenda in Conjugem Domina Principis; nullo ut 
par fuifet à Regia Majef[ate habito, feu petitio confenfu, non obstante 
quod Caesar in validifima forma, non folum praefito jurejurando, fed 
cautione & Ecclefiafficarum cenfurarum & penarum adhibita, quod 
perftringetur de dicto Matrimonio perimplendo, ac fide Pontifici con-
tentus effe potuit, tantum ei offendere gratitudinem, quam veluti hofis 
indes ceteri tunc poterat haberis; & qui majora parabat quam justi pol-
let opra, fus petitionibus, Regia Majef[ate inconfulto, nequitiam pa-
cens, quam proponfis ejus Sanctitates aduere debet ejus Principis voto, 
quojfifdem & obfervantium vere filiamem fape exprimere. Verum ra-
men fi Sanctiifimus Dominus nofter difficulter villus fuerit polle adduciri, 
Ut in meam Perfouam dicit Commiffioni affentiari, &allegans quod non 
fim indifterens, cui ex fuis Sanctitatis honor fide negotiun commiitti 
pofit, cum Regis Majef[atis fum subditis & intimis confiliarius, 
tunc ramadui prififetis ea in re, quod vobis villum fuerit conveniens, negoz-
ii expeditionem non ideo protbrantes, aut demitteres, fed inßanttes ut hu-
nifmodi Commiffio concedatur; affirmabifto; me pro re nulla quanti-
liber grand, nullo favore, aut commodo, quiquam effecturum esse; 
quodaverletur officio meo, & erga Chrifrum prifite profefionis, neq; 
unquam to refo, vero, juftq; tranite digreffurum; & quid Cardina-

A Collection Book II.
De Regii vero defiderii ac petitionis fruistratione super dicit Commis- 
fione obtinenda dicetis unum & idem esse, hanc illi denegaret, vel aliis con-
cedere quam in veltris Instructionibus continuator, non quod Regia Majes-
tas de ahorum rectudine aur inindifferencia quia quemque fuipicetur, vel quod 
judicet eorum aliquem affectibus obnoxious; sed quod pro re certissima 
creditis, quod Sanclitissim Dominus nofer in nominem tam facile con-
descenderet, quam in dica Rotae Decanum, ob idque de co in Instruc-
tionibus veltris mentionem fecit: sed Commissions in debita forma cum 
is nominibus fieri & conferibi julit, quod si hic credidissimus, Dom. 
Staphyleum habitum illic iri pro fuipecto, affirmare potestis me fuifle 
omino missurtur consimile Commissionis formulam, spatio relieto 
pro aliquo alio in scribendo nomine, aliquamq.; aliam superst cosa re Instruc-
tionem me daturum suisse; & haud dubie, si de nominibus daturat 
uerit controversia, ha rationes facile poterunt Pontificem attrahere, ut 
in me confaient, vel in Staphyleum. De aliis vero neminem admittetis, 
nec tamen Pontifici aperietis vos, ne id facitias habere in mandatis, fed 
superius narratus Caflas in vestram excusationem allegantes, omnino ut 
vobis injunctur, ea in re infiltesis.

Quod si nullis modis didam Commissionem, & Dispensationem im-
peratur poteritis, ad idq; nequeretur Pontifex adducit, nisi rem prius aliqui 
ex Cardinalibus vel Officiariis communicaverit, in co tunc cautis, eis San-
ctis in memoriam reducite, quae & quam gravia mala ex hujus negotii 
propagatione possent provenire, si ex ea occasione aliqua contrarietates 
vel impedimentum suboriretur, unde Regia Majestatis efpexatio post-
modum frustraretur: Quo iigitur, si nulla inicia tuntur in hac re tractan-
difficultates, ut Pontificem eram facilius ad Regium vomum concedendum 
promptior; reddatur, alias etiam prater ha literas eosmin ad vos scripsi, 
quas una cum his accipietis, in quibus copiose aggesit, quam multas
magni momenti rationes, ob quas sententia judicium; meum est, ne ullo
paede Pontificis han: petitionem Regiae Majestatis degener: quas literas,
quim in eis argumentum vehemens est, nec ob prolixitatem radiofum
aut molestem quod legatur, modum aliquem ipsius Sanetitar: legendi in-
venteris; ipseque certam habeo, si earum luma, tenor, atq; sententia
proflnde perpendatur, quam latis id el: poterit ad omnem tollendam
deutum, quod poterit obvertari indicat Commissione Dispenfatione-
que obtrinenda, in eis contenta sigillatim exponetis adeo, quod hoc ne-
gotium confici queat, Arbitris aut Confilariibus ad id neutiquam accipis,
fi fieri poterit: fi tamen Pontificis fcraverit fo pofe haec omnia eos celare
qui lice rei forfan voluptem reftrah, & omino decreverit aliquis
Cardinalem vel ofiicieris ilius caufa participes facere, omnem tunc in-
duiitiam fta: admibebebis, ut his cognitis eorum gratiam & favorem ea
in re vobis compararetis, partim eis respectus, & caulfas omnes in meis lite-
ris contentas, etiam in caufe commodum facientes, uberi: exponentes,
partim vero eam renovationem illis dantes, qua judicio vef:ro conven-
niens habebitur, dummodo optatum res fortau:rum effectum. Et ut om-
nia quas is praffare commodus cum his, meas litteras accipietis quas ad
Cardinalen Similarem Quatuor & Collegium Cardinalium scribo, eaque
reddetis ut expedire cenfueritis, plane confidens nihil a vobis omissum
iri, ut hac in reorum gratiam atq; favorem quaeis obtinere, in quem
eventum ea numera offereris, quae convenienia vfa fuerint, Regiaque
Majefgas quicquid ejus nomine promiferitis, id fideliffime, uberrimeq;
praf:tabit, pro quorum rerum expedizione, illis pecunias uti poteritis per
literas Cambi Venetiar tranfimilis, quonjs; fuffecerint, necejfariamq;
vos exiftimaveritis rei impetranda. Et quum ambiguum fit an vobis li-
cuerit hoc tempore ad Pontificis prefentiam accedere, hujojmodi ace-
cffius defecfus, fi alter rei ad bonum exitum perducendi rationes non ex-
cogitarentur, caufa efei poferit longioris mora, & tofius rei impendi-
proinde Regia Majeftas, ut modos omnes experiatur, nec uni foli
inhaberat, hae eadem in mandatibus dicit Domino Secretario, quem
non procul ab Urbe efe intelle:eximus, quemadmodum in his alisq; meis
brevioribus litteris continuerat, ita quod alter veftrum, vel uerque, fi
fieri poterit, ad Pontificis prefentiam acciffum habeat, nihil tamen,
su fpe Domini Secretarii, veftra vos diligentia aut industria ommiteris,
nec ife libe fe veftra, in re hae modis omnis promovenda, remiffor
erit, sed nihil conjuentim aut diftinuum intentam relinquetis. Quod fi
uter; veftrum ad Pontificem admittatur, alter de altero necibus, id
non obserit, fed multum proficerit, etiam f ante alterius adventum nego-
tium hoc alter impetraret, fedi aliquis veftrum cognoverit caufam
hanc expediat efe, omniaq; pro certo impetrata efe, tunc labori &
funtibus Pontificem pro eadem re accedendi parcerie poteritis, neq; in
cam amplius ingerere, neq; necejfarium aut opportunum erit, ut pro ualla
alia re in prefentia quam pro hac apud Sanetitiam Dominii noftr: aga-
tis, fed folum nunc procurabitis de Commissione & Difpenfatione iuxta
formam ad vos miliam obtrinenda, necon de profefnatione illa, quam
compendio ad vos dedi, in quibus omnibus & fingu:us apte tra:andis
Regia Majeftas magnam fiduciam in veftra prudentia collocavit, in qui-
bus, cum tam magni fint momenti, ex Regiae Majeftatis fementia nunc
vosis maxime elaborandum ef.

Deniq; quam intellegiam Dominum Lauren: nonnihil mirari, quod
Regia
Regis Majestatis iislic agentes, nullam fuorum mandatorum partem cum eo conferunt; ad eum nunc scribo, & nonnulla Domino Roberto Jernyngham ei exponenda committit concernentia actiones cum Ferraria Deuc, & alia quodam eodem Domino Lautrek; significans, vos miseros esse ad dictas causas jurandas, & Pontificis liberationem promovandam, quemadmodum ex literarum ad Dominum Jernyngham exemplo cognosceis: expediens itaque; fuerit, ut praeefereratis, vos dictae rei gratia miseros esse, ne forsan Dominus Lautrek in falsam aliquam intends tum aut suflicerem incideret, quæ communibus rebus nocere posset, & in veritarum quoq; actionum impedimentum reducatur.

Illud decidit reticere nulli, quod si ullo pacto vobis liceat ad Sanctifim Dominii nostri prædentium accedere, nihil omittatis in favorem & graviam Reverendi Domini Datarii, de cujus animo nihil dubitantus, comparandam, eie; affereris, quod quum in nostris omnibus occurrentibus illius operae ac Patrocino semper, ut fueritis, ipsa vero tanta fide ac sedulitate omnia efficere, quæ nobis grata & optata esse cognovit, ut nostram omnem operam fuus rebus reddiderit promptissimam, & fuerit utilissimam & exaltationem cupidissimam. Quocirca hac Regia Majestas hae in re, quâ nullam magis cordi habet, nec gravioris momenti quique quibus amicis accedere posse judicat, ex animi fui sententia conficienda, post Sanctifimum Dominum nostrum, in Domino Datario spec omnem colloavic, qui ex hae occasione, si operam suam ad operam ulius; exitium interponere non gravetur, Regis Majestatis animum & pecus, sic omnis ex parte promerebitur, ut dicta Majestas non solum omnia curatura sit, quæ ex Domini Veronenfis commodo & ornamento fuerint, sed eam etiam munificentiam & gratitudinem adder, quæ majorem vel integram partem, a captivitate Redemptionis persubvenia; compenfavit; in me vero non aliam sedem & amicitiam experiri, quam ab ullo fratre posset expeclare. Et bene valete. Londini ex meis Ædibus. Die quinto December. M. D. XXVII.

Veste tanquam frater Amantiissi.

T. Cardinalis Eborac.

Rome Jan. 1. 1528.

IV. Two Letters of the Secretary Knights to the Cardinal and the King, giving an account of his Conference with the Pope about his Divorce. Taken from the Originals.

Please it your Grace to understand, That immediately upon the receipt of your Grace Letters, severally directed unto Mr. Gregory and me; he and I reformed unto the Pope his Holiness, making congratulation of his restitution unto liberty on yours and his behalf, to his singular comfort and consolation; and so much the more, because that I was the first that made like falutation in any great Princes Name; Hé being well assured that I spake the name on the behalf of his two chief, sincere, & unseigned Friends: Wherefore with great high thanks and long discouer,
discourse, with rehearal of the King's and your merits and Acts, in most
veracious and Catholick manner, employed for his restitution, and your
continual and effectual study how the See Apolothique might recover
the prifline Reputation and Dignity; He confirmed as much as I had
spoken. After this Mr. Gregory and I entered into our Charge, dwelling
at length the high delicts of the Princes and Realm of England, the
devotion of the same towards the Church; how expedient it was, as well
for the See Apolothique, as for the said Realm, to foresee and provide
that all occasions of Diffention and War were extinct and put away;
which for lack of Heir Male of our Sovereign's Line, and Stemm, should
undoubtedly follow, with other considerations at length contained in
our Instructions. We defired his Holiness to commit the knowledge of
the Diffenfion that was obtained in time of Julius, of famous memo-
ry, for Matrimony to be had between the King and the Widow, Relict
lare of Prince Arthur; and that we might have it in form as that was
that your Grace lent bither. His Holiness answered, That our sayings
had great likelihood of truth, for lacking of Illue Male of the King's
Stemm, considering the nature of Men being prone unto Novelties, and
dispofed unto Parties and Factions, the Realm of England would not
only enter into their accustomed Divisions, but also would owe or do
small devotion unto the Church; Wherefore his Holiness was right
well content and ready to adhibit all Remedy that in him was possible
as this time would serve. And because he was not expert in making of
Commissions, he would confide with the Cardinal Sanorum Quator,
and use his advice, which we should shortly know.

We perceiving that the obtaining of our Charges after the King's and
your Graces pleasure, depended much upon the Advice of Sanorum
Quator, did prevent his going unto the Pope, and delivering your
Grace's Letters with Recommendations accordingly, we defired him
to be good and favourable unto our Requests in the King's behalf; and
for the better obtaining of our desires, we promised to see unto him
with a competent reward. And this communication had, we shewed
unto him the Commission, which he said could not pass without perpe-
tual dishonour unto the Pope, the King, and your Grace; and a great
part of such Claufes as bemitted, he hath touched and laid reason for
the fame in a Writing, which I do send unto your Grace with this.
Considering his great Experience, Wisdom, Learning, and the entire
affection that he beareth unto the King and your Grace; and that it
was far from the King's desire, and nothing for your purposes, that I
should first have lent the said Cardinal's Sayings unto your Grace, and
abide anfwer, and eft-soons prevent to do the fame: Considering all
that the said King defirith a Commission convenient and sufficient, we
defired him to make the minute of one, which he gladly did: When it
was made, the Pope said, That at his being in the Caffle of St. Angelo,
the General of the Observants in Spain, required his Holines, in the
Emperor's Name, not to grant unto any Act that might be preparative,
or otherwise, to a Divorce to be made between the King and the Queen:
and moreover defirith an Inhibition, that the said Caufe should not
come in knowledge before any Judge within the King's Dominions. The
Pope answered that Inhibitio non datur nisi post litter motam. And as
unto the first his Holines was content, if any like thing were demand-
ed,
ed, to advertise the Emperor before, that he did let it pass; and this was in a manner for his Holiness's being in Captivity. But his Holiness being yet in Captivity, as your Grace reports, and eftemeth him to be as long as the Almainer and Spaniards continue in Italy; he thought it he should grant this Commission, that he should have the Emperor his perpetual Enemy, without any hope of reconciliation: Notwithstanding he was content rather to put himself in evident ruine, and utter undoing than the King, or your Grace, should suspect any point of ingratitude in him, heartily desiring cum suspiris & lacrymis, that the King and your Grace, which have always been fast and good unto him, will not now suddenly precipitate him for ever; which should be done, if immediately upon delivering of the Commission your Grace should begin Proceedings. He intendeath to save all upright thus: If Monfieur de Lantreth would set forwards, which he faith daily that he will do, but yet he doth not, at his coming the Pope's Holines may have good colour to lay, He was required by the Ambaffadour of England of a like Commission. And denying the fame, because of his promise unto the General, he was eft-foons by Monfieur de Lantreth, to grant the faid Commission, insinuing as it was but a Letter of Justice. And by this colour he would cover the Matter, fo that it might appear unto the Emperor, That the Pope did it not as he that would gladly do displeasure unto the Emperor, but as an indifferent Prince that could not, nor might deny Justice, specially being required by fuch Personages; and immediately he would dispatch a Commission, bearing date after the time that Monfieur Lantreth had been with him of nigh unto him. The Pope moflly instantly befecheath your Grace, to be a mean that the King's Highnes may accept this in a good part, and that he will take patience for this little time, which as it is suppos'd will be but short, and (in omnem eventum) I do bring a Commission with me, and a Dispenfation, which I truft the King and your Grace will like well.

We have given unto my Lord Cardinal Sanforum Quatuor 4000 Crowns, and unto the Secretary 30 Crowns.

With this Your Grace shall receive a Letter from the Pope's Holiness, Item; a Counfel of Oldbrand. that giveth light unto the King's Caufe. I shall make the moft diligence homeward that I can. Our Lord Jesus preferve Your Grace.

At Orvieto, this firft day of January.

Your moft humble Servant and Chaplain,

W. Knight.
To the K I N G.

Please it your Highness to understand, That as soon as the Pope was at liberty, and came unto Orvieto, I resorted unto his Holiness with all diligence; and at my coming unto him, did make congratulation on your Highness's behalf; forasmuch as he was restored unto his Liberty, which he accepted very joyfully and thankfully, giving unto your Highness manifold and high thanks for your great goodness, as well proved in his adversity, as when he was in his most felicity. After this he rehearsed my being at Rome, how dangerous it was, inasmuch as when my being there was detect, especial was made, and I was not passed out of Rome by the space of two hours, ere two hundred Spaniards invaded and searched the House. He shewed also that he had received all such Letters as I at my being in Rome did send unto his Holiness; whereby he did perceive the Effect of your Highness desiring concerning your Dispensation: And albeit he did send me word that I should depart, and his Holiness would send unto me the said Dispensation fully speeded, Nevertheless he trusted that your Highness would be content to tarry for a time: for the General of the Observants in Spain being lately in Rome, had required him, according unto his Instructions, that he should suffer nothing to pass that might be prejudicial or against the Queen, directly or indirectly, but that the Pope should first advertise thereof certain of the Caftarins here. And forasmuch as this Dispensation might encourage your Grace to cause my Lord Legate Authoritate Legationis to hear and decern in the Cause that your Highness intended, and his Holiness standeth as yet in manner in captivity and perplexity: His Holiness therefore besought your Grace to have patience for a time, and it should not be long ere your Highness should have, not only that Dispensation, but any thing else that may lie in his Power. I replied unto this, That his Holiness had once granted it, and that I had dispatched a Pacquet, and made relation thereof, by my Writings, unto your Highness; so that I could not imagine by what reason I might persuade you that he would perform the promise that he had once broken. In conclusion; He was content that your Highness should have it, but he would have it delivered with this condition; That the Prothomotary and Gambora and I, should befooch your Highness not to attempt any thing in your Cause against the Queen, till such time as the Pope were frankly at his Liberty; which could not be as long as the Almagers and Spaniards did thus reign in Italy; and promis made, we should deliver the Dispensation: and in my poor judgment, it was best always to be in possession of this Dispensation. After this he shewed the Minute unto the Cardinal Sanctovam Sanctov, willing him to reform it according to the file of this Court; which done, he shewed it unto me, and after said, That he thought good I should depart, because I rode but competent Journies, and the Prothomotary Gambora should follow by Post and bring the Bull with him, which is of the same form and substance that your Highness's Minute is of: And if there be any thing omitted,
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ted, or to be added, his Holiness is always content to reform it, and to put it under the same date that the same Dispenfation now beareth; the Copy whereof I do send unto your Highness with this, the Commiſsion General and Profeffation being void, because they were conceived during captiuate only. And here on my behalf, none other thing being to be done, I took my leave of the Pope and departed. At my coming unto Scaperris near unto Bonony, I did meet with Thadæus this Courier; which brought certain Expeditions Triplicat, the one unto the Protho¬notar Gamba, the other unto Gregory de Caffalt, and the third unto me; among which was a general Commiſsion Triplicat, the one to be committed to my Lord Legate, and if that could not be obtained, because my Lord Legate might be thought partial, then the fame to be committed unto Staphileus. Item; There was a Copy of a Dispenfation, where I perceived, by your Grace’s Letter, that your pleasure was to have your Dispenfation in form, after the minute that Barlow brought, which was then sped, and already paffed; so remained nothing to be sped, but the Commiſsion your Highness pleafes. This knowing, I caufed my Servants to continue their Journey, and with one Servant and this Courier, I returned unto Orvieto with Poll-Horſes, where Mr. Gregory and I, with much Busines, have obtained a Commiſsion directed unto my Lord Legate; not in the form that was conceived in England, but after fuch manner as is fufficient for the Caufe, and as I trust shall content your Highness; wherein the Lord Cardinal Sanftorum Quatnor, hath taken great pains to pen, as well your Dispenfation as the Commiſsion; for which, and that hereafter he may do unto your Highness the better service, Mr. Gregory and I have rewarded him with 4000. Crowns, of fuch Money as your Highness hath caufed to be made unto Venice for the furtherance of your Caufes. But albeit that every thing is pafhed according to your Highness pleasure, I cannot fee, but in cafe the fame be put in execution at this time; the Pope is utterly undone, and fo he faith himſelf. The Imperialists do daily fpoil Caftles and Towns about Rome; Monſieur de Lautreb is yet at Bonony, and small hope is of any great Act that he intends. The Caſarians have taken within these three days, two Caftles lying within fix miles of this: and the Pope being in this perplexity, not allured of any one Friend but of your Highness; that lieth too far off; if he do at this time any difpleaſure unto the Emperor, he thinketh he is undone for ever; wherefore he puts his Honour and Health wholly into your Highness Power and Dispoſition. This morning I return homewards, and Gregory de Caffalt goeth in my Company as far as unto Florence; and from thence he goeth unto Monſieur de Lautreb, to solicit him forwards, if it may be. The Holy Ghost fend your Hignefs a prosperous New Year, and many.

At Orvieto, the first day of January.

Your most humble Subject,
Servant, and Chaplain,

W. Knight.

Rome

V. A part of an Original Letter from the same Person to Cardinal Wolsey, by which it appears that the Dispensation was then granted and sent over.

Our Grace commandeth, That I should send the Commission and Dispensation with diligence, in case they were sped, before the receipt of your Graces Letters sent at this Time. Wherefore the Prothonotar Gambera and I being commanded sub pena Excommunications to deliver the same, with a certain Request to be made to the King's Highness and his Grace, at the time of delivery, I lend the same at this time unto Gambera, requiring him in any wise to make diligence towards the King's Highness, and not to abide my coming; the Request and cause thereof your Grace shall perceive by mine other Letters adjoined herewith. And supposing that when your Grace hath seen my Letters, and the Dispensations, and considered this time well, it may chance that the King and your Grace will be rather well content with that is passed, without suing for any other thing that could not be obtained without long tracts, and peradventure not so. Your Grace hath committed as much unto Gregory de Cassali at this time, as unto me, which being near unto the Pope, will without fail do his best diligence: And if it shall be thought good unto the King's Highness, and your Grace, that I do return unto Orvieto, I shall do as much as my poor Care may endure, and thereby at Irvine I shall abide the knowledge of your Grace's pleasure. The Datary hath clean forlaken the Court, and will serve no longer but only God and his Cure. The Cardinal Campegins continued in Rome fore vexed with the Gout: The Cardinals Pifame, Trinuleis, Ursine, Cadis and Coffs, remaineth for Hostages. The Cardinals, Monte, Sanctorum Quatuor, Ritudph, Ravenna, and Perusino, be with the Pope; the rest abides absent. Our Lord Jesus preserve your Grace.

At Afe the 10th. day of January.

Your most humble Beadsman and Servant,

W. Knight.

Orvieto the 13th of January.

VI. Gregory Cassali's Letter about the Method in which the Pope desired the Divorce should be managed. Taken from a Copy written by Cardinal Wolsey's Secretary.
Book II. of Records.

fe cupidissimum latistaciendi Regis Excellentia, cui omnia se debere factur, & nunc habuist mecum longum de hac re colloquium, ut inventur modus omnia, bene, firme & secure faciendi, quo facto & tueri potest; idest, confidere voluit judicium Cardinalis Sanctorum Qutatur & Synonette, qui excellentior & doctor Auditore. Rex est, cum quis habuisti Contencionis egist, ut ex eorum consilio inventur modus, ad moram tollendam, & cautam secure peragendam: Atque ha Pontificem illum, in hoc quod sequitur, fe revolvit, videtur: optimus, verus & securus modus, & me rogavit, ut nullo paço dicam hoc obtinuiffe ab eis Sanctoritate ficicli revera obtinti, nam Cafariani cum latitum pro suppedo allegaret, fed quod dican me habuiste à Cardinali Sanctorum Quatuor, & à dicto auditore. Dichunt quod rex debet committere illic causam Cardinali, ratione Communionis quam attulit Secretarius, vel propria Authoritye Legationis, quod facere potest; & ubi caufa fuerit commissa, si Rex conficientiam liam perfertat coram Deo exoneratam, & quod recte possit facere quod quiritur, qui nullus doctor in mundo est, qui de hac re inelius decernere posset quam ipse Rex, ita q; in hoc fe refulvert, ut Pontificem credit, statim caufam committat, aliarm Uxorem dutum, fitem fequatur, mittatur publice pro Legato, qui Confidentialiter mittetur, ita enim maxime expedirer: nam Cardinalis Sanctorum Quatuor & Synonette dican hoc certum esse, quod si Regina citerus illa nihil voluit respondere, nisi quod protestabatur locum & judices fuppedos esse, & Cafariani petent à Pontifice per viam Signature, juflitate Inhibitionem, qua Rex aliarm nullum posset Uxorem capere, & fi capiat proles non fit legitima donec caufa non definenti, & petent Commissionem qua Caufa auditatur in Curia; de Inhibitione vero Pontificex non potest negare, neq; & Commissionem nisi injustitia & &era vis inferatur, adversus quam omnis mundus exclamaret. Quod si Rex aliarm Uxorem cepriter, hoc non perfent petere, & fi petent, negabit Pontificex quod jure posset, nec alid dicere poterint vel allegaret, nisi quod Cardinalis Eboracien, & Cardinalis mittendus & locus fit fuppedus, & petere quod Cauda videatur hie, in quo fe deducatur, statim feretur aemunia quam Pontificex maturabit, non servatis terminis propter momentum seu & alias rationes, quas fecit Pontificex adducere, & ita hie obstat inuentur fertentia qua per totem Orbem approbabatur, quis nullus Hispaus aut Germanus poterit contradicere, & mittentur in Anglian declaranda per Cardinales prout Rex voluerit, & hoc etiam non obstante Pontificex mittet Cardinalem.

Tandem hie eff modus rebus omnibus secure medendi, ad quem sequendum vos Pontificex horatcur, & rogant ut nihil dicatur quod ab eo procedat. Iste modus non videtur inutilis, quia hic Auditor afferit, non alter effe faciendum si bene volumus; & qua Reverendissimus Cardinalis Dominus Eboracen. infat pro celeritate, interim accersiri poterit qualificare; Legatus Rex voluerit, & magis latifiet vulgo in mittendo Legato, veluti ad definiendam causam, & hie etiam ut dixi omnia fiuent quae super id Rex perierit.

Præterea Pontificex, id quod fecit ut me resolverem ad has Literas scribendum, contentus est mittere quemcum; Cardinalcum ego peticiro, sed ait oporere ut aliquis mittatur habilis, id est Doctor in Jure, vel in Theologia, qui fume Ith Campeius; Cafarinius, Serenif, Ceyes, Araceli; Monte, qui fene ex & immobiles; Ceyes in obsidem iuit Neapolim, Campeius.
Januar. 1528. ad Collégium.

VII. A Duplicat. The King's Letter to the College of Cardinals; from which it appears how much they favoured his Cause.

Henricus Rex, Reverendissimis in Christo Patribus Dominis Episcopis, Patronis & Diaconis S. R. E. Cardinalibus & Amicis nostris Carissimis salutem. Nihil unquam tam grande esse posse putavimus, quin de ista Sancta sede, vestrarum; Reverendissimarum Dominat, humma erga nos benignitate, illud temper audacter nobis fuisse polliciti, quod certe S. Sanctum iitud Collegium, quotiens ullam nobis gratificandi occasione oblatam habuit, cumulatissime praeitit: Ceterum benevolentiam istam vestram, & singulare in nos fidendum, nunc longe superavit alacritas, quam in nostra omnium gravissima causa, juvanda ac促进enda, in publico Consistorio, amantissime omnes exhibuisti, quod certe beneficio fse Sacro ifti Collegio San$etissimae; ifti fedi adstitio nos fatemur, ut vehementissime opetmus Gratiam, vel fanguine ipfo, publice ac privatim Reverendissimis Dominat, vestris quoq; po$e referre. Quo circia iterum eas impensa rogamus, ut in iuo erga nos affectu perseverare non graventur, efficiemuiq; (Deo bene juvante) ut brevi per- spiciant, apud Iarum & memorem Principem, San$aq; Rom. Eccl. obfervan-
Febr. 10. 1528.

VIII. A duplicate of the Cardinal's Letter to the Pope, about the Divorce; corrected with his own hand.

Beatissime Pater, post humillimam Commendationem, & Sanctissimorum pedum ocula, doleo æq; gravissime exercuor, quod ea que tanta folicitudine, litteris & nuncius apud Beatitudinem veftram ago, nequeam, ut unice & rerum omnium maxime vellem, prius trahere, hoc eft; negotiwm Potestatem Domini mei Regis, negotium inquam rectissimum, honoftrissimum ac sanctissimum, in quo porcuro non aliter me interpono, quam in ejus Regiae Majestatis salute tuna, in hoc Regno conservando, in publica tranquillitate fovenda, in Apoftolica Autoritate, in mea deniq; vita & anima protegenda debeo. Beatiffime Pater, ad veftra Sanclitatis genua probolutus, obfecro & obfettor, ut fi me Christianum virum, fi bonum Cardinallem, fi S. Sancto illo Senatu dignum, fi Apoftolica fedis membrum non stupidum & inutile, fi recli, juftissique cultorem, fi fidelem Creaturam tuam, fi demum externa fubitus cupidum me exiftimem, nunc velir mei Confili & interceffions rationem habere, & pientiffimis hujus Regis precibus, benigne, prompte; adnuere; quas nifi reétas, sanftas ac juftas elle feirem, omne prius fupplieci genus ulteri rum, quam eas promoverem, pro hifq; ego vitam meam & animam fpondeo. Aliquin vereor (quod tamen nequeo tacere) ne Regia Majestas humano, divinoq; iure (quod habet ex omni Christianitate fuis his actionibus adjunctum) freta, postquam videtur fedis Apoftolicae gratiam, & Christi in terris Vicarii Clementiam desperatam, Cefarist intitu, in cjuis manu neutiquam effe tam San&s conatus reprimere, ca tunc moliat, ca fure caule perquirat remedia, que & non folum huic Regno, fed etiam aliis Christianis Principibus, occasionem subminifterant, fedis Apoftolicae Autoritatem & Juridictionem immunitendi, & vilipendendi, non abf; Christiane Reip. perturbatione: quibus malis potest veftra Sanclitas tua autoritate & prudentia mederi. Hae loquor ut Christianus; & ut devotiffimum istius Sedis membrum sincere fuaedeo; non afectus, non Principis amor, non fervitus vinculum me impellit, fed folt reftitutine ad id adducor. Caterum animi follicitudo non finit plura exprimere. Veftra Sanclitas in tam jufto Regis voto adnuendo, fic ejus Majestatis animum fibi devinciet & conservabat, ut non folum ipfel & ego, fed omnes ejus subditi fint ad omnem occasionem, opes, vires, & fanguinem in Sanclitatis veftra, Apoftolica Sedis beneficium, libentiffimae profuturi. Mitto ad Beatitudinem veftram hujus rei gratia; Dominum Stephanum Gardinerum, Primarium Secretissimorum Consiliorum Secretarium, mei dimidium, & quo neminem habeo cariorem; referent ille cuneta difficultius, meum pecus aperiet. Veftram igitur Sanclitatem humillime
humilium rogo, ut cum loquentem me loqui exsilimares, & eam fidem quam praefenti mihi haberet, illi & Domino Edwardo Foxo Regio familiaris in omnibus praestare, & me amat anxia expectatione liberare dignetur.

IX. Cardinal Wolsey’s Letter to Gregory Caffali, directing him to make Presents at Rome.

Cotton Libr.
Vitell. B. io.

T Ante deinde sunt, tamq; magna officia, quae Reverendissimus Dominus Sancorum Quatuor, tum erga Regiam Majestatem, tum erga me, nunc quam non amansilime exhibuit, ut quum ea in agendis gratiss aflequi conamur, id animo facilius complecti, quam exteriori ullo prope ne nos in eum voluntatis testamenti indicare queamus: ad nostris; in eum summum studii & affectiosis cumulum, nunc tantum acceflit, quantum vix unquam posit à nobis exilv; licetq; de ejus Reverendissimi. Dominat. ingenti Regio Majesta, & mihi gratificendi ardore nunquam additavit, sic tamen peftus fum, in Regia Majestatis promovenda juvandae; caula, sic in meis feorsim curandis expediendi; negotiis, operam, fidem, autoritatem; sum interpoftitur, ut non minora tempe efficiec, quam nos optare potuerimus: quo certe nomine, ita utremque noftrum, furo furorum; omnium commendo & ornamento devinixit, ut non prius conqueuerit fumus quam aliquo indicio rebus ipsi nos noster vicissim gratiudinem fuerimus testati; quo enim modis & quanta folicitutide Reverendissimus Sancorum Quatuor de nobis fit optime meritus, res praefita indicat, & Dominus Stephanie Secretarius meus futo fermone ac relatu affidue pradcit; & quamvis munufculum illud olim oblatum recufaverit, nunc tamen Regio Majesta, satifadum efe potef, nifi memoris fui animi pignus aliquod exhibuerit. Quocirca cum eodem Reverendissimo Domino dexterrime agite, ut in familiaris aliquo colloquo elicitatis, quibus rebus ille maxime obleretetur, mihiq; quam primum significare, num illi, aula, Vasa aura, aut equi maxime pro bentur, efficiamq; ne pueret apud Principem inhumanum aut ingratum fia fe officia collocafe. Intellexi quoq; ex eodem Domino Stephanie, quam ardeneter idem Dominus Sancorum Quatuor cuius aedificium Sanfti Petri abfolvi, veluti monumentum illud Religionis ac pietatis perpetuo futurum, quod certe ejus animi conuifium, ut Sanctum ita dignificium cenfeo, ut Christianorum Principum liberalitatem quam plurimum mereatur; meo igitur nomine affirmabitis, fice meam me efe operam apud hunc Sereniffimum Regem interpoftiturum, ut palam conlert omnibus, me Ecclefiis membro non omnino inuite aut stupidum efe.

De aliis vero rebus, in quibus S. D. N. benignirarem & Reverendissimi Domini Sancorum Quatuor opera & Patrocinio Regio Majestate & mihi in praefentia est opus, per Dominum Stephano copiofe vos inftruuo, iterum arq; iterum impene rogans, ut solita veftra diligentia & fedilitate ex nostra expectione eas curare consciereq; veliris.

Rome
Rome Feb. 1527:

X. The Decretal Bull that was desired in the King's Cause.

Dilecto, &c. Salutem & Apostolicam Benedic和平. Sedis Apostolice
Suprema Autoritas potestatis sui copiam sic omnibus exhibet, ut
procautrum, perfonarum & temporum qualitate remedia singularis ad
adificationem haboministrare, & causas ad Canonum Sanctiones exspensas
aquillima certissimaq; lance trutinans, laborantibus conscientiss & fluctu-
antibus confilere, frequentans; iphis tranquillitatem flatuere contendat.
Cum itaq; Clarifimus in Chrifto Filius nofter Henricus Octavus Anglie
Rex, Fidei Defensor, & Dominus Hibernia, fua nobis conquestione
monstraverat, quodcum Annos abline decem & octo nobilem Mulie-
rem Catharinam Ferdinandi quondam Hifpanarum Regis filiam, Illu-
tris Principis Arthurii Fratris fui defunti quondam Uxorem, hortatu,
saftu, ac confilii eorum, quibus & totum in prima Regni fui Admini-
tratione crediderat, quadam fedis Apostolice Dispensatione pretentia
fibi bona fide Matrimonio copulafset, ac ab eo tempore haetenus cum
eadem tanquam cum Uxore cohabitafset, prole interim femina fulcepra &
superfite ex eadem, ac jam tandem poff desperaram prolem Macelu-
dam, deft-biliena & confirmanda ejufdem Filiae fua fucceffione cogi-
taret, luftratif; Scrinis dicitam super Matrimonio prafato Diffenfatio-
em faceret proferri, doctorumq; Virorum judicia examinari, cujus
quidem Diffenfationis tenor sequitur, & eft talis, &c.

Quidam Sanctionum & Canonum Ecclesiarum confulti, datum
dicta cum narratis ejufdem conferentes, aliasq; nonnullas circumstantias
qux tum antd dicta Diffenfationis impetrationem, qux etiam poff
dem impetramat intervenerunt, ponderantes, tum quod caula qux in
Bulla pretentia eft pacis continuanda, viz. qux ipfa tum coaluerat, foede-
ribus percutius firma confictrerat, mutuis etiam popularum commiciis
aucita, nullum fua violationis timorem incutiens, qui juftus & non om-
nino vanus dixi poftę, nec urgentiffima proinde nec evidentiffima vide-
retur, qux lblem prohibitionis relafio exigat & requirat; tum quod preces
falle crante dum narrabatur Pradeceflori noftro, eundem Cariflimum Fi-
lum noftrum tum cupere cum dicta chariflima Domina Catharina con-
trahere Matrimonium, ad hoc ut pacis feditor diuitiis continuarentur,
cum eo tempore, ut afferirt, impetrationem profibus ignoraret, & per
atatis immutatarum, duodecimum viz. annum non excedensis, affe-
ctum hujusmodi inducere non potuerat; tum quod Praeteflatione post-
modum interveniente & vim Renunciationis habente, Diffenfatio tunc
per Renunciationem extingita videretur; Deniq; quod principes inter
quos feditor confervarentur, ante mandatam executioni Bullam fatís
concederat; Bullam ipsum, tum ex surrenderionis & obreptionis viitis,
quam alii etiam de Caufis minus validam & incicacem esse renuncia-
rum & retulerunt, crepuhnum dixi Regis animo conscientiaq; gravem
injicientes eamq; illi opinionem inducentes, ut Matrimonium praeclatum
non confictrere, nec haetenus iure confilirife judicaret. Póro autem
cum frequentius apud fe, ut afferirt, animo volueret ac meditaretur,
quales exitus hujusmodi nuptiae praefare haberent, ex quibus, viz. ali-
quot
Conflito nontrae quo
a hae Nos proce-
ceferit, diviifum ut praefetur, satisfecerit; & verifimile apparerit, vel pacem qua in Bulla praededitur five hujus Matrimonii contractu confi-
tere posuiffe & continuari, vel dictum Charitatum filium nostrum, ut allegabatur, non cupiisse contradire Matrimonium ad hac ut pacis
fodera confoverantur, vel deniq; Principes in Bulla nominatos, inter
qos fodera per illud Matrimonium continuatam ut allegabatur, ait
mandatam executioni Bullam fatis conceffi, ipfam nullam, minus va-
lidam, ex furreptione & obreptione inefficacem, irritam & innam tuf"f,
emper & efle promunfcandam & declarandam; Matrimonium autem pra-
dictum, quod ejufdem virtute confiuerter, nullum fimil ac minus
legitimum esse, ac profuuo minus; legitimo haberis deberis decernen-
dum; ipfus porro contraffentes ab omni contractu Matrimoniali hujuf-
modi liberatos, a confortio coningam quod habeatur obseruantur feparari
deberi, fententiendum & autore nostrum feparandum. Deniq; ut rum-
que ad contraffendum cum alio vel alia, novum conjungit incundi, i-}
centiam & facultatem tribuendum & concedendum, crita omnen recu-
flationem, aut appellationis interpoftitionem, committimus & demanda-
um vices noftras, ac vos conjunctum, & altero veltrum noleu ut pra-
feritur aut impedito, divifim, ad praemifla exercenda & expedienda,
plena finali: executioni demandanda, Vicarios noftrorum & noftrum Vi-
carium, aut fi quo aliim nomine uti poftemus, quod demandatam in
predichis Autoritate ampliare, cum omni poteflatis plenitudine tam
aboluta quam ordinaria, quatemus vel ad praftati Matrimonii con-
gruam djfolutionem, vel novi contraffendi firmam Constitutionem,ex-
pevere videbitur aut pertinecre; ict etiam ut Autoritate praefentis Com-
miitonis noftras; cum omnibus illis Canonibus, ad validorem effica-
cioremg: proceflus veltri firmatatem poteritis difpenfare, quaescung: eifem
obfurate putabantur, onmemo; defeñtum quaæm: ex quafta contingem-
tem noftrae Autoritatis interpoftionem, Dilfenfatione Apostolica supple-
re poftlitis & valcatis, tam prolem ex primo Matrimonio fufcep¬
tam propter bonam fidem Parentum, fi icta expedere fivum fuerit, legitimm de-} 

cernendo, pronunciando & promulgando, quam ex fecundo Matrimonio fuf-
ципandum; legitimeatet etiam utrufqui; proliis, cenfaris & poenis Eccle-
siafiticis quifbucfunque, per modum decreti aut Sanctionis perpetuus nu-
miendo & vallando, omnibus validioribus & efficacioribus modis & fo-
mis que de jure concipi & ex cognitori poterunt, facimus, constitumus &
ordinans per praefentis: & quicquid per vos conjunctim, ut praefe-
tur, aut divifim procedentes, per cognitionem judiciariam & fummari-
am, aut extradiciariam, proceflus qüocfig: faciendo, pronunciando
aut promulgando, eufdemve executioni mandando, Dilfenfationes qual-
cunque; aut gratias in praemifla concedendo & faciendo, & generaliter in
aliquibus praedictorum potefiam noftram vel ordinarn vel aboluta-

tam exercendo, ut praefetur, aetum, geftum, decretum, difpenfatum,
pronunfcatum, mandatum, aut executioni fuerit, id omne & rotum, cum
primum poterimus, ratum, gratum & firmum habentes, in validifima
& efficaciiffima forma confirmabimus, nec eorum aliqua unquam infirma-
bimus aut infringemus, aut eorum aliut contraffemus, nec interim
revocabimus; declarantes etiam & profeffant per praefentis, noftrae
intentionis effe, ut praefens Commiffio, five Delegatio Autoritaris noftra,
perpetuo effectu gaudeat, & uf; ad finalem praedictorum conclusionem
extremum, rome durct & confiftat, non obfstantibus quifbucfunqu
decretis, sententiis, mandatis reperitis, literis aut brevibus in contrario, deinceps per nos tanquam irritatorius, derogatorius aut revocatorius praefentis Concessionis nostrae, emittendis, deftinandis aut promulgandis; quibus omnibus expresse per præsentes derogantes, & illa omnia pro nullis, caelis, irritis & inanibus reputantes, ac talia effe & haber, iltifi, omnino anteriora judicari, præsentia vero fæmper poteriura, & poft illa repetita, emilia & deftituta, cenferi ac tanquam ultima & posteriora contrariis sic deinceps emittendis derogare debere, & ceteris contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque.

Rome J.m. 1528.

XI. The Cardinal's Letter to John Caffali about it; Taken from a Duplicate written by his Secretary.
Ecclesia Thefauri & Autoritatis ejus Sanctitati Christi Vicario concele
permitit, vel quoad fe extendit, posse posse extendere; super ipse, omni
uterrimae promissi, meam etiam faltatem, fidelin, honorem animam
que addiitringens, quod omnia ex iplius Regia Majeflatis voor, in omne
tempus praebentur, abf; uta proritis occiionem ade infipulo, ad huji
jusmodi indugendis petitionibus digrediendo, adeo quod Regia Majef-
fas, ex hoc meo atttenuati relatum, hunc propemum S. D. N. in fea-
inimum permipiens, mihiq.; ejus Sanctitatis nomine, vel i Regato, & fe
idis Apolloticae membro loquenti, firmam, certamq.; fidelin additentis, pe-
riculis omnibus potthabitis, laboribus lumpribulq.; prorsus, nullaq.; hui Regi-
ni aut subditorum habita ratione, animum adfixit, prorsus; statum &
decrementum in omnibus sed adjuvare, atque perpetuo & constanter cum
S. D. N. in afequa concurrere, in coq; certum habeo vele decrevileq;
perfare, ad mortem ufque, nisi forfan ex eventibus, longe diversis a
meo promitio & ius expectatione, occiaio fubminifrer flum Regiam
Majeflatum ab hoc animi fui decreto amovendi. Id fi illi accederent
(quod avertat Deus) merito mihi posset adccrber fefidiam, leviram
, violationemque promiffionis, quo cafu quid mox officii aut minif-
riiis posrem Sanctisperimo Domino noftro pretare, aut quae fides in Ecclesofex-
rebus mihi haberetur, finguJarci ejus Sanctitatis prudentis judicandum
reliquo: nunquam enim meo in arbitrrio potthae effe, quicquam ali-
cujus momenti fline efficere, in ejus Sanctitatis commedum, hac nunc in
re Regi Majeflatis concepta fpa, aut expectatione fruftata.

Eft fecundo accurare considerandum quanipere hoc negotium Regie
Majeflatis interf. & quasi fit momenti, unde namque, prater Con-
Scientia Regie exoneramention, omnis quoq.; Regie linea, & itemma-
tis continuato pendet; Idque adifiitur totius Regni docilitias, vel exci-
dium, hic fecuritas & fatus eorum confiftit, qui fub Regis funt Imperio,
& qui ullo tempore nascentur in ejus Regno, qua ex refirir
poefte occiaio, & fones tranquillitatis perpetua, aut diccordia belliaq;
atoefsimi in univerflum Christianum Orbem, que omnia majoris fun
momenti & vigilantius profpicienda quam cujufq; Principis vel Princi-
Piis gratia, favor & expectatio.

Tertio, Caufa ex le eft hujiufmodi ut in animam meam fpordere auffm,
ejis confeffionem, futuram non folum in conftituent, honorisq.; Ponti-
ficis exoneramention coram Deo & hominibus, fed in Ceilis quoq.; gra-
tam, acceptamq.; eftiruram: In hac deinde re fecretâ infuft nonnulla,
secreto S. D. N. exponenda, & non credenda litteris, quas ob caufas,
morboq.; nonnullis, quibus abf.; remedio Regina laborat, & ob animi
etiam concepsum fpurpulum, Regia Majeflatis nec poefst, nec vult ullo
unquam potthae tempor, ea uti, vel uti lexorem admittere, quodcu-
quae advenier. Non exigu praetera habenda effe ratio eorum, quae
alteris meis litteris continentur, concernientia, quae pro ingenti Thefauro
S. D. N. haberequeat, tam certam Regie Majeflatis amicitiam, cum
ejus Sanctitat confiantiffime conjunctam futuram in prosperis & adver-
sis, in quas etiam partes amicos fluos omnium preterit, & affidue pertra-
hit: ad Ecclesiae defensionem, Sancliflimi Domini noftri conservacionem,
caufas omnibus &affectiones dirigens; potfenq; hi omnies, Regia Majef-
lare deficiente, in contrarium verti, & ut vera loqur, nullum Prin-
cipem video in quo S. D. N. poolit, quam in Regia Majeflare plenius
aut perfecfitus confiderere, vel cujus medio Apolloticae fedis iatus in pri-

F e e 2

Itinari

Sanctissimus Dominus nonnulla, quas in Regnis petitionibus durum est, aut difficilium exhibiturus, meliora molestitiam eft futurum vivere diutius, ob innumeram mulieris quae inde subsiduntur videtur, hoc praestim firmissime; tunc Regio subsideo tam ingrata abjecto; hocq; sollem, & certum, & fulibile remedium videtur tanta corrigenda calamitate superflue, quo neglecto omnia corruunt necesse cft. Hae autem in re S. D. N. sua erga Regiam Majestatem animi gratitudine comprobata, poterit de illius amicitia & commissione quanta, volet ibi polliceri, adverfus eos omnes, qui eius Autoritatatem aut dignitatem voluerint oppugnare. Tandem his caulis rationibus; omnibus in unum congrues, mecum ipse reputantes, quam multa graviissimi momenti in hujus conjuncti Dissolutione occurrant, in tantu aequitate jutioq; fundamentum polita, ob quae hoc Dissolutione nec possibiliter; gravissimo detrimento, nec debet diutius protraheri aut intermitteri;videns quoq; quid allegari possit & allegabitur omnino ad Regiam Majestatem conscientiam coram Deo purgandum, etiam id a S. D. N. neuerum admittatur, quia in hujusmodi allegationibus confilia, vereor nein tantum extremitate conturta, potius quam in gentia mala, quae hinc apertissime immerit, succedant, diu Regia Majestas ex duobus malis minus malum eligat, & soli sua pureq; conscientia infinitis, id agat, quod nunc tant reverenter ad Sedi Apostolicae Autoritatem exigas, unde Sedis comminus inde gravior excrecere, hoc praestim tempore admodum periculofo: que omnia sunt a S. D. N. sustinere sua prudentia aliter consideranda, nullo protrusus dubio aut difficulties in re tam gravi mature concedenda interjecta; nec eam retardare debet cujufquam mortalis in nitia, contemplato vel falsa aut, praestim quam in multis aliis rebus, forsan non tant manifestis & apparentibus, Sanctitas tua liberalere, facilem; erga alios le sepe praefertim; cui humillima reverentia præmita meo nomine diegetis, quod hoc loquer tanquam fidele, utcunj; Ecclesia indignum membrum, omnia excogitaris quæ possis in Ecclesia augementum & exiftimationem cedere, ea etiam admoveas & confuens ut evidentur, quæ effe evidentur in contrari- um. Quocirca Sanctissimo Domino nostro affirmabitis, quod premiihm omnibus tantum maximi momenti existentibus probe consideratis, non-velluti Mediator aut Intercessor, ob privatum illum affectum quem Regia Majestatis caulis, ut mei juris est, promovendis gero, sed tamquam is qui in re tanta & ex tam certa scientia & cognitione, velim Sanctissimo Domino nostro suadere, ut quod nunc petitur omnino conceda,judie suade- rem etiam si in hoc Regnum nonquam venissent, neque hie commune quicquam haberem; rogogue, precor, & obtestor ejus Sanctitatem, ut omnium, liberi, respectu, metaq; depolito, nullo pacto neget aut differat ea concedere aut adiuvare, que Regia Majestas urgentissimas ob caustis tanta nunc animi sollicitudine expolit; sed his potius benignius liberabili- terq; adnatur, & omnia concedere non gravetur in plenorum moderium qui hujus rei gratia possit excogitari, competissimimum; ibi fia Sancta- tas habere, se id affectum, quod coram Deo & hominibus jutum om- nino habebitur, arctissimeque Regiam Majestatem devinciet ad sine San- ctitatis, Ecclesiae Apostolicae Sedis, cauæfique omnes pro vini- bus juvandas protegentialque, nec ea in re, ulli labori, stumpui, Regno
Rome Jan. 20. 1528.

XII. Staphileus's Letter to the Cardinal, that shews how much he was persuaded of the justice of the King's Cause. *The Original.*


D. V. Reverendiff.

Humillimus Servitor, Episcopus

Staphileus.
Ad Campegium, 1528.

XIII. The Cardinal’s Letter to Campegius, taken from the Draft of it; Corrected with his own hand.

Everendissime in Christo Pater, grata semper huic Regis Majestati exterrunt Vetræ Reverend. Dominat. officia, sed gratissimum omnium illud fuit, quod tanta fide & sedulitate in iphus promovenda causâ ab ea fuifse praefitum ex Reverendi Domini Jercod. fermone cognovit: quam optimi amoris significationem toto pectorre amplexatur, juftitia; ut fuis nominibus ingentes vetrae Reverendissime D. gratias habere mus: Cui ego co quoq; nomine maxime quoq; me debere falcere, nulla enim in re magis obnoxio me fufi potef efficere, quam fi totis fuis viribus, omni gratia & Authoritate adnitatur, quo negotium hoc ex Regis Majestatis iententia quam citiffime confciatuer; huipumodi enim est ut nullum gravius pooffit accidere,dilatationem nullam patitur, utpote quod totus huius Regni conservationem, Regis fobolis continuationem & ejus animi falutem in fe continent: causa quidem manfesfior est quam disputatione egeat, & fanctior quam debeat in controversiam adduci, hanc unam gratiam & nunc primum à Sede Apostolica vetris omnibus petir, & cæ tam ex rei juftitia, tum ex fua in S. D. N. filiali devotione, sumps concept, ut nullo paético fufi perfuadaeat unquam foci pooffe ut fua expectatione fructuere, quam it vetrae R. D. opera ac pio patrocinio maxime pooffe juvari.

Iterum igitur atq; iterum Reverendissimam D. vetftram obfcreo, ut postquam recenti & claro hoc testimonio purgavit quicquid ante in Regiam Majestatem fide finiftrre fuerit ad nos delatam, & noftrum animm fusu totum devinxit, non gravetur nunc ftenue in hoc Regio promovendo negotio ad optratum ufg; finem perfeverare, quod ita cor noftrum premir, ut vel proprio fanguine id vellimus pooffe à S. D. N. impetrare. Cetera, vetra Reverendissima D. ubertius ac distinguis cognosce ex Reverendo Domino Epifcopo Jercodeni, & ex Domino Stephano Gardinerò intimo meo ferbo, & Domino Edwardo FIFO Regio familiari, quibus rogo ut certiffimam in omnibus fideum velit habere. Et folliciffime valeat.

Mail 7. 1528.

XIV. The Cardinal’s Letter to G. Caffalt, defiring a Decretal Bull to be sent over. A Duplicate.

Magnifice Domine Gregori, &c. Ingentem Sereiffima Regia Majestatis & ego laetitiam concepimus, quam tum ex Domini Stephani litteris, tum vero ex Domini FOXI relatu cognovimus, quantum fide, industriâ, ac vigilantia ufi fuis in ejusdem Regie Majestatis conficiendo negotio, quem vetrum animum, et si fepe antea arduis in rebus exploratifimum certiffimmum habere mus, hoc tamen tam claro testimonio nihil à vobis
vobis omnium perspicimus, quod votum nostrum uteunq; iuare potui-
ffer. Ceterum quam nonnulla adhuc meo aliorumq; Doctif. virorum 
judicio supræfis videantur, ad Regis Majestatis cauam securifissimis flabiliendam finieramq; de quibus ad D. Stephani in praeventia perscri-
bo; Vos iterum aq; iterum rogo, ut de illis impetrandis apud S. D. N. 
una cum Domino Stephano velitam gratiam & Authoritatem, quam 
apud eum Sanctitatem maximam effe & audio & gaudeo, pro viribus in-
terponatis, maxime autem ut in Communione illa Decretali & S. D. N. 
nullis Arbitris seu confuttoribus admiffis concedenda, & ferceto ad me 
mittenda, omnes vires ingenii, prudentiae diligentias; veftrae adhibe-
tis, affirmabitisq; & in faltem animamq; neam cideon S. D. N. fponden-
bitis, quod dictam Bullam seceftifime nullis mortuipam oculis confpici-
dam apud me affervabo, tanta fide & cautione, ut ne minimum 
quidem ex ea re periculum, vel percutil metum ejus Sanetitas fit fenfura; 
non enim eo conflito au animo cam Communionem impetra tam ve-
hementer cupio, ut vel illius vigore ultius procedat aut alii praxeret 
quicquid agearetur, vel eadem publice privatimve legere ulla illi exhi-
beretur, fed ut hac quasi artha & pignone funmae paternaq; S. D. N. 
egra Regiam Majestatem benevolentiam apud me depofito, quum videat 
nihil illi denegaturum quod petiveris, perspeciatq; tantum fidei ejus 
Sanctitatem in me repofuife, fic mea apud dicam Majestatem ausceatur 
Authoritas, ut quanquam vires omnem suas openq; Apostolicae Sedis con-
servationi & in prifimum ftatum reparationi fic fponde dicaverit, me 
tamen funfore & confuttor omnla in poterunq, & in fanguinis effusio-
nem fit conceffura & effeclura, quæ in ejusdem Sedis & fuae Beatitudinis 
securitatem, tranquillitatem & commodum, quaquam ratione cedere 
potuerunt.

XV. The Brieve of Pope Julius for the King's Marriage; 
mmpted to be forged.

Julius Papa Secundus. Diltecte Fili & dilecta in Christo Filia, fulturem 
& Apostolicam Benedictionem. Romani Pontificis procellens Au-
thoritas concebitfibi defuper utitur potestate, prout (perfonarum, ne-
gotiorum & temporum qualitate penfata) id in Domino confpicit ex-
pedire. Oblata nobis nuper pro parte veftra petitionis feries continue-
bat, quod cum alias Fila Catharina, & tunc in humanis agens quon-
dam Arthurus Cariflimi in Christo Fili nostri Henrici Anglie Regis 
illustriifimus primogenitus, pro confervandis pacis & amicitia nexibus & 
feederibus inter pralatum Anglie Regem, & Cariflimum in Christo Filiun 
notnrum Ferdinandum Regem, & Cariflimam in Christo Filiam notnrum 
Elizabeth. Reginam Catholicos Hispaniarum & Siciliz, Matrimonium 
per verba legimine de praefenti contraexeritis, illudque carna1 copula con-
fermaveritis, quia tamen Dominus Arthurus prole ex hujusmodi Ma-
trimonio non fucepta, decefit, & hujusmodi vinculum pacis & con-
nexitatis inter praefatos Reges & Reginam ita firmiter verifimiliter non 
perduraret, nihil etiam illud alio afinitatis vinculo confonveratur & con-
finaretur, ex his & certis alia causis, defideratis Matrimonium inter 
vos per verba legimine de praefenti contrahere: Sed qua defiderium 
veftrum
vestrum in præmissis adimplere non potestis, Dispensatione Apostolica deuoper non obrenu, nobis propter humiliter supplicari fecissis, ut vobis providere in præmissis de Dispensationis gratia & benignitate Apo-
stellca dignaretur. Nos igitur qui inter finguos Christi fideles, pra-
fertim Catholicos Reges & Principes, pacis & concordiae amicitatem
vigere intens defidereris affetamus, his & aliis caufis animum noftrand
movendibus, hujufmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobifcum, ut aliquo
impedimento affinitatis hujufmodi ex præmissis proveniente non obfanta
Matrimonium inter vos contrahere, & in eo postquam contractum
fuerit, re manere, libere & licite valeatis, Authoritate Apostolica per pra-
fentes Dispensamus ; & quatenus forfan jam Matrimonium inter vos de
fiato publice vel clandestine contraeritis, ac carnali copula confumma-
veritis, vos & quemlibet veftrum ab cxceffu hujufmodi, ac Excommunicationis s£ntentia quam propterca incurriiffis, eadem Authoritate ab-
foluimus, ac etiam vobifcum ut in hujufmodi Matrimonio fie de fato
contraétro remanere, feu illud de novo contrahere, inter vos libere &
licite valeatis ; fimiliter Dispensamus, prolem ex hujufmodi Matrimonio
five contraétro five contraehendo fufcipiendam legitimam decernendo.
Volumus autem, fi hujufmodi Matrimonium de fato contraextris, Con-
feffor, per vos & quemlibet veftrum eligendus, pereantentiam, quam ad
implere teneamini, proterca vobis injungat. Dat. Rome apud San-
ctum Petrum ubi annulo Pifcatoris, die 26. Decemb. millefimo quingen-
tefimo tertio, Pont. nostri Anno primo.

Sigismundus.

XVI. A part of the Cardinal's Letter to G. Caffali, describing leave
to shew the Decretal Bull to some of the King's Council. A Du-
plicate.

Lludigatur video maxime necessarum supereffe ut Decretalis Bulla,
quam Reverendissimus Dominus Legatus fecum defert, fecreto le-
genda exhiberet nonnullis ex Regis Confultoribus, eo quidem confi-
fio, non ut in judicium proferatur, vel ad cauflam definiendo adhie-
batur, fed folum ut perficientes illi, quorum prudentia & Autoritas non
parva eff, nihil a me fuifte omnifum, quod cauflam Regis posfit fecurif-
imam reddere, omniaq; fuifte a S. D. N' concefla, quae in caufa: firmamen-
tum ullo pacto queant excogitari facileis, ubi Regia Majeftatis fecurif-
tati, Regni quieti, & perpetuo tolius rei stabilimento undique; conful-
tum viderint, in fententiam noftran deveniant, fummaq; cum diligentia
in Autoritate Apostolica ad Dei gloriam conjuncta rectiffime abfolu-
tur. Prone, Domine Gregori, iterum arq; iterum vos impelte rogo,
quo ad S. D. N. genua devoluti ejus Beatitudinem me nobi nomine ob-
cretis, ut hoc reliquum meæ fidei meæq; dexteritate de Bulla Decretali
offendenda committere velit, quam rem fec moderabil, ut nullum pro-
fus periculum, nullum damnum, nullum odium queat unquam fibi, vel
Sedi Apostolice proferere ; hocq; tam inftanter precor, ut pro fahute mea
con fervanda petere quam ardentius nihil.

Reveren-
XVII. John Capellali's letter about a conference he had with the Pope. An Original.

Reverendissime ac illustrissime Domine D. mi Colendissime, &c.

Ollum Tabellarius D. Veltre Reverendissimae cum ejus mandatis litteris; die 2. Novemb. dari Bononiam ad Equitem fratrem per verum, neq; iplè tunc posset præ debilitate properatis itineribus Romam venire, ηad eam rem longioris temporis moram interponeret, nisi per dîpositos equos D. Vincentium Caffalium fratrem nostrum patrielem, volens ipsum itinam sublequi; venit igitur D. Vincentius Caffalius. At ego veltra Dominations Reverendissimae litteris leñis ac perennis, S.D.N. adivi, & eae D. V. Reverendissima scripserat, diligentur ejus Sanctitat poesuit, ipsaq; eartam literas recitavi, qua prudentissime & efficaciissime omnia explicabant. Arg; hujusmodi verbiis fumi loquacious.

Non locus hic nec tempus postulat, Beatissime Pater, ut ego nunc commemorem, quanto amòre, quanto animi affectû, quibusq; officiis illa Regia Majestas Apostolicae Sedem Sanctitatem; Veltvre fìr ubique omni tempore profecta, quantâ; observantia & fide Reverendissimus Dominus Eboracen. femper coluert; nec recentendum hic videtur, quo laborœs, quod incommoda subvenir, quae officia, quas multo,liches impenfas efficerent, quarentes Ecclesiasticum fìtum, Christianam Religionem, & Catholicae Fideem protegerac eon conferar. nec veltra Sanctitas ignorer debet, quibus laboribus, quantis precibus, quod tabellarius, quod oratoribus missis, quo, non dicam litteris, sed voluminibus confcriptis, poibt multipi perfessur judiciorum confilia, tum ex Anglia allata; tum hic etiam formata, fuerint tandem ad veltra Sanctitatem impetratum, ut res eo, quo fuit pacto, componeretur: Qua ratione Regii Majestatis defiderio indulgebat, & Beatitudinis veltra honoris ac conficientie, judiciaq; & auotari consubiebatur: at nunc Sanctitas Veltra animadvertit illos, præter omnium nostrum spem & opinionem, omni auxilio penitus effe desitutus: Reverendissimus Capellus non modo non offeredit, sed adeo urgentibus precibus Serenissimi Regis obtinerare velles, sed ut primum ad Colloquium venit, rem totam perverterit, Regiam Majestatem a Divortio diffuasit, perinde ac sìi Legatio demandata fuerit, ut Serenissimi Regis ex parte Regiem perfuaderè debet, ut sì a Divortio abstineretur, adeo ut non posset Regia Majestas stimulum hunc Conficiere ex suo peòtere evellere, fìmperque in ea mentis perturbatione illi sit permanendum, ut omnibus horis cogit et successorem fui Regni ex suo fangui ne defitum. Neq; adhuc Reverendissimus Capellus uillam significacionem dedit, velle sì ad id exequendum descedere, quod priora illa generali Commissione contingentur; verum, quod poës etiam sit, quam multis precibus Bulla Decreitalis in hac cauæ Regia impetrata fuerit, promifferit: Veltra Sanctitas fì permifurum ut Serenissimi Regi ac Reverendissimi D. Eboracen. offendoretur, et eorum manibus crederetur, quam ipi aliquis ex Secretissimis Consiliariis offendorent, ut Serenissimi Rex de totius negotiæ agitatis instructior fieret, noluit Reverendissimus Capellus eam credere Serenissimo Regi, aut Reverendiss.
fim Domino Eboracen. fuo in ea causa College. - Cur autem velit Ve-
stra a sanctora Regiam Majestatem in eam spei adduxisse, ut deinde hoc
pacto illam fruaslerit ac deludat. Tunc S. D. N. ineeta in meum bra-
chium manu, me ultimus locui prohibuit, f e ra accensus non abfcon-
dens, dixit, non parum sibi de D. V. Reverendifìma conquerendum esse,
atque quid ejus fide fe deceptum esse; Bullam Decretalem dedisse, ut ran-
tum Regi o f tendentur, concrema f tertur; statim: ad hoc me (inquit)
multi ille magnifìque precibus prostraxit, f tendens, id fi non dare-
tur, manifeftam f u obfui ruinam impedire; nunc autem eam Bullam,
que debut efse Secretiffima, vult divulgarre, neque unquam fe promiffìse
conceflurum ut Confiaríaiis o fendatur; literas (inquit) ipfas Reveren-
difìmi Eboracen. proferre possum, quibus id tantum, quod dixi, petit,
& ipsius Equirem Caffalium teltem volo, quod Dominus Stephanus
Gardinerus & ipse nil aliud a me poslulaverunt, nec fii posfllafent, quie-
quam amplius ob-Stuifent; atq ; utinam alter rem perifser, eam namq; 
facië denegaffem, nec ad hanc pectentiam veniflem, ex qua vel unius
 digit dactiina (modo fcrier posfit) quod factum f uit revocarem, video
enim quantum mali ex eo mihi fubefundum fit. Quam S. D. N. hac &
 similia contra fium morem dixifet, ego in eam fententiam fubiequatur,
fiendum esse, quod D. V. Reverendifìma petit, non efse a eo, quod
ejus Sanctoris confitutum fuiffe dicit alienum, nee D. V. Reverendifì-
ma hanc rem divulgarì velle, aut fccundum eam Bullam fententiam ferri;
Ceterum Regiae Majeftrati & fibi tradi, ut posfent aliqibus fidelioribus
cariobus: Confiaríaiis of tendere, ut ipfi de re tota flant instructores,
quod perinde arcanum crìt, ac fi in nullius notitiam deveniffet. An non
(inquam) Sanctoris veftra plerofq ; habet, quibus quum aliq uid arcanum
crediderit, poter id non minus celatum efse, quam fi uno rante pefto
contineretur, quod multo magis Serenissimo Angliæ Regi evenire debet,
cui fingu in fuo Reine fubieft, neque etiam velin, posfìn Regi
non efl fidelissimi: Vae nam; illis fi vel parvo momento ab illius volun-
tate recederent. Quid hoc præterea obfere potent? an non fì petitum ;
fic constitutum fuit? quod ratio Sanctoris veftram propositum mutare
cogit? Ibi Pontifex iracundus, & concitatio etiam quam paluo ante;
Haud (inquit) ita fuit confitutum, nec me later, quid de ea Bulla fah-
cere cogiter, & cujufmodi ex eo mihi damnum redundaturnm fit; fir-
imum igiur illud habeatis, me deceville, neque fententiam muto, rolle
quicquam amplius hac in re permittere. At ego, nolit (quofa) veftra
Sanctoris fìc ex certa animi fententia loqui, ac potius in his literis Re-
verendifìmi Domini Eboracen. consideret damna, ruinas, hærefes, que
Veftre Sanctoris culpa in illo Regno eritentur: Regia enim Majeftrae,
me à Veftra Beatiudine tractata, injuria, &ignominia affeta, studi-
um & voluntatem, quam feper optimam in Sedem Apostolicam habuit,
in contrario partem convertere posser,hoc est Dominationi Veftre tota
peftore considerandum. Esto quod de hujus negotii aequitate discep-
trum non fit, concedamus etiam hanc rem malam, & malì exempli futu-
ram (quot quidem fecus efse judicaverunt omnes) an non Veftra San-
citoris novit flero; que non bona funt, pref erf i nonnunquam a nobis
fôiere, ne pejora patiamur: atq ; hoc tum alius in rebus, tum imprisim
hærefem evitandarum caufa providendum efst, quas videmus, quem fè-
mel altiores radices egerint, non posse amplius extirpari: aq ; ibi ad illi-
ur pedes genibus flexis, cam precibus omnibus fum obtentatus, ut amici-
tiam
tiam potentiissimi Regis conservare, observantiam Dominationis Veltrae Reverterendi limae erga ejus Sanctoratem, nostremque fervitutem respicere vellet; reliqua namque Regis Maiestatis amicitia, religionis immutatio subsecueret, & Regni illius a tam antiqua cum Sede Apostolica conjunctione disoluto, ac Dominationis Veltrae Reverterendi gratia & Autoritas apud Sereniss. Regem non suum merito deficeret, ejusq; fortasse filium periclitaretur; Nos autem qui semper Beatitudini Veltrae intervisimus, pro quas tota bonis officiis funt suis, & tantum opera perfecimus, ad integrum amicitiam inter Regiam Maiestatem & Veltram Sanctoratem conservandum, in medio nostrarum actionum, Regni illius damna & calamitatem, nostriq; certissimam ruinam confpiceremus. Ad hae S. D. N. & brachiorum & totius corporis agitazione, animum commotum osten
dens, volo (inquit) ego ruinam, que mihi modo imminet, considerare, & idipsum quod fuci valde me angit; Si igitur, vel alia mala oritura sint, quam in eo mea culpa est? &ris max conficietn fuerint me vacascula, cuj effec omnoxius, si hoc etiam quod nunc ex peritum concederemus: Nec Reverterendi limus Dominus Eboracensis, nec vos ullam cauam de me conquerendi habetis, quicquid nunc pollicitus sum praefiti, neq; alioq; unum, eti mihi faciendi effect facultas, Regia Maiestas & Reverterendi limus Dominus Eboracens. a me petierunt, quod non promittitme conceperem, ut quisque facile intelligerat, quanti eos semper fecerem; ad aliqua etiam Veltri causa faciliorem me prabui. Certum ubi vertitur max conficiens integritas, omnia posthendae censeo, agant per se ipsi quod volunt, Legatum remittant eo praeuxo, quod in cauam ulterior procedi nobis, & deinceps ut ipsi volenter rem conficiat, modo me autore injuste quicquam agatur. Tunc ego, Nonne Veltra Sanctorum vult, ut ex vigore Commissionis procedatur? quod quum velle affirmasset, dixi, igitur Reverterendi limus Campagii Sanctorum Veltrae voluntati adverbarunt, Divortium enim Regis dixit, A T Portifex, Ego (inquit) illi impotui, ut Divortium Regi dixiuderet, per fuaderet Regine; quod autem ad Commissionem pertinet, si requiratur, exequetur. Sumus ergo (inquam) concordes, Beatissime Patris, quod quum in latit, quod nocere poterit Decretalem Bullam aliquidus secre
tissis ac juramento adaechis Consiliariis ostendisse? Tum quaffinis caput, Scio (inquit) quid de ea facere constituant, verum nondum Campagii literas ex Anglia legi, quapropter die crafina ad me reductis. Hoc paeto S. D. N. primo die me dimitt. Adhuc his fermonibus Dominus Vincentius Caffaliius, quem ob equitem fratrem luc mihi dixi, qui equitem ipsam excufavit, quod quamvis ille animadverteret negotium hoc tantum momenti effe, ut eam cum vitae dicirimine Roman per difo
tos equos fibi properandum esse viderer, nihilominus superledisse viderat, quod si id feceret necesse fibi futurum domi, & in lectulo permane
t potius, quam de re tanta coram ejus Sanctoritate agere. Atque interim Dominus Vincentius multas rationes ad persuendendum, equitis Caffalii
nome adhibuist, quas eodem paeto ejus Sanctorum in frequenter diem rejectur. 
Poftridie ejus diei signatura habita est, cui ego tanquam referendarius interflu, in vesperum; est proraeta, nec judicavi opportunum Pontiflicem signaturae munere defelliagredis, quum praelateritus ejus Sanctoritatis dicerent se nondum Campagii literas perlegisse. Res igitur iterum in diem proximum rejecta fuit, quo poftea horam commodam nactus Pontificem adivi.
A Collection

Book II.

adivi, quumque omnium Capitum, quae D. V. Reverendissimae literis continebatur, quasi summam efficere, ne quicquam per oblivionem prateriorem, ab ea primum parte cessi, in qua dicitur fumam Sanctoratam conceffisse Commissionem generalem in amplissima forma, & promississe ferendam sententiam, se ratifiedurum. Pontifex hoc verum efficit affirmavit, dicens se contentum esse, ut ad sententiam procedatur; Qua vero parte est, ejus Sanctoratem Bullam Decretalem conceffisse, ut secretiores Reges Majestatis consiliarii infueterent, id à veritate longe remorunt dixerit, posse; ad id se literas D. V. Reverendissimae ostendere: Atque ea repetivit, quae priore die super hoc dicerat, viz. Dominum Stephanum Gardinerum & Equitem Caflalium se testes habere, hanc Bullam non ea conditione petiatur fuisse ut ostenderetur cujquam, praterquam Serenissimo Regi & D. V. Reverendissimae, & Campegiun nunc ad se scribere tantundem effe, quo facio ex conventione Bullam comburi debere, promissionem quoque fide dixit, ut si quae allegantur, probentur, ad sententiam ferendam procedatur, id erat uram habiturum. Quumque ego quiessem an vellet, quae fierent per eam Bullam comprobare, minime id oportere dixerit; negavit quoque eam consiliaria ostendendam esse, qui tamen rem bonam non judicarent, appropinbare tamen super ejus Sanctoratis Conficientiam; ac repat interim repetivit, non effe amplius in ea re commorandum. Ad aliæm igitur partem deveni, in qua D. V. Reverendissimae dicit, Reverendissimam Campegiun Divorciun iter Regem Serenissimam & Reginam comatum divinandum; Tum Pontifex Campegiun scribere dixit, eo se etiam funt lurum officio, ut Regine Divorciunt perhaderent, quam ab eo alienum inveniret; modestae tamen eam, ait, locutam fuisse, & Consiliarios petisse, qui, quibus Hispania denegari fuerint, ex Flanndria autem conceffisse. Dixit etiam S. D. N. se literas ad Regem, Reverendissimo Campegiun ex suo Chirographo dedisset, ut Regia Majestas fidelem his habere, que Reverendissimus Campegiun sui Sanctoratis nomine diceret. Ad illum dieinde partem deveni, ubi est: Caufam Regis perinde differt, ac si nolit ad Judicium, sententiamque in partem suam Majestatis ferendam defcendere, donec S. D. N. certorem prius effeceperit, de his ad hanc concerntentibus, quae ibi vidit & audivit. Ad hanc respondit, Campegiun quandocumque requisitum fuerit, processurum, neq; de superfederando Commissionem habere; ffe tantum injuxisse, ut quum procedi eoptum effe, se certorem faceret, ne tamen interim mora aliudiquis interponeretur.  At ubi est, nullo pacto adducit vult, ut mihi suum Collogia Commissionem lance Decretalem credat. Dixit verum id effe, ideo factum ne pluribus palam fieret, eaque conditione qua petitum fuit, octenam nequecumque amplius expectandum, ea repetens, quae prius etiam circa hoc dixerat. At ego, videat Sanctitas veltra quod ex his verbis, quae hic scripsit sunt loquor, quae dicunt Sanctoratem veftiram Commissionem Decretalem conceffisse, ea conditione ut aliquibus Regis Consiliariis ostendenterur. Tum Pontifex iterum excidendens; Octendam (inquit) literas ipsius Reverendissimi Eboracen. nec loquor mendacia, & non minus meis verbis, literis&; prioribus Reverendissimi Eboracen. fides est habenda, quam hae quas nunc affertis. Tum ejus Sanctoratem mirigari quattuor, si minus urgerent mandata equeurer, quoniam id à me fieri oportet. Quod ad Regni ruinas, damna, calamitates, scandala, & diminutionem Religionis, multa in eandem sententiam dixit, in quam primo die locutus fuit; quum diceret, Egregium vero
Alis deinde diebus S. D. N. Epiflime sum alloquutus, qui deceravit cum Reverendiflimis de Monte & Sanctorum Quattuor Cardinalibus de his rebus omnibus loqui, praeterquam de Bulla Decretali, de qua cum nomine vult ullam fieri mentionem, jussit; ex omni Scriptura ejus memoriam eximi. De religios itaq; rebus omnibus loquutus sum cum his duobus Cardinalibus qui dixerunt Pontificem continentem fore, ut ad tentament procedatur, tamen id pleriq; alienum videatur: deoque eo nonnulli ex Cardinalibus cum obtrécšatione loquuntur, & Cæfariis Orator ne procedatur Protestatur, volunq; fieri in Curia Cæfari advocationem, Commissionem; cum Inhibitione ad partes; dicuntq; hi duo Reverendiflimi, quod quæ postulant illi, jufa sunt, nec minimo cuiq; denegari potenq; rolle tamen Regis Majestatis caufa S. D. N. quicquam ex eo quod factum sit, immutare.

Quum alio etiam die Pontificem otiosum nactus esset, multa cum ejus Sanétitate, de rebus præteritis differui, dequete ex, quod ego ad ejus utilitatem cum Venetis egiq; quartam factam Serenissimi Regis, & D. V. Reverendissimæ voluntatem esse, ut quotidianum occaio daretur, pro fœa Sanéstitatis commodo omnium furent: Exponuit deinde quonam- topere elaboratum pro negotio Civitatis & Ravenae, utq; multa Gallici Oratores egiq; à D. V. Reverendissima potissimum instigati; Addidi etiam efficacia verba, quibus usus est Dominus Stephanus Gardinerus. Ad omnia S. D. N. respondit, fæ ea de re Regia Majestatis, ac D. V. Reverendissimæ gratias habere, & mihi quoque gratias egit; dixitque, non tamen omnibus simul tantum efficere potuisset, ut mihi max civitates redderentur. Scitis autem conditions fæderis in quo ego quoque eram, fuiffe, ut quum quis nostrum injuria affeceret, ab eo careri confederati injuriarum propullarent, quod multo magis pro me faciendo erat, quum qui in ipso fœdere essent, mihi injuriaretur; Et in de Cæfarani volunt mihi peruaedare Venetos non fuuisse id facturos, fi putarent Regis Angliae aut Christianissimo disfpliciturum: Neque interim defistunt, multa, magnaq; mihi polliceri, unde ego quod alias etiam dixi, id quod affertur, quum alter facere nequeam, accipere cogar. Illudq; etiam vos fœre volo promissum mihi fuiffe, fi legatus hic in Anglia mitteretur, futurum ut mihi civitates à Venetis restituere- rentur. Tum ego, non omnia, Beatissime Pater, adhuc funt perfecta, Rex enim potestissimus omnino operam dabir, ut illa civitates Beatissimi
dini Vestra: restituantur: An non, quae ejus Majestas scribit, Vestra Sanctitas ammadverxit? Cui videndum imprimis est, ne de ipsa Serenissimo Regi sit conquerendum; & ex hac occasione iterum ad Regiam Caufam redit. At ejus Sanctitas dixit, ne omnia quae potuisset pro Regia Majestate & D. V. Reverendifisma fecisse, facturamq; etiam libenter. Nonne ignarus (in qua) posset ratio aliqua inventiri qua concederetur cam Bullam aliquidus ex Secretioribus Confulariis ostendit postulare? Tum Pontifex, non (inquit) Non posset hoc fieri, nec a me impediri; quod si ullo modo fieri potuisset, minime tam multas magnolq; preces à Serenissimo Rege, & Reverendifisma Domino Eboracos. expetaverem, quumq; quibuldam validis Argumentis inflarem, prohibuit me ulterioris de hujiusmodi re loqui. Nolui ego unquam dicere, equitem fratrem brevi effe venturum, ne Pontifex rem in illius adventum proriterit, ca tantum de caule, ut moram interponeret.

Omnibus deinde aliis diebus super cedem negotio infiniti, nunquam tam Pontifex fementiam tuam ulla ex parte immutare voluit; tantum illud decrevit, Nunciam mittere velle, qui tuam fementiam verbis explicaret: quumq; nulla mihi amplius fiues reliquiueretur quicumque amplius impietranti, tum demum dixi, Equitum fratrem Romae futurum sequenti die, qui quum adeo gravis momenti rem cerneret, noluerit suae valetudini confidere, & quod is minime putasset, suae servitutis in ejus Sanctitatem merita hoc modo male tractanda fuisse. Gratam fibi dixit Pontifex Equitis adventum fore, quodq; cum ipso & constituenterum omnia, negans tamen se ullo pacto id quod nunc petitur concedetur: Venit itaque; Eques frater, qui non fecus ac si nunquam quifquam de hac re cum Pontifice egisset, fingula de integro tractavit, omnibus his modis & rationibus tentatis quae exoptarit poterunt. Quae omnia minutim Dominus Vincentius Callalius noter patriulis, quem ad ipsum mittimus, verbis coram explicabat, egoque ne D. V. Reverendifisma jam nimis moleftus fum, de hac ulterioris non ficeram.

Quod ad Wintoniensen Expeditionem speeiat, multum li Reverendifimi Domini Cardinale offendeabantur, nunc ab ipso pecuniarum meriliones poftularia, quum depradata corum bona sint, iphiq; propter id ad paupertatem redacti. Quibus ego offendi, magnus emolumentum ad ipfis venturum, fi D. V. Reverendifisma unam Ecclesiam acciperetur, alteram deponeret, quam fi alter tantum Wintoniensen Ecclesiae expeditionem faceret; neque D. V. Reverendifismam nimis hanc permutationem optare dixi, quum Wintoniensen non multo Ecclesiae Dunelmensi fit ditior. Ad hac dixerunt, quod liberius D. V. Reverendifima quem cum alteri erunt gratificaturi, quoniam ipsa de fede Apostolica fì temper bene merita, non tantum fì vereri, quin D. V. Reverendifisma Wintoniensen Ecclesiae illius Regni primarium fit acceptura. Ego quum Pontificem, & deinde Cardinales eos qui magis rebus nostris student ambitiem, effeci ut Pontifex, deea re in Consiliorio referret, quod ejus Sanctitas effe difcit, multis etiam additis laudibus D. V. Reverendifima, quibus aliqti Cardinales, & maxime Neapolitani, responderunt ea quae superius dixi. Illud tandem decreverunt, quod quum D. V. Reverendifima folvere debeat, pro expeditione Wintoniensen Ecclesiae, & pro retenzione Ecclesiae Eboracenensis & Abbatiae Sancti Albani, habita ratione totius fumme, ejus pars dimidia V. D. Reverendifisma condona-
condonare tur, & ut ad 13 vel 14 millia aureorum remittant, & non multo plus eo, quod pro Wintonien. tum Ecclesia deberet solvere. Id Reverendissimis Cardinalibus ideo difpicebat, quoniam nollent res hujusmodi in exemplum trahir, quam praefertim Magnus Francius Cancellarius, ipse quoque in magna quadam Expeditione, idipsum in presencia flagitat, quod illi concedere nolunt.

Catera ex Domino Vincentio D. V. Reverendissima copiosius corant intelligat; Quae bene valeat. Dat. Romae die 17 Decemb. 1528.

Humilimum servus

Jo. Caffalius

Prothonotar.

XVIII. The Pope’s Letter to the Cardinal, giving Credence to Campana. An Original.


Dilecte Filii nofter, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Exstisti 
mavimum non tam commode per literas responderi posse his, de 
qui qu incredibilem in Christo Filii nostris fuit Regis 
Regnique egerunt, Ita q; proprium hominem Franciscum Campanam 
qui praeclaram nostrum fuitum mittimus, ex qua Serenitas ac Circumpectio 
plenus intelligent quu nobis occurrant, tam de rebus ad pacem & 
publice ad univeram Christianitatem spectantibus, quam super privatis 
Serenitatis fuit, de quibus nos per literas & Oratores vestrors significatis, 
quas quidem fumopere cordi habemus. Circumpectationem tuam 
hortaur, ut fibi ac Serenitati tuae perfuadeat nos paternam benevolent 
am atq; animum geoffise & gerere erga Serenitatem tuam, ab eodemq; 
amore proficiendi omnino quae, illi significamus, ut pluribus Circum 
pectationem tuam, quem merito multum amamus, exponet Dilect. Fil. 
Card. Campegius, Legatus una recum nofter, ac dictus Franciseus, qui 
bus plenissimam fidem habebis. Datum Romae 15. Decembris 
M.D.XXVIII.

Clemens manu propria.

Decemb. 1. 1528.

XIX. A part of Peter Vannes his Instructions, directing him to threaten the Pope. An Original.

AND Peter, as of himself, shall a part lay unto his Holiness; 
Sir, I being an Italian, cannot but with a more fervent 
zeal and mind than any other, study and desire the Weal, Honour, and 
Safety
Safety of your Holiness and the See Apostolick; which compelleth me to shew unto your Holiness, frankly, what I see in this matter. Surely, Sir, in case your Holiness continuing this particular respect of fear of the Emperor, do thus delay, protract, and put off the accomplishment of the King’s to infant desire in this Matter, and not impart to his Majesty therein bounteously of the Treasure and Goods of the Church, and the See Apostolick, quantum potestis ex Thesauris Ecclesiae & ex plenti"nde Potestatis ac Authoritate a Deo vel ab Ecclesia collata, I see assuredly, that it will be a means to alienate the faith and entire mind which his Highness beareth to your said Holiness, as not only thereby his Grace, Nobles, and Realm, but also many other Princes his Friends and Confederates, with their Nobles and Realms, shall withdraw their Devotion and Obedience from your Holiness, and the See Apostolick, studying how they may acquit this your Ingratitude, in the highest cause that can be devised, shewed, and so long continued with the semblable. And therefore, Sir, at the reverence of Almighty God, cast not from you the heart of this noble virtuous Prince, who finally cannot fail, the Peace had, which Christendom may not long forbear, to have in his puissance, such a stay as may be able, in the highest and largest manner, to recom pense his Friends, and to acquit the contrary.

Henry R.

XX. The Cardinal’s Letter to the Ambassadors about his promotion to the Popedom. An Original.

Magnifico Eque Domino Gregorio Cassalio ac Domino Petro Vanni, Serenissimi Domini Anglie & Francie Regis in Rom. Curia oratoribus.

Magnifico Domine Gregori & Domine Petre salutem. Sicuti in commodissimus totius Reipublicae Christianae, ac potissimum Regis Majestatis negotios S. D. N. obitus accidit, ita etiam vos non lateret puto quantum periculi & discriminis huimus Serenissimi Regis saluti & honori, ac Regni sui quieti ab hac futuri Pontificis Elezione imminent, & quantopere vobis adnitenundum, ac veftro studio, diligentia, industria & prudentia occurrentum & obtandum sit, ne aliquid eligat Pontificex alienus ab hac Regia Majestate; & quid pro me promovendo facere acturare debeatis, cumulate per communes meas litteras vos admonui: nec ouseret per has quicquid aliud replicare, quas folum ad vos scribere volui, ut significem vobis me tum hoc gravissimum & omnium maximum negotium, de quo acturi esto, vestra prudentia, fidei, & dexterratis, quam longo temporis usu exploratissimam habeo, committere & credere, spero qvis vos scripi & opinioni meae de vobis concepte omnino responsuros, & bene valeste. Londini die 6 Feb. 1528.

Velet amantiissimus Frater
T. Cardin. Eborac.

XXI. An
XXI. An Information given to the Pope about the Divorce. An Original.

Adnotatio Summaria eorum quae aliis libellis hisius explicata S. D. N. tum licere, tum expedire, persuasit, ut in Causa Regni Majestatis Sententiam divorci ferat.

Rimun licet etiam expedit dirimere hoc Matrimonium, quod jurum divino tum humano repugnat.

Divinum enim jus duci prohibet UXorem fratris, quin hic fratris UXorem ductam fuifie sit notorium.

Humanum vero jus, duo Iius Matrimonii impedimenta continet, alterum affinity, quod divino jure induci tum severissime facit; alterum publice Honeftatis, & justitiae, quod promulgavit Deus, si ex definitione Matrimonii, divini, humanique juris commutatio interveniret, quibusnam aulpicis hoc Matrimonium conlatare dicemus, quod utraque juris adverfante ac repugnante, contractum eft, coit, & utcunque confittit?

Sed ceffavit, inquint, in hac specie juris utriusq; prohibitio per gramin & Dispensationem humani Pontificis.

Respondetur quidem ilius multis modis. Primo non esse videri, quod nullum eft, nullum autem haberi quod fine Autoritate legitima fiat; deniq; Pontificis Autoritatem non eatenus pertinere, ut in gradibus divina leges prohibitis dispensem positi: non opinionibus Scripturis, qui Pontificis Authoritatem imminunt velint, sed iphus Pontificis lenta et infam, quem fua Jurisdictionis modum, & optime novisse & ampliare velle potius quam restringere credendum eft; quae quin ita sint, etiam si human juris prohibition per Dispensationem sublatas videatur, manet nihilominus immotum, quod divinum eft, si iphis contra seipsum credimus Pontificibus.

Deinde, ut posse Pontifices dispenses fateamus, & in ea parte tribuamus plus Authoritatis quam ipsi Iibiphs audaces arrogare, tamen non passim, non quocumque modo, non temere, & fine omni consideratione, posse cos dispensem; arq; atque eumdem eft ne suo testimonio DIspitatores verius quam Dispensatores appellentur. Iaque ut caufam urgentissimam & evidenterfallam, tum etiam manifestissimam debet habere Dispensario, precibus deniq; veris, non ementiis arque conflictis inniti.

In Dispensatione autem, quo conlatat hoc Matrimonium, verbis qui dem pacis causa proponitur, fed non ide qua lic referatur, et ipsa Iubi sittis, Pontificis facta non ad verborum superficiem, sed rei iphis solidam veritatem expendi convenit.

Cer t eft, paccem multis modis, tum firmissimam fuiffe unoque Matrimonio conciliatum, pactorum deniq; ac fiderum vi conflatentem, iffund necessario Matrimonium non desiderasse, & jam Dispensationem fine causa intervenisse dicimus, & confequenter nullam effe, manereq; adhuc divinam prohibitionem atq; adeo & humanum.

Porro etiam, si aliqua sit, & caufam haberet, tum mendaciis conflatata G g g eft,
Sed productur aliud Breve tenoris tam efficacis ut itas Objectiones non admittat.

Sed manet nihilominus eorum sententia, qui Pontificem non posse dispemfare affirmant, secundum quos nec Breve nec Bulla confitit; deinde Breve fallum esse, & pro fallo judicari debere, multis ratiocinibus convincitur; demque fallum cum sit, & tamen prioris Bullæ errores corrigat, illam opinionem merito confirmet, ne prior Dispensatio efficax videatur, vel eorum judicio, qui hoc Matrimonium defendere studuerunt, viz. qui veris allegationibus diffifti, ad falsas & fictcas Dispensationes, vitia obiecta removentes configere coepti sunt.

Ista, si singula minus suffic cant, saltum collata, obtinente & persuadeant licere. Ilia vero opinio multis perfuasa, Pontificem viz. non posuisse dispensare, ut sola infirmet Dispensationem, non petitur, sed habet nihilominus aliquid considerationis; quantoem enim refellatur a quibusdam & reprobatur, manet tamen scripta, atque adeo verisimili ipsius Pontificis comprobata. Perpendatur deinde caufa & suggestionis veritas, si mendacium interveniit appareat, & quod est notorium, illam Dispensationem aduersariorum factis in novi Brevis fabricatione tacite reprombari, quis non videt ex his caufis licere ut sententia Divortii perferatur?

Postremo expedit ut id pronuntietur, quod in omnium sententias contentiar, Reprobatio autem Dispensationis cum omnibus convenit opinionibus, quin quia Authoritas abfuit, quin quia non recte interposita fuit; Approbatio vero cum itis diffinit omnibus. Expedit ut firma sit & inconcufa Regni Succelfio, quae contra has opiniones confirmari non potest.

Expedit ut conscientia Serenissimi Regis his scrupulis impedita, & turbata, expedita & tranquilla reddatur.

Breviter,
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Breviter, expedit votis Serenissimi Regis satisfieri, qui pro genuinis & innatis suis virtutibus, non nisi optima cupit, & modo etiam optimo voto torum futorum componat officii laborat; ut non virtutem spectaret, cetera nihil haberent difficillimatis, sed omnium virtutum cogitationem quandam eis animadvertens, fimul justitiae decorum, quojq temperatia eft, quærit, ut juitem, jufto modo, obtineat & affequatur. Itaque expedit ne auxiliurn denegetur, vel differatur ei qui id jufte implorat.

To my loving Friends Master Stephen Gardiner Doctor of both Laws; Sir Francis Brian, and Sir Gregory Callalis, Knights; and Mr. Peter Vannes Secretary to the King's Highness for the Latin Tongue; His Graces Orator, Residents in the Court of Rome.

XXII. The second part of a long Dispatch of the Cardinals concerning the Divorce. An Original.

Another part of your Charge consisteth in expedition of the King's great and weighty Cause of Matrimony, whereupon depend so many high Consequences, as for no earthly Cause to suffer or tolerate, tract or delay, in what case soever the Pope's Holiness be of amendment or danger of life; nor as is absurd, oweth to be by his Holiness pretermitted, whether the same be in the state of Recovery, or in any doubt or despair thereof: for one assured and principal fundamental and ground is to be regarded, whereupon the King's Highness doth plant and build his Acts and Cogitations in this behalf, which is from the reasonable favour and justice, being the things from the which the Pope's Holiness, in prosperis nec adversis, may lawfully and honestly digress; and when the plainness of his cause is well considered, with the manifest Premptions, Arguments, and Sufpicions, both of the insufficiency of the Bull, and falsity of the Brief, such as may lead any Man of reason or intentment, well to perceive and know; that no sufficiency or allured truth can be therein; How may the Pope's Holiness, ex aequo & justo, refuse or deny to any Christian Man, much les to a Prince of so high merits, and in a cause whereupon depend so many consequences, to his Holiness well known, for a vain respect of any Person, or by excuse of any Sickness, justifie, colour, or defend any manner refusal, tract, or delay, used in declaration of the truth in so great a Matter, which neither for the infinite conveniences that thereby might ensue, admitteath or suffereth to be delayed, nor by other than himself, his Act or Authority, may lawfully be declared? And well may his Holiness know, That to none it appertaineth more to look unto the justnes of the King's desire in this behalf, than to his Highness his self, whose Interest, whose Cause, with the fame of his Realm and Succession resteth herein; for if his Grace were minded, or would intend to do a thing inque or unjust, there were no need to recur unto the Pope's Holiness for doing thereof. But because his Highness and his Council, who best know the whole of this Matter, and to whose part
it belongeth most profoundly to weigh and ponder every thing concerning the same, be well assured of the truth of the Matter, needing none other thing but for observance of his Duty toward his God and his Church, to have the same Truth also approbate and declared by him to whom the doing thereof appertaineth; his Grace therefore seeing an untruth alleged, and that so craftily as by undue and perverse wayes, the same, without good reason admitted, may for a season bring things into confusion, both communicate unto the Pope's Holiness prepossessions and evidences enough, and sufficient to inform the Conscience of his Holiness of the very truth: which then, if his Holiness will not see, but either for affection, fear, or other private cause, will hearken to every diatribe and vain allegation of such as led upon undue grounds would colour the Truth; What doth his Holiness fees therein, than under a right vain colour expressly deny and refuse the said Justice, which to be done either in health or sickness, in a matter of so great moment, is in no wise tolerable? But for the same reasons that be before menioed, is the thing, whether the Pope's Holiness be in hope or delpair of life, without further tract to be absolved and determined; for if Almighty God grant his Holiness life, this Act is, and always shall be, able to bear it well, and is meet to be an Example, a President, and a Law, in all like Cases emerging, the Circumstances and Specialities of the same in every part concurring as they do in this; nor can the Emperor make exceptions at the same, when he beft knowing, percafe, the untruth shall see the grounds and occasions, that of necessity and meer Justice have enforced and constraigned the Pope's Holiness thereunto; which he could not refuse to do, unless he would openly and manifestly commit express injury and notorious injustice. For be it that the Pope's Holiness hearkning to the said frivolous and vain Allegations, would refuse to declare the Law herein to the King's purpose, then must his Holiness, either standing in doubt, leave and suffer the Cause to remain in suspense to the extreme danger of the King's Realm and Succession for ever, or else declare the Bull or Breve,or both to be good, which I suppose neither his Holiness nor any true Christian Man can do, standing the manifest occasions, prepossessions, and apparent evidences to the contrary. Then if the matter be not to be left in suspense, no Judgment can be truly given to the approbation of the Bull or Breve; how can the Pope's Holiness of Conscience, Honour or Virtue, living or dying, thus procrastinate or put over the immediate finishing thereof, according to the King's desire? or how may his Holiness find his Conscience towards God exonerate, if either living he should be the cause of so many evils as hereof may arise; or dying, wilfully leave this so great a Matter, by his own default, in this confusion, certainty and perplexity? It is not to be supposed, that ever Prince most devout to the See Apostolick, could so long tolerare so high an injury, as being so merited towards the said See, is both acquittted for his kindnesse with any special Grace, and also denied upon his petition of that which is evident to be plain Justice. This thing is otherwise to be looked upon, than for the Pope's Sickness, where most need were to put an end unto it, to be delayed, seeing that living and amending, it is of it self expedient and justifiable, and dying it shall be an act both necessary, meritorious and honourable. For this cause ye now knowing the King's mind
mind in this behalf, shall, if ye have not already before this time spoken with the Pope's Holiness at length in these Matters, as the King's Grace enquired ye have done, follicit as well by the means of Messire Jacobi Savettier, as by the Bishop of Verone, and otherwise as ye can think best, to have such commodious access unto his Holiness, as ye may declare the Premises unto him; which by your wills, in as effectual and vive manner as ye can, open it unto his Holiness. It is undoubtedly to be thought the same shall rather be to his comfort and entertainment of Health, than to any his trouble or unquietness; and that his Holiness hearing these Reasons not evitable, will whether he be in way and hope of amendment, or otherwise, both proceed to the said indication, and also to the Declaration of the Law, and falling of a sufficient and ample Decretal, as hath been devolved in the King's said Caufe, with other such things, as by former Letters and Instructions, by the Decrees mentioned in the same, that failing have been committed unto you, to be solicited and procured there; in the labouring whereof, albeit since your departures from hence, the things have, by reason of the Pope's sore sickness, otherwise chanced than was here supposed, by means whereof ye not intrusted what to do in any such cafe, were peregrinating not over-hastily or importune to labour thefe Matters, till the Pope's Holiness might be better amended, nor could perceive the means to have convenient access unto his presence for the fame, ye must nevertheless adhibit such diligence, as howsoever the sickness of his Holiness shall cease, amend, or continue, these things be not for the fame, or any other cause tracted or left in longer fulpenet; but finding possible means to come unto the Pope's presence, to declare all such things unto the same, mentioned both in the former Letters and Instructions given unto you, and also in these presents, as may make to the purpose; and failing of often access in your own Persons to his Holiness, ye cause the Bishop of Verone, and other such assured Friends as ye can attain, being about him at such times as they may have with his Holiness, to inculcate unto him the said Points and Considerations, and all other that ye can excogitate and devise to the furtherance and advancement of these Matters, not forbearing or sparing alo, if ye shall see difficulty at the Pope's hand, or in audience to be given to you or your Friends there, being about his Person, to break and open after a good fashion and manner the same unto such of the Cardinals, as ye may perceive assuredly and constantly to favour the King's Highness, and the French King in election of a future Pope, in cafe (as God forbid) the Pope's Holiness should decease; and to shew unto the same Cardinals, all such things as you shall think meet; both for their more ample instructions in the truth and specialities of the Matters, as well concerning the Indication of Truce, as the King's said Caufe, and the presumptuous Reasons, and plain Evidences, leading to the insufficiency of the Bull, and apparent falsity of the said Breve; to the intent, that as many of the said Cardinals as ye can win, made sure in those Matters, they may, both in time of sickness, and also of amendment, move and induce the Pope's Holiness thereunto, laying before him as well the Merits and Honour that may ensue by the perfection of the Premises, as the danger imminent by the contrary; and semblably it shall be expedient that ye win and make sure to the same purpose, as many of the Officers of the
the Rota and other as ye can, who as ye write be not accustomed, nor will give counsel to any Person but the Pope's Holiness; for albeit ye cannot have them to be of the King's Council, yet nevertheless they may do as much good, or more, in training and counselling the Pope's Holiness, upon the great Reasons that you can shew unto them, to hearken unto your Overtures in this behalf. To which purpose you shall adjure, make, and win, as many Friends of the Cardinals, of them, and other, as ye possibly may, as for the thing which the King's Highness and I more esteem than twenty Papalities; and amongst other, ye shall insist, by all means and good persuasions ye can, for the continuance there of the said Bishop of Verone, so as he may countervail the Arch-Bishop of Carpan; who, as it seemeth, is continually about the Pope's Person, and were necessary to be met with in the Labours and persuasions, which by likelihood he maketh to the hindrance of the King's Purpose; For the better continuing of the which Bishop of Verone, not only the King's Highness and I write unto him at this time, as by the Copy of the fame several Letters being herewith ye shall perceive, but also the French King will do the semblable. And furthermore, to the intent that the Pope's Holiness may well perceive, that not only the said French King mindeth the King's laid Cause, and taketh it to heart as much as it were his own, and will effectually join and concur with the King's Highness therein, but that also he is and will be conformable to the said Indication; He will fend thither, with all speed, the Bishop of Bayon to further, sollicite, and set forth the same; who, before his departure from hence, which was a good leaveon paffed, was and is sufficiently and amply instructed in all things requisite to this purpose; and not only in these Matters, but also in such other as were written unto you by Vincent de Caffalis, and Hercules, upon advertisement given hither that the Pope's Holiness was deceived; so as ye may be sure to have of him effectual concurrence and advice in the furtherance and sollicitation of your Charges, whether the Pope's Holiness amend, remain long sick, or (as God forbid) should fortune to die; truf ting, that being so well furnished by all ways that can be deviled, ye will not fail to use such diligence as may be to the confectioning and attaining of the King's Purpose; wherein, tho' ye be so amply and largely instructed, that more cannot be, yet nevertheless having lately received from the Bishop of Worcester a Memorial of divers great things to be well noted and considered, for trial of the fallacy of the said Briefe, I fend you herewith a Copy of the fame Memorial, to the intent ye substantially visiting and perusing the same, may follow and put in execution such part thereof, for better trial of the fallacy, as is to be done there, like as the rest meet to be done here, shall not fail to be executed with diligence accordingly.

Thus be ye with these, and other former Writings, sufficiently instructed what is to be done by you there, whether the Pope's Holiness continue long in his sickness, or whether the same fortune to decease, or soon, God willing, to amend. There resteth no more, but that ye always take for a perfect ground, That tho' to every new chance not before known, sufficient Provision and Instruction could not be given to you at your departure, ye always note, remember, and regard, That this the King's Cause admittedh nor suffereth any manner negative, tract,
tract, or delay; wherefore knowing that so well as ye do, and also how much the Indiction of the Truce shall be commodious and necessary, both to the King's Highness in particular, and to all Christendom in general, by means whereof his Grace shall avoid Contribution, and other Charges of the War, ye must now, if ever you will have thanks, laud, or praise for your Service, employ your selves opportunity & importance, to put an end to the Points to the King's satisfaction and desire; and in every difficulty to study, by your Wisdoms, the best and next Remedy, and not always to try your doing, till upon your Advertisement further, ye shall have new knowledge from hence: For thereby the matter it fell, and also your demurr there, be of over-long a continuance, and infinite inconveniences by the same may ensue. I therefore require you, according to the special trust and confidence that the King's Highness and I have in you, now for ever to acquit your selves herein with all effect possible, accordingly so as the King's Highness be not longer kept in this perplexity and suspeHe, to his Graces intolerable quietness, and the great heaviness of all those that observe and love the same.

Furthermore, the it so be that the King's Trust, and also mine is, Ye will by your Wisdom find such good means and ways as ye shall not fail, God willing, to open and declare unto the Pope's Holinesse, the whole of the King's Mind, and all and singular the Premisses, with the residue above mentioned in your former Instructions and Letters sent unto you: Yet nevertheless considering what ye wrote of the doubt of continuance of the Pope's sickness, and to make sure for all Events and Chances, in case his Holinesse (as God forbid) should long remain in such state, as he might either take upon him the naming of the Peace, journeying and repairing to the sacred Diet, nor also hear the whole of the things by you to be opened and propounded touching the King's said Caufe: It hath been thought to the King's Higness convenient rather than these great and weighty Matters should hang in longer suspense, to exagitate some other good means and way how these Matters, if necessary, may by some ways be conducted and brought to an end; And it is this: That the Pope's Holinesse not being able to travel to the place devised, where the Princes may be near him for Treaty, and managing of the Peace, he do depute me and my Lord Cardinal Campegius, conjunctim & divisim, as his Legates for that purpose, to do and execute all such things in his Holinesse's Name, as the same should do in that behalf if he were there present; whereunto, for the well of Christendom, we shall be contented to condescend. So always, that as hath been written heretofore unto you, before I pass or let forth to any Convention or Place, to the intent before specified, the Kings Highness be fully satisfied and pleased in his said matter of Matrimonium, without which, neither with nor without the Pope's presence, I will ever begin or take that Voyage: for performance whereof, this Article following is of new devised, to be by you propounded unto his Holiness, if the Decretals cannot be obtained, or some other thing, that ye shall well know and perceive, by advice of expert Counsel there, to be better to the Kings purpose than this thing now devised, and that may without tract be passed or granted; that is to say, That his Holiness do enlarge, extend, and amplify his Commission given to me and my Lord Legate Campegius,
A Collection

Book II.

Campaginis, whereby we jointly and severally may be sufficiently furnished and authorized, to do as much in this cause of Matrimony, with all the emergents and dependencies upon the same, as his Holiness may do of his ordinary and absolute Power, with sufficient and ampleClauses, ad Decernend. & Interpretand. jura; leges, & Rescripta genuinae hoc Matrimonium concernentis, una cum omnibus & formalis dubibus in eadem causa emergentibus. And further, to make out Compulsories to any Princes, or Persons of what preheminence, dignity, state, or condition ever they be, Etiam in Imperali, Regali, vel ad gaucunque dignitate perfulgente, sub quibusque ponti, and in what Countries and places ever they be, to exhibit and produce any manner Writs, Records, Originals, Receipts, or other thing, in what place, or time we, or the one of us shall require them, or any of them in this behalf, with all and singular the Circumstances requisite and necessary to such a Commission, after such ample and assured manner, as the same once had, we shall not need for any Objections, doubt, or other thing that might infringe or obstruct, to find of new to the Pope’s Holiness for other provision, whereby the King’s said Cause might hang in any longer tract or delay, in which case of coming to this Commission, ye Mr. Stevins must have special regard to see the same sufficiently and substantially penned, by advice of the most expert Men that ye can find to that purpose: For the better doing whereof, I send unto you herewith a Copy of the said Commission to me and my Lord Campaginis, with certain Additions thereunto noted in the Margin, such as have been here devised; and also a Copy of certainClauses in a Ball, to the intent ye may see how amply the same be couched, to avoid apppellations and other delays in Causes of far less moment and importance than the King’s is. Nevertheless ye must, if it shall come to the obtaining of this new Commission, see to the penning and more fully perfecting thereof, so as the same may be in due perfection, without needing to send essays for remedying of any thing therein, as is aforesaid; looking also substantially whether the Chirograph of Peculation, being already in your hands, be so couched, as the Date, and every thing considered, it may sufficiently oblige and attinge the Pope’s Holiness to confirm all that we, or one of us, shall do, by virtue of this New or the Old Commission: And if it be not of such efficacy so to do, then must ye in this case see, that either by sufficient and ample words to be put in this new Commission, if it may be so had, or by a new Chirograph the Pope’s Holiness may be so affringed; which Chirograph, with the Commissions before specified, if ye obtain the same, the King’s pleasure is, That ye Sir Francis Bishall bring hither, in all possible diligence, after the having and obtaining thereof, soliciting nevertheless, whether the Pope be to be facily spoken with, or not, the immediate Indication of the Truce, as is aforesaid, without which in vain it were for me, either with or without the Pope, to travel for labouring and conducing of the Peace. And so by this way shoulde the Pope’s Holiness, with his merit and sufficient justification, proceed for the Truce, as a fundament of Universal Peace, satisfie the King’s desires, and avoid any doubt of the Emperor; forasmuch as his Holiness might alledge, That being so extreamly sick, that he was not able to know of the Cause himself, he could no less do of justice, than to commit it unto other, seeing that the same is of such importance
importance as suffereth no tract or delay. And finally, the King's Highness, God willing, by this means, should have an end of this Matter. One thing ye shall well note, which is this; Albeit this new Device was now for doubt of the Pope's long continuance in sicknecfs, first exeqcitate; yet is it not meant, nor ye be limited to this Device, in case ye can obtain any other, nor ye be also commanded, to prefer this before all the other Devices: but now that ye shall see and understand what this Device is, and knowing what thing is like or possible to be obtained there, without long putting over of your pursuits, expend, consider, and regard well with your self, what thing of this, or any other that may beft serve to the brief and good expedition of the King's Cause. So alwayes that it be a thing sure, sufficient, and available to his Grace's Purpofe, that may without any further tract be there had; and then by your Wildom taking unto you the beft Learned Counfel that ye can have there, leave you to the expedition of that which fo may be moft meet, as the times require and suffer, to the brief furnifhing of the King's faid Cause to this purpofe, without tract or delay, and that ye may fee if the thing, which as the matter stands, can speedily be obtained and fped, as is aforesaid. For whether the Decretal be better than this, or this better than that, or which forever be fiction, far it shall be from Wildom to fick, and ftil to reft upon a thing that cannot be obtained; but since ye know the King's meaning, which is to have a way sufficient and good for the speedily furnifhing of this caufe to his Grace's purpofe, note ye now, and consider with your self, by advice of Learned Counfel, as is aforesaid, how ye may bring that to pafs, and fhall ye deferve as high thanks as can be possible. So alwayes that it be fo well provided and looked upon, that in it be no fuch limitations or defaults, as shall compel us any more to write or fend for reformation thereof: And coming to this Commission, tho' fercafe ye can by no means or ficking have it in every point as the Copy, which I fend you with the Annotations do purpofe; yet fhall ye not therefore refufe it, but take it, or any other thing as can be had, after fuch form as may fubftantly ferve, and as ye can by your Wildom and good folicitations obtain, for the speedily furnifhing of the King's Caufe to his purpofe, as is aforesaid, which is the scope whereunto we muft tend at this time; and therefore ye be not limited or confined within any fuch bounds as ye should thereby be compelled or driven, for lack of obtaining any thing or point mentioned in thefe or other your Instructions, or former Writings, to fend hither again for further knowledge of the King's pleafeure; but ye be put at liberty to qualify, to add, to detract, to mix, to change, to mend as ye fhall think good; fo alwayes that ye take the thing that beft can be had, being fuch as may as effectually as ye can bring about, serve to the King's purpofe, and to put indefted end to it, according to his Grace's defire, without further tract, or fending this thither, which is as much as here can be faid or devifed. And therefore at the reverence of Almighty God, bring us out of this perplexity, that this Vertuous Prince may have this thing fped to the purpofe defired, which fhall be the moft joyous thing that this day in Earth may chance and fucceed to my heart; and therefore leftfoons befeech you to regard it accordingly: Howbeit if the Pope's Holinefs refufing all your desires, fhall make difficulty and delay therein, it is an evident sign and token,
that his Holiness is neither favourable to the King's reasonable Petitions, nor indifferent, but should thereby shew himself both partial, and expressly averse unto his Grace; wherefore in that case finding in his Holiness such unreasonable, as it can in no wise be thought ye shall do, The King's pleasure is, that ye proceed to the Protests mentioned in the last Instructions given to you Mr. Stevins, for you and the rest and your Collegues; and that ye not only be plain and round with the Pope's Holiness therein, ye we come to his Speech, but also ye show and extend unto the Cardinals, and other that be your Friends, which may do any good with him, the great peril and danger imminent unto the Church and See Apostolic; thereby exhorting them, That they like vertuous Fathers have regard thereunto, and not to suffer the Pope's Holiness, if he would thus wilfully, without reason or discretion to precipitate himself and the said See, which by this refusal is like to litter ten times more detriment, than it could do for any milcontentment that the Emperor could take with the contrary: for ye shall say, 'tis they may be, and so I for my discharge declare, both to the Pope's Holiness and to them, If this Noble and Vertuous Prince, in this so great and so reasonable a Cause, be thus extremely denied of the grace and lawful favour of the Church; the Pope's Holiness shall not fail for the same to lose Him and his Realm, the French King and his Realm, with many other their Confederates; besides those that having particular Quarrels to the Pope, and so aforefaid will not fail, with diverse other, as they daily seek occasions, and provoke the King's Highness thereunto, which will do the semblable, being a thing of another sort to be regarded, than the respect to the Emperor, for two Cities, which nevertheless shall be had well enough, and the Emperor neither so evil contented, nor so much to be doubted herein, as is there supposed. This, with other words mentioned in your Instructions concerning like matter, ye shall declare unto his Holiness, and to the said Cardinals, and others being your Friends, if it come to that point; whereby it is not to be doubted, but they perceiving the danger aforefaid, shall be glad to exhort and induce his Holiness, for the well of himself and the Church, to condescend to the King's desire; which is as much as can be here thought or devised, to be by you done in all Events and Chances: And therefore I pray you, elf-foons, and most instantly require you, as afore, to handle this Matter with all effect possible. Coming to this new Commission, when you shall have once attained such things as shall be sufficient for the King's purpose as is aforefaid; and that you have it in your hands and custody, and not afore, left thereby ye might hinder the expedition thereof, ye shall by all ways and means possible, labour and insist, that the King's Highness, as need shall be, may use and enjoy the benefit of the Decretal, being already in my Lord Cardinal Campeggi's hands, whereunto his Highness and I desire you to put all your effectual labour for the attaining of the Pope's consent thereunto accordingly.

Ye shall furthermore understand. That it is thought here, in cafe, as God forbid, the Pope should die before ye should have impetrated any thing that may serve to the abolition of the King's Matter, That the College of Cardinals have Authority, Power, and Jurisdiction, fede
vacante, to inhibit, awake, & ex consequenti, to pass and decide the
Kings Matter, seeing that the same is of so high moment and importance
concerning the safety of a Prince and his Realm, as more amply ye shall
perceive in the Chapters, ubi Periculum de Electione, ne Romani, de
jurisdictione, & capite primo de Schismateis; Wherefore the Kings pleasure is,
That ye Mr. Stevens shall diligently weigh and ponder the effect of
the said Chapters, not only with your self, but also with such the Kings
Learned Counsel as ye and your Colleges have conducted there; and
what Jurisdiction, sede vacante, the Colledge of Cardinals have, either
by the Common Law, usage or prescription, which may far better be
known there than here; And if ye find that the Cardinals have in this
the Kings Cause, and such other like Authority and Jurisdic[tions to
inhibit, awake and decern, then, in causa mortis Pontificis, quod Dem averto,
ye shall specially foresee and regard that for none Intercession or pur-
su:e made by the Emperor and his Adherents, they shall either inhibit
or awake; And also if before such Death, ye shall not have obtained
such thing to the Kings desire and purpose, as these present Letters before
do purpose, his Grace's pleasure is, That ye shall pursue the effectual
expedition of the same, at the hands of the said Colledge, sede vacante,
voque quae nullam dilationem exposcit, tantogere usque ad Electionem novi
Pontificis quo quantum modo ditteratur; using for this purpose all such Rea-
son, Allegations, and Perquisitions mentioned in those Letters, and
your former Instructions, as ye shall see and perceive to serve to that
effect; and so to endeavour and acquit your self, that such things may
be attained there, as may absolve this the Kings Matter, without any
further tract or delay; whereby ye shall as afore highly deserve the
Kings and my special thanks, which shall be so acquitt'd, as ye shall
have cause to think your pains and diligences therein in the best wife
employed, trusting in God that howsoever the World shall come, ye
shall by one means or other bring the Kings Matter, which so highly
toucheth his Honour and quiet of Mind, unto the desired end and per-
fection.

Finally; Ye shall understand that the French King, among other
things, doth commit at this time to the Bishop of Bayon, and Mr. John
Joachim to treat and conclude the Confederation heretofore spoken of,
between his Holiness, and the Kings Highnesses, the French King, the Ve-
netians, and other Potentates of Italy, for a continual Army to be en-
tertained to invade Spain in case it stand by the Emperor, that the Peace
shall not take effect; Wherefore the Kings pleasure is, That ye having
conference with them at good length in that Matter, do also for your
parts, solicitate, procure, and forth the same; entering also on the
Kings behalf unto the Treaty, and conclusion thereof, after such
manner as your former Instructions and Writings do purport. So as
like as the French King is determined, that his Agents shall join and
concur with you in the Kings Pursuits and Causes; So ye must also con-
cur with them in advancement of their Affairs, the successese whereof,
and of all other your doingsthere, it shall be expedient ye more often
notify hitherto to ye do, for many times in one whole month no
knowledge is had from you, which is not meet in those foweighty Matters,
speciallly considering that sometime by such as pass to Lyons, ye

might
might find the means to send your Letters, which should be greatly to the King's and my satisfaction, in hearing thereby from time to time, how the things succeed there; I pray you therefore to use more diligence therein, as the King's and my special trust is in you. And heartily fare you well. From my Palace besides Westminster, the sixth day of April.

The French King hath sent hither an Ambassadoir, Monsieur de Langes, Brother to the said Bishop of Bayon, with certain clauses in his Instructions, concerning the said Treaty of Confederation, the Copy whereof ye shall receive herewith, for your better carrying on that Matter. Praying God to speed you well, and to give you grace to make a good and short end in your Matters. And eff-loons fare ye well.

Your Loving Friend,

T. Cardin. Eborac.

XXIII. Another Dispatch to the Ambassadors to the same purpose. A Duplicate.
in no leât good and thankful part, than if ye finding the disposition of things in more direct state, had confecute all your pursuits and desires: Nor ye shall doubt or think, that either the King's Highefis or I have conceived, or thought any manner negligence in you for such things as were mentioned, in the late Letters sent unto you by Alexander, Mel- fenger, but that albeit his Highefis had caufe, as the fame wrote, to marvel of your long demor, and lack of expedition of one or other of the things committed to your charge; yet did his Highefis right well per- fume unto himself the default not to be in you, but in some other caufe, whereof his Grace not knowing the fame, might justily and meritoriously be brought unto admiration, and marvel: And therefore be ye all of good comfort, and think your perfect endeavours used, and services done, to be employed there, as it can right well, in every part regarded and con- sidered.

In effect coming to the Specialities of the things now to be answered, The King's Highefis having groundly noted and considered the whole continue and circumstances of all your faid Letters and Advertifements, findeth and perceiveth evidently, that whatsoever Pursuits, and Initia- nces, and Requests have been, or shall be for this preuent time, made there by you on his Grace's behalf to the Pope's Holinefs, for the furtherance of the faid great and weighty Caufe; and how much longer the neceffity of Christiendom for the good of Peace, the importance of the Matter, the juiceness of the thing it felf, reason, duty, reftect to good Merits, detecting of Failities used, evident Arguments and Pre- fumpitions to the fame, or other thing whatsoever it be, making for the King's purpose, do weigh; the Times be now fuch, as all that shall be done in any of the Premifes there, is apparent by fuch privy Intelli- gence and promise as is between the Pope and the Emperor, to hang and depend upon the Emperor's Will, pleafure, and Arbitre, as whom the Pope's Holinefs neither dare nor will in any part difieale, offend, or miscontent, nor do by himfelf any thing notable therein, which he shall think or suppofe to be of moment, the faid Emperor firft inconfulted, or not confenting thereunto. And for that caufe, since the Emperor not only is the Adverfary of Univerfal Peace, Letter, and Impeacher there- of, but alfo, as hath appeared by sundry Letters heretofore, and now of new fent out of Spayn, doth fiew himfelf adverfe, and enterponing him- self as a Party againft the King's faid great Matter; It were in manner all one to proftecute the fame at the Emperor's hands, as at the Popes, which fo totally dependeth upon the Emperor; and as much Fruit might be hop- ed of the one as of the other, fo as far discrepant it were from any wifdom in a thing fo neceffary, and which as ye know muft needs be brought unto an end without any further delay, to confine and spend the time, where fuch expres contrariety and in manner deffair appeareth to do good therein, and where should be none other but continual craft, colour, abufes, refufes and delays, but rather to proceed unto the fame in place, and after fuch form as may be a appearance of fome good and brief effect to ensue. Wherefore to fhow you in Counsel, and to be referred unto your felves, The King's Highefis finding this ingratitude in the Pope's Holinefs, is minded for the time to diffemble the Matter, and taking as much as may be had and attained there to the benefit of his Caufe, to proceed in the Decision of the fame here, by virtue of
And for because that ye Mr. Stevins be largely ripened and acquainted in this Matter, and that both the King's Highness and I have right large experience of your entire zeal and mind to the studying and setting forth of such things concerning the Law, as may be to the furtherance hereof; considering all that for any great thing like to be done there herein, such Personages as be of good Authority, Wisdom, and Experience, tho' they be not learned in the Law, may with such Counfel as ye have retained there, right well serve to the accomplishment of such other things as shall occur, or be committed unto them on the King's behalf, tho' so many Ambaffadors do not there remain and continue: His Grace therefore willing and minding to revoke you all by little and little, except you Sir Gregory being his Ambaffador there continually residing, willeth, That after such things perfected and done, as hereafter shall be mentioned, ye Mr. Stevins, and you Sir Francis Brian, shall take your leave of the Pope's Holiness, and with diligence return home. For if he had been the absence of you Mr. Stevins, seeing that there is small appearance of any Fruit to be obtained there, the King's Highness would have entred into Proces here before this Whifmantile: But because his Grace would have you here present, as well for the forming of the said Proces, and for such things as he trusted that ye shall obtain and bring with you, as all for the better knowledge to be had in sundry Matters, wherein you may be the better ripened and informed by means of your being in that Court, and otherwise, his Highness will somewhat the longer defer the commencement of the said Proces, and respite the fame, only for your coming; which his Grace therefore desireth you so much the more to accelerate, as ye know how necessity it is, that all diligence and expedition be used in that Matter. And fo ye all to handle and endeavour your selves there, for the time of your demor, as ye may do the most benefit and advantage that may be to the speedy furtherance of the said Caufe.

And foralnuch as at the dispatch of your said last Letters, ye had not opened unto the Pope's Holiness, the laft and uttermost Device here conceived, and to you written in my Letters sent by the said Alexander, but that ye intended, as foon as ye might have time and access, to fet forth the fame; wherein it is to be trusted, since that thing could by no colour or respect to the Emperor be reasonably denied, ye have before this time done some good, and brought unto perfection; I therefore remitting you to fuch Instructions as ye received at that time, advertife you that the King's mind and pleafure is, ye do your beft to attain the Ampliation of the said Commission, after fuch form as is to you, in the faid laft Letters and Instructions, prefcribed; which if ye cannot in every thing bring to pafs, at the leaft to obtain as much to the King's purpose, and the benefit of the Caufe as ye can; wherein all good policy and dexterity is to be used, and the Pope's Holiness by all perifhations to be induced thereunto; shewing unto the fame how ye have received Letters from the King's Highness and me, responsives to fuch as ye wrote of the Debates before rehearsed; whereby ye be advertifed that the King's Highness, perceiving the Pope's strange demeanour in this his great and weighty Caufe, with the little respect that his Holiness hath, either
to the importance thereof, or to do unto his Holiness at this his great
need, gratuity and pleasure; not only cannot be a little forry and
heavy to see himselfe frustrate of the future hope and expectation
that his Grace had, to have found the Pope's Holines a most loving, fafl,
that, near and kind Father, and allured Friend, ready and glad to have done
for his Grace, that which of his Power Ordinary or aboloure, he might
have done in this thing, which so near toucheth the King's Confience,
Health, Succession, Realm, and Subjects; But all marveller highly
That his Holiness, both in Matters of Peace, Truce, in this the King's
Caufe, and in all other, hath more respect to please and content him of
whom he hath received most displeasures, and who studieth nothing
more than the detriment of the See, than his Holiness hath either to do
that which a good common Father, for the well of the Church, Himself,
and all Christendom, is bounden, and oweth to do, or allo that which
every thing well pondered, it were both of Congruence, Right,
Truth, Equity, Wisdom, and conveniency for to do. Thinking ve-
riy that his Highness deferred to be far otherwise entreated, and that
not at his molt need in things nearest touching his Grace, and where
the same had his chief and principal confidence, thus to have his just and
reasonable Petitions rejected, and totally to be converted, to the arbitre
of his Enemy, which is not the way to win, acquire and conserve
Friends to the Pope's Holiness and see Apostolick, nor that which a
good and indifferent Vicar of Jesus Chrift, and common Father unto
all Princes, oweth and is bound to observe. Nevertheless ye shal say
the King's Highness, who always hath shewed, and largely comprobate
himself a most devout Son unto the See Apostolick, must and will take
patience; and shal pray to God to put in the Pope's mind, a more de-
rect and vertuous intent, to proceed in his acts and doing, as he may
be found a very Father, upright, indifferent, loving and kind; and not
thus for a partial respect, fear, or other inordinate Afection, or caufe,
to degenerate from his best Children, showing himself unto them, as a
Step-Father, nor the King's Highness ye shal say can persuade unto
himself, that the Pope's Holiness is of that nature and disposition, that
he will so totally fail his Grace in this Matter of so high importance, but
that by one good mean or other, his Holiness will perfectly comprobate
the intire love that always the same hath shewed to bear towards his
Highness, wherein ye shall desire him now to declare by his Acts the
uttermost of his intent and disposition; so as ye Mr. Stevns and Mr. Bri-
an, who be revoked home, do not return with void hands, or bring with
you things of such meagerness, or little Subsistence, as shall be to no pur-
pose: And thus by these, or like words, seconding to the same effect,
which as the time shall require, and as he shall have cause, ye by your
Wildoms can qualifie and devide. It is not to be doubted, but that the
Pope's Holiness perceiving how the King's Highness taketh this Matter,
and that two of you shall now return, will in expedition of the said
Ampliation of the Commission, and other things requisite, strain him-
sell to do unto the King's Highness as much gratuity and pleasure as may
be; for the better attaining whereof, ye shal also shew, how heavy
and forry I wish my Lord Legate Canpeius be, to see this manner of pro-
cceeding, and the large promisés which he and I so often have made unto
the King's Highness, of the Pope's fafl and allured mind, to do all that
his
his Holiness, *etiam ex plentudine potestate*, might do, thus to be disappointed: most humbly beseeching his Holiness on my behalf, by his high Wisdom to consider, what a Prince this is; the infinite and excellent gratitude which the fame hath exhibited to the Pope's Person in particular, and to the See Apostolick in the general: the magnificence and importance of this Cause, with the Consequences that may follow, by the good or ill treating of the King's Highness in the same; wherein ye shall say, I have so largely written, so plainly for my discharge declared the truth unto his Holiness, and so humbly, reverently, and devoutly, made intercession, that more can I not add or accumulate thereunto, but only pray unto God that the fame may be perceived, understood, and taken, as the exigence of the Cafe, and the merits of this Noble Prince doth require: trusting always, and with fervent desire, from day to day, abiding to hear from his said Holiness some such thing as I shall now be able constantly to justify and defend, the great things which I and my said Lord Legate have said and attested on his Holiness's behalf.

This, with all other such matter as may serve to the purpose, ye shall extend as well as ye can, and by that means get and attain as much to your purpose for the corroboration and surety of all things to be done here as is possible, leaving to speak any more, or also to take or admit any refcripts for exhibition of the Brief, adovcation of the Cause, or other of the former degrees, seeing that all which shall or can be done or attained there, shall hang more upon the Emperor's Will, Content, and Arbitre: and therefore nothing is now or hereafter to be procured, that may tend to any Act to be done, in decision of the Cause or otherwise, or which may bring the adverse Party to any advantage to be taken by the favour or partiality, that the fame may have in that Court; but to convert and employ all your suit, to that thing which may be to the most convalidation and surety of the Proces, and things to be done here, as well by attaining, as ample, large, and sufficient words, clauses and sentences as ye can get, for ampliation of the new Commission.

As for the defeating of any thing that may be procured to the impeachment of the Proces thereof, and the corroboration of the things to be passed, and done, by virtue of the same. And amongst other things, whereas ye with these last Letters, sent the Pope's Pollicitation, for the non-inhibition or evoking of the Cause, the ratifying and confirming of the Sentence by us his Legates herein to be given, and other things mentioned in the same, ye shall understand, that the said Pollicitation is focouched and qualified, as the Pope's Holiness whencesover he will may refile; like as by certain Lines and Annotations, which in the Margin of a Copy of the said Pollicitation I send you herewith, ye shall perceive more at large: And therefore after your other suits, for the ampliation of the new Commission, if any such may be attained, brought unto as good a purpose as ye can, ye shall by some good way find the mean to attain a new Pollicitation, with such, or as many of the words and additions newly devised as ye can get; which ye may do under this form and colour, that is to say, to shew unto the Pope's Holiness, by way of sorrow and doleance, how your Courier, to whom ye committed the conveyance of the said Pollicitation, so chanced, in
wet and water in the carriage thereof, as the Pacquet wherein it was, with such letters as were with the same, and amongst others the
scripts of Pollicitation, were totally wet, defaced, and not legible; so as
the Pacquet and Refcript was and is delivered by him to whom ye direct
your Letters, and not delivered amongst the other unto the King's
hands; and unless his Holiness, of his goodnes unto you, will grant you
a Double of the said Pollicitation, ye see not but there shall be some no-
table blame imputed unto you for not better ordering thereof, to the
confirmation of it from such chance. And thus coming to a new Pollici-
cation, and saying, ye will devife it as near as ye can remember, ac-
cording to the former, ye by your Wildoms, and namely ye Mr. Stevins,
may find the means to get as many of the new and other pregnant, fat,
and available words as is possible, the same signed and sealed as the other
is, to be written in Parchment; the Politick handling whereof, the
King's Highness and I commit unto your good discrections; for therein,
as ye Mr. Stevins know, refeth a great strength and corroboration of all
that shall be done there, in decision of the King's said Cause; and as ye
write, may be in manner as beneficial to the King's purpose, as the Com-
million Decretal.

And to the intent ye may the better know how to proceed in this Bu-
finefs, I advertife you that the King's Highness hath now received fresh
Letters out of Spain, anfwering to those fent by Curfon jointly with a
Servant of the Queens, for exhibition of the Original Brief here, of
whole expedition you Mr. Stevins were privy before your departure.
The Letters were of sundry dates, the laft whereof is the 21. of April,
at which time the Emperor was at Cefar Augusta, upon his departure to-
ward Barcelona. In effet, the Emperor minding by his departure thither,
and other his Acts, to make a great demonstration of his coming
into Italy, who is to nothing, as the King's Ambaffadors write, more
unmeet and unfurnished than to that voyage, not having any Gallies there
but three, which lay on dry Land unrigged, as they have done a long
time past, none Assembly of the States of that Land, none order, pro-
vision of Victual, towardnes in confequence of Men of War, or ap-
ppearance of fhuch thing, but that his going to Barcelona, is chiefly under
pretence to attain certain old Treasure there remaining, and to give the
better reputation to his Affairs in Italy. As to the matter of Peace and
Truce, he feemeth not fo alien from it, but that he would, under colour
thereof, be glad to separate and dif-join other from the fincerity of con-
fidence that is between them, working fomewhat with the French King,
which he himfelf confefleth to be but abuses. On the other fide, he
maketh overture of Peace or Truce to be had with the King's Highnes
apart; and in the mean time entertaineth the Pope's Holiness as one
whom won from the residue of the Confederates, he thinketh himfelf
moft aflured of: Howbeit in all this his Businefs, ye may confantly af-
firm, that his Compofites cannot prevail in any thing that may be exco-
gitate to the feparation of the King's Highnes and the French King, who
fo entirely proceed together, that the Emperor coming or not coming
into Italy, the faid French King intendeth to profecute him in the place
where his Perfon fhall be. To whom the King's Highnes now fendeth the
Duke of Suffolk, with the Treasurer of his honourable Houfhold;
who, if the Pope will not really and actually intend to the maintaining of the Peace, coming to the convention of his Holiness, moved as the case shall require, shall be furnished of a substantial number of Men of War out of his Realm to the assistance of the said French King, if the Emperor happen to descend in Italy. So as his things there, be not like to be in such hurry as might bring the Pope's Holiness to this extremity of fear and respect. And all the Premisses touching this knowledge had out of Spain, and the French King's Interest with the King's Concourse, as afore: It shall be well done ye declare to the Pope's Holiness, whereby peradventure the same shall be removed from some part of his said overmuch respect to that part.

As to sending of the Brief, the Emperor refusing to send it into England, sheweth some towardness of sending it to Rome, minding and intending to have the King's Matter decided there and not here; howbeit all be but vain Collusions: For as ye shall perceive by such things as be extracted out of the Letters of the King's Orators Resident in Spain, a Copy whereof I send you herewith, the more the said Brief cometh into light and knowledge, the more falsities be prejudged therein; and amongst other, one there is specially to be noted; making, if it be true, a clearer and manifest proof of the same falsity; which because if it were perceived by the adverse Party, or any of their Friends, Counsellors, or Adherents, it might soon by a semblable falsity be reformed, is above all other things to be kept secret, both from the Pope, and all other there, except to your selves: For in computation of the Year of our Lord is a diverse order observed in the Court of Rome in Bulls and Breves; That is to say, in the Bull beginning at the Incarnation of our Lord, in the Brief at the Nativity; To as the thing well feared, it is thought it shall be found, that the date presupposed to be of the Brief, which is 26. Decemb. Anno Dom. 1503. Pontificatus Iulii anno primo, well conferred with the manner and usages of that Court: He that counterfeited the Brief, not knowing such diversity between the date of the Bull and Breves, and thinking to make both Dates of one day, dated the Brief at a day before Pope Julius was Pope; which ye shall more plainly perceive by the said Copy, and specially if under some good colour ye ripen your selves there, whether the year in the date of Breves change upon Christmas day, or upon New-years day, wherein the King's pleasure is, that ye enquery and certify here what ye shall know and perceive. And if ye shall by such inquiry find matter making to the purpose, as it is not doubted but ye shall do, then for the more sure justification and proof thereof before the Judges; It shall be expedient ye in writing make mention of such a doubt, finding the means that it may be answered and declared in the same Writing, by certain expert Persons of the Secretaries, and other Officers of that Court, with subcription of their Answer and Names; whereby it may appear here before us as Judges, as a thing true and approved: Howbeit, great dexterity is to be used for the secrecy thereof; for if such Exceptions might come to the Knowledge of the Adverse Party, they might, as the said Orators write, soon reform that default by detraining one Letter, or Title, or forging a new Brief, alleging error in the Tranfumpts, which might be the total disappointment of depre-
deprehension of the fallacy in that chief and principal point. I pray you therefore to regard that matter substantially, and to order it by your good Wildoms accordingly.

XXIV. The two Legates Letter to the Pope, advising a Decretal Bull. A Duplicate.

Priwork ad Sanctitatem Vestram litteris quid hic ageremus, quovem itatu caufa hac effe effere expoluitum; pottea quum, & resipfa, & desiderium Regis admodum urgeret, ut ad Caufla ipfius merita agnoferentur ac cingenteur, quando in itpento, non modo horum Regum voto, fednece hujus Regni firmando ratio, diutius haberi potefT, omni ftrainionis genero horum animis pritus adhibito, ut alterius voluntatia alter cedere, eique morem gererent; cum nihil profeferimus, ad Judicii institutionem accedentes, de modo caufam ipfam pertractandis, multa longioribus colloquis inter nos commentati fumus; qua in re, dum qua neceffaria fuit adornarur, exhibition efT per Reginam exemplum Brevis Julii 2. codem tempore quo & Bulla super hac materia, dati & scripti, fed attentiore cura & longe confideratione mente confecbi, quod, quia in fubfiantialiibus etiam ab ipfia Bulla diverfum efT, non modo Regium, fed noftrum quoque animum, mire fulpenfun habuit, ufed adeo ut de ejus veritate plurimum fupcipierit; nam prater infperatam in tanta opportunitate ejus apparitionem, incredibile videtur, ut codem tempore idem author, eifdem partibus, in eadem Caufla, diverfa admodum racione caverit, & permanfuro Diplomatia ejusque Decreto, ad perpetuam rei memoriam, proferendo, & plumeo charactere excudendo dormitaverit, brevioribus vero literis molli cere communiciendi exadfpifimi studii & fabric cogitationis speciem impreffterit: ne tamen Majeftas haec rem hanc damnatum priusquam exploratam habecat, quippe quae magis in veritate quam in voto fio, Caufla hujus eventum fulceptura videtur, ad ipfius Brevis exhibitionem infitar, quod, quia honeftum & rationi confonom videtur, a nobis etiam probatur, properea omni studii curam, ut Breve ipfum, quod in Hispanis eft dictur, & a quo exemplum hoc effigiamtiam aitunt profferatur; atque ut hoc expetitione cura, & majore compendio affequare, prater primam & funnam illam de Caufla cognofcendi potefitem, quam a Sanctitate vestra habemus, aliquo quoque ad hunc fpecialiter articulum habendam putamus, per quam poftimus etiam per cenfiures, omnes etiam Regia & Imperiali Authority fulgentes, monere & adigere ut dictum Breve nobis exhibeat, fine quo caufla haec nemum abolita, fed nec commodo tractari queat. Atque hoc primum et, quod Majeftas haec, in tanta animi fluctuatione quae nunc attuat, a nobis curandum putat, quo impetrato, Judicii via inficientes ad Caufla cognitionem procedamus; quod fi non profferatur, vel inutile & vitium, & fade fia facile rejeciendo, prolatum fuerit, nihil prohibebit, hoc sublato obice, quin ex officio noftro reliqua profequarum: fin vero exhibeatur, & veritate fia, vel adeo feite conficta fallacia, ita fe tueatur ut acirior examinari id inquiri debeat, patefacto jam patronorum cauflis & calendis fofo, quibus undis & judicii fubfibus non folum articulum haec Brevis, fed univerfam Cauflam implicaturi fimus, nullus
non viderit; neque enim deern unque subspectum ipsius Brevis solum facit, vel ex hoc maxime, quod cum maxime Regis & Regni huivs interit, nihil profus de eo antehac auditum fuerit, nec ejs memoria aut ratio ulla extit in Scribiis Regis, in quibus etiam minima quaer ad Regnum spectantia allervari solent: nam verisimile non ess in Hilpianis majorum Anglicae rei curam fuisse quam in ipfa Anglia, nec quiaem folerti & aci adeo ingenio fuisse, qui huifummodi diuidium vigesimo quinto abhinc anno subtiturum, & hac fola ratione sublatum in poifi divinaverit, nulla ut diximus apud hunc Regem, & in hoc Regno talis rei memoria extante. Porro si ex Brevi ad Bullam, & ex Bulla ad Breve transitus fiat, arque illius ieiunitatem & ariditatem infecheatur, huivs pragnantia verba; & ad omnes fere exceptiones tollendas, superfetitio- fan quoqumodo vigilantiam conferamus, & quae utrinque deduci poe- runt in Referptis Apostolicis aqvo animo audiamus, perichitaturi certe fumus, ne, quod minime cupimus, Sedis Apostolicae Authoritatatem pa- tientia noftra in diferimen rapiamus, atque dum Regn, & Regi hinc fuperfias fere volumus, rem dignitaratemque noftram multa minorem fa- ciamus, cui tum polfa etiam anima, favere & adesse femper cupidimus & debemus. Propertea, Beattifime Pater, non folum pro Regis & Caufa- eius commodo, fed pro dignitate quoq; Ecclefaftica & Sanetitatis Ve- frs Auctoritate hic tuenda & confervanda, nullo pacto committendum ducimus, ut nobis speBantibus & audientibus, de Postcrare Romani Pontificis, de literarum Apostolicae fub plombo & fub annulo scris- tarum fide, & repugnantia, deque juris divini abrogatione difcepeptur, maxiame in Regum caufa oppugnanda & defendenda, qui, ut fublimioe fumt faftigio collocati, ita iniiciori animo patiuntur Caufae fane caufum, cum qua & dignitatem & exiftimationem fiam diminutam iri intelli- gents, quae flignobium etiam animos quoque exulcerare, ipfa rerum experientia docti cerinimus, qualiter quaeo putamus Regios & generos affeclura? Itaque quoniam hanc carbydam & hos fpofus evitaflfem per- tutum erit, propertea hujufmodi incommoda quoqumodo prerin- velit, ubi ad litis moleftias & incertas fofl fluctuationes caufam deducen- dam perfpicimus, fiadere, rogere & summis precibus paria; reverentia contendere non definentus, ut fii exhibito Brevi pura veritas ita latitave- rit, quod rectumne an fallum, viatatum fenu adulterinum fuerit judicare ac decrenere minime valeamus, Sanetitas Veftra Caufam hanc ad fe avo- cct, non folum ut tanto diferimine, & perplexitate nos eximit, fed ut parente affeclu Caufa & Regi huic optimo subveniat & opem ferat, ar- que ex poteflatis fui plentudine & fumma prudence finem huic rei opratum imporat, que fii non fie magnu huivs Regni & Ecclefafticae dignitatis pcriculo diuius trahi potefl: Specimus autem Serenifiimi hunc Regem in hujufmodi avocande Caufa confilio facile quieturn, falebroa hac fubfititit initera & labynthos evitaturum, modo in fide Saneti- tatis Veffra printhiographio manus fui teftara, cognoverit, fe diuius fu- fpens in hac re animo detinendum non fore, arque ab hujufmodi Ma- trimonio fe tandem liberandum, in quo nec huomo nec divino jure permanere fe poiffe putat, ex caufis Sanetitati Veffra forfan noris, & per hos futuos nuntios longioribus verijs explicandeis. Quod fii Sanetitas Veftra commodius exiflimiaverit, Avocatione hujufmodi posthabita, per Decre- talis unius concessionem huic caufa occurrit & fuccurrit poiffe, in hanc quoque rationem Regis animum paratum dabimus; & propertea concepere quodam
Book II. of Records.

quodam Decretalis modulo, cum per hos ipfos Majestatis fuue nuntios immittimus, ex quibus abunde intelliger, quodque non abique exemplo iifiiniocii auxilio proponamur, & quam non remere nec abique ratione Majestas hce defiderio huic fuo inharet: interea vero, dum hac vel illa ratione huic rei occurritur & Breve ipsum perquiratur, poffet utiq; Sanctitas Veftra iterum Regina animum tentare, & ad Religionem emol- lire, curando (ut quod maxime apud eam gratia & Authoritate effe debercnt) & literis, & precibus, & nuntiis, omniq; alia ratione, hac ipsa via, ibi, fuiq; rebus omnibus atq; alis optime confidat. Cuijusmodi multa, praefalite Regni & publica cum dignitate, tum tranquillitate animo agitamus, ut tandem optimo Regi prafidio fimus, qui incredibili patientia & humanitate, noftram & Sanctitatis Veftrae opem expectar, fed tanta obfeclitus cura, follicitudine & auxiicrate, ut nullus facile explicare poffit, vix enim in hoc iipso, oculus & auribus noftris credimus; cu- jus ufque adeo nos mifercet, ut nihil ingrato magis animo audiamus quam ejus de hac re verba, quercis & cruciatum: jure, an injuria liceat nobis hac, Beatiffime Pater, cum Sanctitate Veftrae tacom, re prajudicio noftris aut alias faciaces, fed quem non excitet rot annorum Conscienciam Carnificinam, quam ut tranfverfum & modoin has & modo in illas partes argant Theologorum diaphurationes, & Patrum decreta, nullus non videt ; qua in re enucleanda ita ambiguo laboratur fent, ut jam non docefior fed melioris hominis lumine & pietae egeamus, & propretia factum eff ut cum ab ubraq; parte fiant affertores maximi, in illam magis Majeftas fia inclinat, quae ab offenfonibus & periculis ma- gris remota videtur. Quem praetera non moveat dulcis illa insitaque fobolis fuecellio, in qua momente & animam exhalatute conqifeere, natura ipfa, videmur omnes? quem infuper non accendar, Regni atque imperii propagatio, & per folos liberos continuata quodam fruitio? quem deniq; populorum fidei ac ejus cura commifforum tranquillitas & fecuritas, quae in defignatis jam regibus & principibus nutritur & vivit, non folicitct? ita utranti adeoq; communis boni fundamenta nulla a fe jaca, non doler & fufpire, cum in extremis ejus diebus, extrema quo- que tempore cis adventare fentiat, arq; fccum omnia quodammodo in ruinam trahi? Majores habet, Beatiffime Pater, Cauta haec anfractus & difficulitates, quae superficiem tenui impѳceftantibus offcrantur, in qua vel ha potifime funt quod nec moram patitur, & in alteram partem non in- clinat quidem, fed omnino cogit, ni velimus ab ea precipites & maxi- ma cum privata tum publice rei jactura cadere: nam qui vel Regine odio, vel iperate, nec dum forfan nota, futura conjugis illecebra & titillatione Regem agi putant, eit excolores plane & toro, quod aiunt, cceo errare videntur: ut enim credere dignum eff, nullis ullius quamli- ber duris moribus aut injucunda confuetudine, vel ulterioris fobolis fpere deperrata, Regium animum tanto periculo ad odium impelli posse; ita nec in hominis bene fani mente cadere debet, Regem hunc imbecillo adeo effe animo, ut fenfuum fuedela eam abbrumpare cupiat confuetudini, in qua adolefcentia fia florenter annos exegerit perfane adeo, ut in hac quoq; fluctuatione, non fine reverentia & honore verfetur. Ineft, eredire omnes, voluntati ejus non modo divinæ legis timor, fed huimi quoq; juris ratio eximia, haeq; non privata fed publica, ad quam cum ejus animum rahan, utriq; juris pertinenti, & Regni hujus fui proceres, & primates omnes, nihil tamen fuo, aut fuorum tantum arbitrio
arbitrio controversum habere cupit, sed Apostolice sedis judicio; quia in re quanta sit pietate, maxime offendit, quam non ex magorum manibus, & circularum impotituris, aliisque malis artibus, sed Sanctissima Pontificis manu, tanta huic vulneri suo open petat, de quo vel plura forte quam licuisset Sanctitati Vestræ subjecimus, quoniam hae ipsa ulcera manibus noftris contræcavit, & quantum vitales Spiritus exhali sunt cognovimus: proinde Sanétæ Vestræ, piæ patris & peritiissimi medici more, dum virtus adhuc flat, dum fugit non desperatur, dum ager ipse flegit inflator & legittima petit auxilia, Regem de se & Apostolica fede optime meritum in pietatis tuae fuscint, illudque in indulgeat quod nec damnationum immortalia diffidia, nec illiim immo fumnum confert, nec fince maximo difficimenti unquam tractabitur; atque illud etiam fccum repeter, quam injuriwm, & cum privatis tum publicis rebus incommodum fit, extremus juris apices confecat, quam non expediat ex scripto jure fempem judgementi; cui, quia Pontifices & Principes miro omnium confentit, in Deo ipso praefcit, confentit fpiritus & animas vice, merito in ambiguis, & ubi multa periclitatur hominum falsus, arbitrio suo exs duritiem moderari possint & debent, in quo Sanétæ Vestræ & Regem & Regnum hoc plane fervaverit. Quod si alia ratione vel alimento parae fibi fuerint auxilia, vemur ne de Regno & Regem hoc actum fit, quicquid enim alia manu huic vulneri impotitus fuerit, nihil minus faciat quam faniatatem, fditionem enim & tumultibus omnia exponeatur, atq; impressis Ecclesiastica Dignitas & Apostolice Sedis Authoritas hinc deturbabitur; quod non erit difficile, aut ingrata quibufdam, qui Regem cum Sanétate Vestræ nunc conjunctiffimo, impietatis tuae venenum perbelles dissimulant; Cujusmodi jacturam si dura hæc tempora nostra fecerunt, quod deinde fpærandum fit, non videmus. Confervandus itaque; Rex eff, ejus; extima in Apostolica Sedem voluntas & fides, ne co nos ab alienato, non modo Anglia Regem, sed Fidei quoq; Deificationem amittamus, cujus virtutes & Religionem tanto plaufo orbi commendavimus. Brevis tari studens multa præterimus, & præterimus quid Regni proceres, Noblesseque atque ignebiles dicit, qui fremunt & acerbiffime indignantur, fe tamdui fppenfo haberi, atq; ab aliis juribus & voluntate exspectare, quid de forunmis eorum omnibus & capitibus flatunt, aut discernat; atq; hac potifimum via infilium, qui nullam aut certe dimi nutam hic Romani Pontificis Authoritatem vellent, quorum pleriq; in his difceptationibus, quibus alter alteri, ut ufui venire folet, re in ambiguo potira, adverfatur, ea dicitur quæ non fent; horrore referri quan tum; nam hic carcer illud maxime in ore obviam habent, & praedicat, ne de hunc fatis demirant, aut ridere poíte quorumdam ignaviam, qui patienter audiant, Pontificibus in Jure Divino fingo & refingendo licere; Pontifici Pontificis carum aut plumbum confiare non permit; nos, ut hos fcapulos & his fyres evitamus, nihil non agimus, & ne proceps, huic vel illuc, Rex hic ruat, curamus, quem in officio vix contineri potere condiderimus, dum a Sanétate. Vestræ his liberis refcribatur: quibus si ut fperamus & cupimus aliquid reportem fuerit, per quod & Regem & horum omnium animos quietiores reddere valeamus, accedet nobis quoq; vis aliquam certe fcilicet pericerpiendi: fin minus, omnia in deterritius itura non ambigumus. Quæ ut celeribus Majeflas fua cognoscat, praefentes nos huncius fuos per difpoftos equs ad Sanétatem Vestræ mittit.

XXV. Another Dispatch to Rome. An Original.

R
ight well beloved Friends, I commend me unto you in my most hearty manner, by the hands of Alexander, Meffenger; I have in good diligence received your Letters of the 4th of this Month; and semblably the King’s Highness hath received your other Letters, sent by the same Meffenger unto his Grace: By renour whereof it well appear- eth that the King’s Highness is now frustrate of the good hope and expectation that his Grace and semblably I were in of the Pope’s determina- tion, to have done for his Highness in this great and weighty Caufe of Matrimony, as his Holines by his Chamberlain promised; not only that which might be done of power ordinary, but also of absolute; and that ye be utterly in despair to consecute or attain any thing to the purpose there, to the benefit of the said Caufe, with the strange demeanour that hath been used in calling you to make answer, why the sup- plications presented by the Emperor’s Ambassador for advocation of the Caufe should not proceed; and how directly and substantially ye have answered and ordered your selves therein: Affirming finally, that as to that Matter, ye think it shall not serve to any purpose, but only to stop your suit in the obtaining of a new Commiffion, and deeming to be afer- tained of the King’s pleasure touching the Proteftation mentioned in your Instructions, and how the fame is meant and understood, with many other things comprifed in your said Letters, right well and substanti- ally couched and handled; for which the Kings Highnes gives you hearty thanks, and I also thank you in most hearty manner for my part.

Afercertaining you, that by Thadeus, Courier, upon receipt of your former Letters sent by him, who I truft be arrived with you long before this time; I wrote unto you the King’s mind and pleasure, as well to forbear any further purfuits of the Degrees committed unto your Charge, except only the expedition of a new Commiffion and Pollicitation men- tioned in the fame, as also that you Mr. Stevens, and Sir Francis Brian, should return home, like as my said Letters purported. And forasmuch as now it appeareth, that there is no hope for you to attain the faid Commiffion and Pollicitation, the King’s Highnes supposing that ye the faid Mr. Stevens and Sir Francis be on your way homeward; and per- ceiving that it should be necessary for his Grace to have there a substant- tiall Counsellor of his, well learned in the Laws, as well to defend all fuch things as shall be procured or fet forth by the Caesaris, to the hindrance of the King’s Caufe, as to lett and impeach any Advocations, In- hibitions, or other thing that may be dammageable thereunto, hath di- spatched eithier this Bearer and Mr. Benet, who hath commandment
to shew unto you, and every of you, wherewith he shall meet with or find you, his whole Instructions, by tenour whereof ye shall be advertised of the King's further mind and pleasure in that behalf; wherefore this shall be only to signify unto you, how his Highness will that ye now forbear any further pursuit, either for Commision, POLliecation, or Refrefcript to be sent to the Emperor for exhibition of the Brief, either here or at Rome, but that following in every part the tenor of the said Instructions, ye Mr. Strevis and Sir Francis Bryan use all the diligence possible in your Voyage homeward, and the residue of you to intend to such things as be mentioned in the said Instructions, ascertaining you, that whereas ye were in doubt what is meant by the Protestant spoken of in my former Letters and your Instructions, it was none other thing than in the fame Instructions was plainly specified and declared; That is to say, Failing of all your Requests and Pursuits touching the King's great Matter, to have shewed unto his Highness the danger that might ensue, by losing the intire favour of this Prince, by mean of his so strange and unkind dealing with his Grace; howbeit, considering in what state the things now be, and how much the Pope's Highness seemeth to be inclined to the Emperors part; and yet as appeareth both by your Letters, and by such other knowledge as the King hath, his Highness would gladly conserve the King's Love and Favour, and is loth to do any thing to the prejudice of his Cause: It is no time to come to any rigorous or extream words with his Highness, but in gentle and modest manner to shew himself in such words as be mentioned in my said last Letters sent by Thaddeus; and so without irritation of him, but with conformation of his favour to entertain his Highness in the best manner that may be, without meddling in any other Protestation, but only to look what may be done touching such Protestations apart, as is mentioned in the said Instructions given to Mr. Benet, which with the said Letters shal be a sufficient information of you all what to do in the Causes to you committed, not doubting but in all other particular suits of Bulls, and other things committed unto you, ye Mr. Strevis and Sir Francis Bryan, have or will do your best to bring the same with you; the expedition whereof, if they be not speed already, the King's Highness committeth to the Wisdons of such of you as shall fortunate to be in the Court of Rome at the receipt hereof; wherein, and in all other things, his Highness trulith, and I do the semblable, that ye will order your selves with all effectual diligence, as the special confidence that is put in you doth appertain.

And forasmuch as the greatest thing that is to be looked unto is the importune Suit of the Cofarens, not only to stop any further things to be granted to the King's Highness, but also to revoke the Commision given to the Lord Legate Campengius and to me, which should be a clear disappointment and frustration of the King's Cause; ye shall therefore look substantially by all politick means to withstand, that no such thing be granted; affuring the Pope and all the Cardinals, and such other as have respect to the well of the See Apostolick, that if he should do such an high injury to the King and his Realm, and an Act so contumelious to us his Legates and so contrarious to his Faith and Promise, he should thereby not fail so highly to irritate the King and all the Nobles of this Realm, that undoubtedly they should decline from the obedience of the
the See Apostolick, and consequently all other Realms should do the
semblable, forasmuch as they should find in the Head of the same, nei-
ther influenfs, uprightness, nor truth; and this shall be necessary, as the
cafe shall require, well to be inculted and put in his head, to the intent
his Holiness by the same may be preferred from granting, passing, or
condescending to any such thing.

After these Letters perfected hither, and read unto the King's High-
nels, albeit that mention is made in sundry places herefore, that as
well ye Mr. Stevins, and Sir Francis Brian, if ye be not returned from
the Court of Rome, as also the rest of the King's Ambaffadors, which at
the arrival of Mr. Doctor Bennet shall fortune to be there, shall forbear
to make any further means or perftuit for the New Commission and Pol-
llicitation, but clearly toufe silence therein; yet neverthelef{s regarding,
and more profoundly confidering the effect of your Letters lately sent, it
doeth plainly appear, that the after the overture made to the Pope's Ho-
liness of the said New Commission, the Bufinesfs chanced to be made by
the Emperor's Ambaffador, upon preferring a Supplication for advoca-
tion of the Cause; which thing by your writing, Mr. Stevins, to Capifake
was well avoided; yet was there none express refuflal made by the Pope's
Holiness to condescend unto the said New Commission, but order given
that you should confult and confer with the Cardinal Advowrifie and
Synovette upon the fame; which Conference, by mean of the said Bufi-
ness, was deferred and defappojte, without any final conclusion or re-
olution taken thereupon. Wherefore inasmuch as yet there appeareth
none utter defpair of obtaining the said New Commission and Pollicita-
tion, with some more fat, pregnant, and effectual Clauflfs than the
other hath; The King's pleafure is, That notwithstanding any words
before mentioned, both ye the said Mr. Stevins, and Sir Francis Brian, if
ye be not departed from the Court of Rome, do for the time of your
demur there, which the King's pleafure is shall not be long, but only
for taking of your leave; and also the rest of the King's said Orators,
after your departure, shall, as ye shall fee the cafe require, endeavour
your felves as much as may be, to obtain the said New Commission and Pollicita-
tion, forefeen always that you handle the matter after fhuch
manner, as thereby the Pope be not the rather induced to hearken and
incline to any perftuits of the Imperials for advocation of the Cause,
which were a total frustrafion of all the King's intent, but fo to ufe your
felves, as ye shall fee to be to the benefit, and not to the hindrance
thereof: Which done, the King's Grace doth refer the good handling of
this thing to your wisfoms and dlretions, neither to leave the perftuit
for the said Commission and Pollicitation, if it may without damage
be followed; nor to follow it, if thereby you shall fee apparent danger
of any fuch Advocation, or advantage to enufe to the purpose of the
Imperials, like as his Highness doubteth not, knowing now the King's
mind and pleafure, you will with wisdom and dexterity, order your felves
herein accordingly.

And furthermore, you shall in any wise difuade the Pope for fend-
ing either by his Nuntio, to be fent unto Spain, or otherwife, for the Original
Brief: And if the Nuntio be already paffed, having charge to speak for fend-
ing the fame to the Court of Rome, then to find the means that a Commenda-
ment be by the Pope's Holiness fent after him, not to make any mention
K k k thereof:
thereof: Which done to you, the King's said Ambassador shall have a
good colour to induce the Pope's Holiness, saying, as of your self, That
you have well considered your own pursuits for producing the Brief at
Rome; and because the Emperor might per-cite think that the Pope
were about to erect unto him the falsity of the said Brief, therefore you
can be contented that that matter be put off, and no mention to be
made thereof by his Nuntio, or otherwise; whereunto it is not to be
doubted but the Pope's Holiness will have special regard, and facily con-
descend to your desires in that behalf.

Finally; It appeareth also by certain your Letters sent, as well to
the King's Highness as to me, that the Pope's Holiness is much desirous
to study and find a mean and way to satisfy the King's Highness in this
behalf: Amongst which one clause in his Letters to me is this; Tametsi
evim jurisprudentrivm consilium quidve verimus, sed nil reperimus, quod bonis
oratoribus simul & justiciae ac honoris nostris satisfaciet; sed tamen agimus
omnia & tentamus omnes modos Regia sua Serenitati, ac circumspetition-
em tuae satisfacendi. (And it is added in the Margin, with Wolsey's
hand;)

Mi Petre, referas tuis literis per velit quid tibi & mihi Pontifex dixerit
de medis exogitandis, & quomodo subridens dicerat, In nomine Patris,
&c.)

Wherefore since his Holiness so plainly declared, that he seeketh the
ways and means to satisfy the King's Highness, it shall be in any wise
expedient, that you the said Orators perceiving any towardness of Ad-
vocation, lay this to the Pope's Holiness, saying, That that is not the
way to satisfy his Grace; and yet besides that, by your Wifdoms to
find the means to understand and know of his Holiness what be the
ways and means, which his Holiness hath studied or can study to fa-
tisfie the King according to his writing in this behalf, whereof they
shall lay his Grace is glad, and is very desirous to know and under-
stand the fame; and as you shall perceive any towardness or untoward-
ness in the Pope in that behalf, to set forth your pursuits to the best
purpose accordingly. And thus heartily fare you well. From Rich-
mond, the 21 day of May.

Your Loving Friend,

T. Cardin. Eborac.
May 31. Romæ 1529.

XXVI. A Letter of the Popes to the Cardinal.
An Original.

Dilecto Filio nostro. Thome tituli Sancte Cecilie Presbytero Cardinale Eboracensi, nostro & fidei Apostolice Legato de latere.

Clemens manu propria.


April 6. 1529.

XXVII. The King's Letter to his Ambaffadours, to hinder an Avocation of the Suit. An Original.

By the King.

Henry Rex,

Rusty and right well-beloved we greet you well. Since your departure from hence, we have received sundry your Letters to us directed, whereof the last beareth date at Rome, the 4th day of the last month; and have also seen such other as from time to time ye have fent to the most Reverend Father in God, our most entirely well-beloved Counfeller the Lord Legate, Cardinal, Arch-Bifhop of York, Primate of England, and our Chancellour: By continue whereof, we have been advertifed of the Succeses, as well of your Journey thitherwards, as of fuch things as ye to that time had done in our Cafes to you committed; for which your diligent advertisement, and good acquittali, we give unto you condign thanks: afercaining you, We do not a little marvel, that in your laid laft Letters you shewd so much defperation of any great faviour to be had at the Pope's hand in our faid Cafes; considering that neither ye then had spoken with his Holines in the fame, nor by fuch
such Conferences as ye had had with Mr. *Jacobo Salviani,* or other on
his behalf, we can perceive but all good favour and towardness: tho'
per-cute the superiority of the Imperialis, and the common fame, led
you to think the contrary: Howbeit as you know no credence is to be
given unto such common report, nor we trust the fame shall prove more
true, than hath done the Opinion that was of the Lord Legate Cam-
pogius now here Refident, whom we find and certainly know to be of
a far other sort in his love and inclination towards us; than was spoken,
not having such affection towards the Emperor, as in him was suspected.
And to be plain with you, if ever he had been of other mind, we have
said somewhat to him after such manner as might soon change that in-
tention. So that little faith is to be given to the outward Sayings and
Opinions of such People as measure every thing at their pleasure;
which we doubt not but ye right wisely do consider, and that ye have
before this time, by your diligent solicitation made to speak with the
Pope's Holiness for declaration of your Charge, proved the contrary.
Whereof we shall all be glad and joyous to hear; willing and desiring you
therefore, according to the great and especial confidence that we have in
you, to pretermitt no time in the diligent handling and execution of
your said Charge, but by one good way or other to find the mean, if
you have not already done it, to declare the same unto the Pope,
wherein the good advice and address of the Bishop of *Verone* shall. We
truit, do you great furtherance; and by whole means, if ye for the
Pope's extreme debility or fickness might in no wise be often admitted
unto his presence, ye may signify unto him at great length, our whole
Mind, Desire, and Intent, after such form as your Instructions and
Letters given and sent unto you in that behalf do purport: For sure ye
may be, it shall highly confer unto the benefit of our Caufes, that ye
have there present one so fast and affured Friend unto us, as we trust
the Bishop of *Verone* is, who shall be able right largely to countervail,
and meet with the malicious practices of the Arch-Bishop of *Capua,*
who is thought to be one of the chief Authors and contrivers of the
Falacies, Crafts, and Abufcs, let forth to the hindrance of our said
Caufes; which no Man shall more politely and facilely deprehend, than
the said Bishop of *Verone* may do: And therefore he is by you, with
all good means and ways possible, to be entertained; as we doubt not
but you will have special eye and regard to the making, winning, and
conservation of as many Friends to our purpose as ye can possibly ob-
tain; so handling your self, as now may appear your dexterity and
perfect endeavour to confide, with your diligent labour and policy,
our Matters to the speedy, indelayed, and desired end and effect, which
ye may be sure we shall not put in oblivion, but will have the fame in
remembrance accordingly. Marvelling nevertheless, that though ye
Mr. *Stevins* could not bring hitherto our great Caufes to perfection, ye
had not in the mean season advertised us what is done touching such
Bulls as were to be sped for our other particular Matters, whereof no
mention is made in your said Letters; willing and desiring you there-
fore, by your next Letters, to advertise us in what state and train the
same be; knowing right well that ye being not only by the former
Letters and Writings, but also by such as be sent unto you at this time,
sufficiently and amply instructed of our Mind and Pleasure, will now


Book II. of Records.

To acquire your self, as shall correspond to the perfect expectation, and firm opinion that we have of you, which we shall not fail to have in our tender consideration to your well, as is aforesaid. Ye shall also, in your Conferences with the said Bishop of Verona, understand and know of him, by what ways and means ye may bet further his advancement to the Cardinality; exhorting him, for the manifold good effects that thereof may ensue, to conform himself to the acceptance thereof, if it may be obtained; for doublets his Vertue, Wisdom, Experience, Fidelity, and other great and commendable merits well considered, we think no Man more meet at this time to be preferred thereunto than him: And therefore our express Mind and Pleasure is, that ye do it by all the ways and means to you possible. And finally we will that ye shew unto him how effectually we have written unto you in that behalf, to the intent, being advanced thereunto, he may give us the better thanks, and in every way bear to us the more perfect affection. And by your next Letters, We will that ye adverte us what Advocates ye have on our part, with their Names and Qualities; finding the means also, if it be possible, to retain some notable and excellent Divine, a Friar, or other that may, can, or will firmly stick to our Causes, in leaning to that, Quod Pontifex ex Jure Divino non potest dispender, &c. and of all the Successes to adverte us, as our special trust is in you. Given under our Signet, at our Mannon of Greenwich, the 6th of this April.

XXVIII. The King's Letter to his Ambassadours, about his appearance before the Legates. An Original.

June 23. 1529.

To our trusty and right well-beloved Counsellors, Mr. William Bennett, Doctor of both Laws; Sir Gregory de Caffalis, Knight; and Mr. Peter Vannes our Secretary for the Latin Tongue, our Ambassadours, resident in the Court of Rome, and to every of them.

By the KING.

Henry R.

Rusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well. By former Letters and Writings sent to you Sir Gregory and Mr. Peter, with other of your Collegues then being at Rome, and by such conference as was had with you Mr. Bennett before your departure, you were adver- tised in what state then stood our Cause and Matter of Matrimony, and how it was intended that the Proceeds of the same should with diligence be commenced before the Pope's Legates here, being authorized for that purpose. Since that time, ensuing the deliberation taken in that behalf, the said Legates, all due Ceremonies first observed, have directed Citations
Citations both to us and to the Queen, for our and for her appearing before them the 15th. of this Month; which appearance was duly on either Party kept, performed, and all requisite Solemnities accomplished: At which time the Queen trusting more in the Power of the Imperialists, than in any judgements of her Caufe, and thinking of likelyhood, by frustratory allegations and delays, to truant and put over the matter to her disadvantage, did protest at the said day, putting in Libels, Recusatories of the Judges; and also made a provocation, alleging the Caufe to be avoyed by the Pope’s Holiness, & litis pendens coram codon; desiring to be admitted for probation thereof, and to have a term competent for the same: Whereupon day was given by the Judges till the 21. of the same month, for declaration of their minds and intentions thereunto; The Queen in Person, and we by our Proctor enjoined to appear the same day, to hear what the said Judges should determine in and upon the same. At which time both we and the Queen appeared in Person; and notwithstanding that the said Judges amply and sufficiently declared, as well the sincerity of their minds directly, justly to proceed without favour, dread, affection, or partiality; as also that no such Recusation, Appellation, or term for proving of Litis pendens, could or might be by them admitted: Yet she notwithstanding persisting in her former wilfulness, and in her Appeal, which also by the said Judges was likewise refused: And they minding to proceed further in the Caufe, the Queen would no longer make her abode to hear what the said Judges would fully discern, but incontinently departed out of the Court; wherefore she was thrice preconstruated, and called off-foons to return and appear; which the refusing to do, was denounced by the Judges Contumax, and a Citation denounced for her appearance on Friday next, to make answer to such Articles and Positions as should be objected unto her: So as now it is not to be doubted, but that she will use all the ways and means to her possible, to impetrate and attain such things as well by her own purfuite, as by her Friends, as may be to the impeachment of the rightful Proceedings of this Caufe, either by Advocation, Inhibition or otherwise: Wherefore seeing now in what state this our Matter standeth and dependeth, necessary and requisite for the great Consequences hanging upon the same, not only for the exonerate of our Conscience, but also for the secure of our Succession, and the well of this our Realm and People, to be with all celerity perfected and observed; It was thought convenient to advertize you of the Premisses, to the intent ye being well and sufficiently instructed in all things concerning the same, shall by your wisdoms and diligences have special regard that nothing pass or be granted there by the Pope’s Holiness, which may either give delay or disappointment to the direct and speedy proceedings to be used in this Caufe, neither by advocacy of the Caufe, Inhibition or otherwise; but that if any such thing shall, by the Cefarum, or by her Agents, or other, be attempted, or defired, the like Men of Wisdom, good Zeal, Learning, and Experience, diligently procure the stopping thereof, as well upon such Reasons and Considerations as before have been signified unto you, as by inferring the high and exterior difhonour, and intolerable prejudice that the Pope’s Holines thereof should do to his said Legates; and also the contrariety both of his Bull and Commission, and also of his Promise and Pollicitation passed upon the same;
fame; besides the notable and excellent displeasure thereby to be done by his Holiness to us, and our Realm, clear contrary to our merits and deports; extending also the other dangers mentioned in the said former Writings, apparent to enue thereby to his Holiness, and the See Apostolick, with the manifold, and in manner, infinite inconveniences like to follow of the fame to all Christendom, and all other such reasons, introductions and perfections ye can make and devile for that purpofe: putting him also in remembrance of the great Commodity coming unto his Holiness herein, by reafon that this Cause being here decided, the Pope not only is delivered from the pains that he should in this time of Diseafe and Sicknes, to the extreme peril of his Life fupport with the fame, feeing that it is of fuch moment and importance, as fuffereth no tract or delay; but also his Holiness fhall by fuch decision hereafter avoid all displeasure that he fhould not fail to have, if it were or should be palled elsewhere: which matter is no little wisdom well to foresee and confider, and not only to forbear to do or pafs any thing derogatory or prejudicial to his faid Commiffion, but also by all means possible to corroborate and fortify the fame, and all fuch Acts judicial as fhall pafs by his faid Legates by virtue thereof. Like-as we doubt not but that the Pope's Holiness, of his Uprightnefs, Virtue, and perfect Wildom will do; and rather like a molt loving Father and Friend, tender and favour our good, just and reasonable Causes and Desires, putting thereunto all the furtherance he may do, than to do or content to be done anything hurtful, prejudicial, dangerous, or displeasure unto us, or this our faid Cause. And finally; It need shall be, we will yeaffo infer, as the cafe fhall require, how inconvenient it were this our Matter fhould be decided in the Court of Rome; which now dependent fully in the Emperor's Arbitre, having fuch puiffeance near thereunto, that, as hath been written by the Pope's own Letters, their State and Life there is all in the Emperor's hands, whole Armies may fafely or relieve them at their pleasure. And semably ye shall not for- get the prerogative of our Crown and Juridiction Royal, by the ancien Laws of our Realm, which admitteth nothing to be done by the Pope to the prejudice thereof, and also what danger they fhould incur that would presume to bring or prefer any fuch thing unto the fame, as in our laft Letters sent by Alexander was touched at good length. Wherein since ye be already fo well and amply inftucted, knowing alfo how much the Matter imports and toucheth us, and what profir and agreeable service ye may do unto us herein, with the high thanks that ye may deserve for the fame; We fhall not be more prolix, but refer the fubftantial, perfect, and assured handling hereoff to your circum- fpections, fidelities, and diligences, not doubting but that ye will now above all other things, look vigilantly hereunto, and fo acquit your felves in the fame, as it may well appear that your Acts fhall be corre- fonient to our firm trutl and expectation, and no les tender this thing than ye know it to be imprinted in the bottom of our Heart, nor than as ye know both the importance and high moment, and also the very necessity of the Matter doth require. In which doing, besides the land and praise that ye fhall confecrate thereby of all good Men, we fhall so have your acquitals in our remembrance, as ye fhall have cause to
to think your travels, pains, and studies herein, in the best wise collo- 
cate and employed. Given under our Signet, at our Palace of Bridgewater, 
the 23d day of June.


XXIX. Doctor Benet's Letter to the Cardinal, shewing how little 
they might expect from the Pope. An Original.

Please it your Grace to understand, that the 6th day of this month 
the Pope's Holiness sent for us: Albeit we had made great suit 
for audience before to his Holiness, soon after that we had understanding 
that his Holiness was recovered of this his last Sickness, into the which 
he fell the second day, after I had my first audience of his Holiness, 
which was the 21st day of the last month: And after our long communi-
cation and reasoning in the King's Highness Cause, which, at length, we 
have written to your Grace in our common Letter, for a confirmation 
of many inconveniences and dangers which we persuaded to his Holin-
ess, to follow both to himself and to the See Apostolick, in case his 
Holiness should awake the cause; I thought much convenient at that 
same time to deliver the King's familiar, and likewise your Grace's Let-
ter, and to shew your Grace's Credence to his Holiness. After the fore-
said Letters delivered, and by his Holiness read, his Holiness shewed me, 
that he perceived by your Grace's Letters, that I had certain Credence 
to shew unto him of great moment and importance, concerning him 
and the See Apostolick. I shewed to his Holiness your Grace's Faith 
and observance, his Holiness doth best know; most humbly besought 
his Holiness to believe these undoubtedly to follow, That if his Holiness 
should, at the labours of the Cefarexns, awake the Cause, he should 
not alone offend the King's Highness, which hitherto hath been a stay, 
a help, and a defence of the See Apostolick; but also by reason of this 
injury, without remedy, shall alienate his Majesty and Realms, with 
others, from the devotion and obedience of the See Apostolick. This I 
shewed his Holiness, that your Grace doth evidently perceive to follow, 
in case his Holiness should incline to the Cefarexns desire on this behalf: 
Yea further, I said, that your Grace most clearly perceived also by that 
Act, the Church of England utterly to be destroyed, and likewise your 
Person; and that these your Grace, with weeping tears, most lament-
tably committed unto me to shew to his Holines. Furthermore I shewed 
to his Holiness, that your Grace, howsoever you should proceed in 
this Cause, did intend to proceed so sincerely, indifferently, and justly, 
that you would rather suffer to be joined, Joint by Joint, than either 
for affection or fear, do any Act either against your Conscience or Ju-
tice. Furthermore I said, that seeing his Holiness may be so well affu-
red, that your Grace will do nothing but according to Justice in this 
Cause, he may the more boldly deny Avocations to the Cefarexns, seeing 
that the Queen and the Emperor can desire but Justice, which they 
may have at your Grace's hand, and my Lord Campegins, as well there as
as here; and by this means his Holiness should deliver himself from great pains and uneasiness of mind, which he should sustain in case the caufe should be known here, where he should have the King's Highness on one part, and the Emperor on the other side, daily calling upon his Holiness. To this his Holiness most heavily, and with tears, answered and said, That now he saw the destruction of Christendom, and lamented that his fortune was such to live to this day, and not to be able to remedy it, (saying these words) For God is my Judge, I would do as gladly for the King, as I would for myself; and to that I knowled my self most bounden, but in this case I cannot satisfy his desire, but that I should do manifestly against Justice to the charge of my Conscience, to my rebuke, and to the dishonour of the See Apostolick; affirming, that his Counsel shews him, that seeing the Cofareans have a Mandate or Proxie of the Queen, to ask the Avocations in her Name, he cannot of Justice deny it, and the whole Signature be in that same opinion; so that though he would most gladly do that thing that might be to the King's pleasure, yet he cannot do it, seeing that Signature would be against him whenever the Supplication should be up there: And so being late, we took our leave of his Holiness, and departed, seeing that we could obtain nothing of the Pope for stopping the Avocation, we consulted and devised for the deferring of it, till such time as your Grace might make an end in the Cause there. And so concluded upon a new Device, which at length we have written in our common Letter, wherein I promise your Grace, Mr. Gregory has used great diligence, and taken great labours at this time, we can do no more for our lives: And if your Grace saw the importune labour of the Ambassadors of the Emperor's and Ferdinandus, you would marvel, I promise your Grace they never ceafe; wherefore in saying this here, as we have done, it is marvel, as God knoweth, whom I pray to preserve your Grace in health and prosperity ad multos annos. I befeech your Grace most humbly to commend me to the King's Highness; and likewise I befeech your Grace to pardon my ill writing. At Rome the 9th day of July.

Your daily Beadman

and Servant,

W. Benet.

XXX. A Letter of the Pope's to the Cardinal concerning the Avocation. An Original.


De fete Fili nostre salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Difficile est nobis explicare litteris, quae nostra molestia seu potius dolore fuerimus coacti, ad Avocationem Causa istic comminxit concedendam; nam eti resita fuit justa ut tantum tempore differri non debuerit, tamen nos
nos qui iti Sereniflimo Regi pro ejus singularibus erga nos & Apotolico-
cam fedem meritis placere in omnibus cupimus, sicut consequimur, agere
num adducit firmus, ut quamquam justitia cogente, quiequid contra ejus
volutatem concedemus. Nec vero minus, Fili, dolumustua causa,
cui rem hanc taceane cura esse peripeximus quantum tua erga dicitum Re-
gem fides & amor poftulat; sed tamen quod datur justitiae minus esse
molemum debet, cum praefertim id fuerit tam dilatum a nobis, omniaq;
ancta pertenrata ne ad hoc diffenderemus. Itaque opus est in hoc ad-
hiberi a te illam quam singularem prudentiam & aequitatem, persuaderes;
te tibi id quod est, nos qui temper vobis placere quantum nobis licet
studiumus, id quod veftro maximo merito fecimus, & temper facturi fu-
mus, nunc non nisi invitum & justitia coactos quod fecimus fecisse: Te-
que omni studio & amore hortamus, ut dicitum Regem in solita erga nos
benevolentia retinere velis, eique persuaderes, nihil ex hoc apud nos De-
benefentia erga le veteri imminutum unquam fore, quod recipiemus
Circumpectionis tuae longe gratiorum. Quemadmodum plemus dile-
quas Filius nofter Cardinalis Campegius haec circumpeictionis tuae explica-
Juli 1529. Pont. nostri anno sexto.

Blosius.


XXXI. An Act for the releasing unto the King his Highness of such
Sums of Money as was to be required of him, by any his Subjects,
for any Manner of Loan, by his Letters Missives, or other ways
or manner whatsoever.

Tene quidam aliis billis formam cuiusdam actus in se continens, exhibita est
prefato Domino Regi in Parlamento pradicto, eium quidem billa tenor
sequitur in hae verba. The King's humble, faithful, and loving subjects the
Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament
assembled, considering and calling to their remembrance, the inestima-
ble Cofts, Charges, and Expenses, which the King's Highnesses neces-
sarily hath been compelled to sustain and sustain, since his assumption to
his Crown, Estate, and Dignity Royal; as well first for the extinction
of a right dangerous and damnable Schism sprung and risen in the
Church; which by the providence of the Almighty God, and the high
prudence, and provision, and affittance of the King's Highnesses, was,
to the great honour, laud, and glory of his Majesty, repressed; the
Enemies then being of the Church reformed, returned, and restored to
the unity of the same, and peace over all contrary and concluded, as
also for the modifying of the inflamable and inordinate ambition of those
which do aspire unto the Monarchy of Christendom, did put universal
trouble, divisions in the same, intending, if they might, not only to
have subdued this Realm, but also all the rest unto their Power and
Subjection.
Subjection: For the resistance whereof the Kings Highness was compelled, after the Universal Peace, by the great study, labour, and travel of his Grace conducted, and the fame by some of the Contraders newly violate and infringed; in shewing the form of the Tretifie thereupon made again, to take Armours. And over and besides the notable and excessive treasure and substance which his Highnes in his first Wars had employed for the defence of the Church, the Faith Catholick, and this his Realm, and of the People and Subjects of the fame, was oft-foons brought of necessity to new, excellent, and marvellous Charges, both for the supportation of sundry Armies by Sea and by Land; and also for divers and manifold Contributions outward, to serve, keep, and contain his own Subjects at home in rest and repose; which hath been so politickly handled and conducted, that when the most part of all religious Christians have been infected with cruel Wars, Discord, Divisions, and Difficulties, the great Heads and Princes of the World brought unto Captivity; Cities, Towns, and Places, by force and faction, taken, spoiled, burnt, and sacked; Men, Women, and Children found in the same slain and destroyed; Virgins, Wives, Widows, and Religious Women, ravished and deflowered; Holy Churches and Temples polluted, and turned unto profanet use; the Reliques of the Holy Saints irreverently treated; Hunger, Dearth, and Famine, by mean thereof in the said outward Regions, infusing and generally over all, was depopulation, destruction and confusion; the Kings's said Subjects in all this time, were by the high providence and politick means of his Grace evertheles preserved, defended, and maintained, from all these inconveniences and dangers; and such provisions taken, by one way or other, so as reasonable commodity was always given unto them to exercise their Traffiques of Merchandize, and other their Crafts, Mysteries, and Occupations for their living; which could not possibly have been brought about, unless then the Kings Highness, with continual studies, travels, and pains, and with his infinite Charges and Expences, had converted the peril and danger of the Enterprises and Exploits, set forth for the reduction of the Enemies unto Peace, from his own Subjects unto Strangers: Whereof finally such Fruit and Effect is ensued, as by the King's policy, piutiance, and means, general and universal Peace is established amongst all Christian Princes; and this Realm now, thanked be God, constitute in free, better, and more assured and profitable Amity with all outward Parties, than hath been at any time whereof is memory or remembrance. Considering furthermore, That his Highness, in and about the Premises, hath been fain to employ, not onely such mony so as hath risen and grown by any manner of contribution made unto his Grace by his said loving Subjects, but also over and above the same, sundry other notable and excellent Sums of his own Treasure, and yearly Revenues, which else his Grace might have kept and reserved to his own use; amongst which manifold great Sums so employed, his Highness also, as is notoriously known, and as doth evidently appear by the accounts of the fame, hath to that use and none other, converted all such Mony, as by any his Subjects and People, Spiritual and Temporal, hath been advanced unto his Grace by way of Pelf and Loan, either particularly, or by any Taxation made of the fame, being a thing so well collocate and bestowed, seeing the said high
and great Fruits and effects thereof ensued, to the honour, surety, well, perfect commodity, and perpetual tranquility of this said Realm, as nothing could better nor more to the comfort of his said Subjects be desired, studied, or imagined; Of one mind, content and afferent, and by Authority of this present Parliament, do for themselves, and all the whole body of the Realm whom they do represent, freely, liberally, and absolutely, give and grant unto the King's Highness, by Authority of this present Parliament, all and every Sum and Sums of Money, which to them, and every of them, is, ought, or might be due, by reason of any Mony, or any other thing, to his Grace at any time heretofore advanced, or paid, by way of Pretor Loan, either upon any Letter or Letters under the King's Privy Seal, general or particular, Letter, Misfive, Promife, Bond, or Obligation of payment, or by any Taxation, or other affeeling, by virtue of any Commission or Commissions, or by any other mean or means whatsoever it be heretofore passed for that purpose, and utterly, frankly, liberally, and most willingly and benevolently, for them, their Heirs, Executors, and Successors, do remit, release, and quit claim, unto his Highness, his Heirs and Successors for ever, all and every the fame Sums of Mony, and every parcel thereof, and all and singular Suits, Petitions, and demands, which they, or any of them, their Heirs, Successors, or Executors, or the Heirs, Executors, or successors of any of them, have, had, or may have for the fame, or any parcel thereof; most humbly and lovingly, beseeching his Highness, for the more clear discharge for the fame, that it may be ordained and enacted by the King, our said Sovereign Lord, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this present Parliament assembled, and by Authority of the fame, that all Promifes, Bonds, Writings, Obligatory Letters, under the King's Privy Seal, Signet, Sign Manual, or Great Seal passed, and other Bonds or Promifes, whatsoever they be, had, or made, to any Person or Persons, Spiritual or Temporal, Shire, City, Burrough, Waxentale, Tranfhip, Hamlet, Village, Monastery, Church, Cathedral, or Collegiat, or to any Guild, Fraternity, or Body Corporate, Fellowship, or Company, or other whatsoever, having capacity to take any Bond, especially and generally, jointly or severally, touching or concerning the fame Pret or Loan, or every of them, or the repayment of any Sum or Sums of Mony for the fame, be from henceforth void and of none effect. Cui quidem bimra probe & ad plenam intelletis per diiñum Dominum Règen ex assensu & Authoritate Parliamenti predíeti, aliter est responsam. Le Roy remercie les Seigneurs & ses communes de leur bonne coeur en faisant cet grant, & icelle se Majesté accepte & tout le contenu, & c'est escrire a grant & aprove auecques tous les articles en ceste escripture spécifie.
XXXII. A Letter from Gardiner and Fox, about their Proceedings at Cambridg. An Original.

Feb. 1530. from Cambridg by Stephen Gardiner.

To the King's Highness.

Pleafeth it your Highness to be advertized, That arriving here at Cambridg upon Saturday last past at noon, that same night and Sunday in the Morning, we deviſed with the Vice-Chancellour, and such other as fauoureth your Grace's Cause, how and in what fort to compass and attain your Grace's Purpose and Intent; wherein we affirme your Grace, we found much towardneſs, good will, and diligence, in the Vice-Chancellour and Dr. Edmunds, being as studious to serve your Grace as we could with or desire: Nevertheleſs there was not fo much care, labour, study, and diligence employed on our Party, by them, our felſ, and other, for attaining your Grace's Purpose, but there was as much done by others for the lett and empeachment of the fame; and as we aſsembled, they aſsembled, as we made Friends they made Friends, to lett that nothing should pafs as in the Universities Name; wherein the first day they were Superiors, for they had put in the ears of them, by whole Voices such things do pafs, multas fabulas, too tedious to write unto your Grace. Upon Sunday at afternoon were aſsembled, after the manner of the Univerſity, all the Doctours, Batchellors of Divinity, and Masters of Art, being in number almost two hundred: In that Congregacion we delivered your Grace's Letters, which were read openly by the Vice-Chancellour. And for anſwer to be made unto them, first the Vice-Chancellour calling apart the Doctours, asked their Advice and Opinion; whereunto they anſwered severally, as their Affections led them, & res erat in multa confusione. Tandem they were content Anſwer should be made to the Questions by indifferent Men: But then they came to Exceptions against the Abbot of St. Benets, who feemed to come for that purpoſe; and likewife against Dr. Repper, and Dr. Grome; and also generally against all fuch as had allowed Dr. Cranmer's Book, in almoſt as they had already declared their Opinion. We faid thereunto, That by that reafon they might except againſt all; for it was lightly, that in a Question fo notable as this is, every Man Learned hath faid to his Friend as he thinketh in it for the time; but we ought not to judge of any Man, that he fetteth more to defend that which he hath once faid, than Truth afterward known. Finally, The Vice-Chancellour, because the day was much spent in thofe alterations, commanding every Man to refort to his Seat apart, as the manner is in thofe Assemblies, willed every Man's mind to be known secretly, whether they would be content with fuch an Order as he had conceived for anſwer to be made by the Univerſity to your Grace's Letters; whereunto that night they would in no withe agree. And for almoſt as it was then dark night, the Vice-Chancellour continued the Congregacion till the next day at one of the Clock; at which time the Vice-Chancellour proposed a Grace after the form herein inclofed; and
it was first denied: When it was asked again, it was even on both Par-
ties, to be denied or granted; and at the last, by labour of Friends to
cause some to depart the House which were against it, it was obtained
in such form as the Schedule herein enclosed purporteth; wherein be
two Points which we would have left out; but considering by putting
in of them, we allured many, and that indeed they shall not hurt the
Determination for your Grace's part, we were finally content there-
with. The one Point is that where it was first, that quicquid major pars
of them that be named decreverit, should be taken for the Determinati-
on of the University. Now it referred ad duas partes, wherein we
suppose shall be no difficulty. The other Point is, That your Grace's
Question shall be openly disputed, which we think to be very honour-
able; and it is agreed amongst us, That in that Disputation, shall an-
swer, the Abbot of St. Benet's, Dr. Reppe, and Mr. Fox, to all such as
will object any thing or reason against the conclusion to be sustained
for your Grace's part. And because Mr. Doctor Chief hath said, That he
hath somewhat to say concerning the Canon-Law; I your Secretary
shall be adjoined unto them for answer to be made therein. In the
Schedule which we send unto your Grace herewith, containing the
names of those who shall determine your Grace's Question, all marked
with the Letter A. be already of your Grace's Opinion; by which we
trust, and with other good means, to induce and obtain a great part
of the rest. Thus We beseech Almighty God to preserve your most
Noble and Royal Estate. From Cambridge the day of February.

Your Highness's most humble

Subjects and Servants,

Stephen Gardiner,
Edward Foxe.
The Grace purposed and obtained, Feb. 1530.

Placet vobis ut

A. Vicecancellarius.

Doctores.

A. Salcot. The Abbot of St. Benets.

Watfôn.

A. Repps.

Tomfôn.

Venetus, de isto bene speratur.

A. Edmunds.

Downs.

A. Crome.

A. Wygan.

A. Boston.

Magistri in Theologia.

Middleton.

A. Heynes.

Mylfent. de isto bene speratur.

A. Shaxton.

A. Latimer.

A. Simon.

Longiford. De isto bene speratur.

Thyxtel.

Nicols.

Hutton.

A. Skip.

A. Goodrich.

A. Heth.

Hadway, de isto bene speratur.

Dey.

Bayne.

A.A.Duo Procuratores

Abbeant plenam facultatem & Authoritatem, nomine totius Universitatis, respondendi Literis Regis Majestatis in hac Congregatione lectis, ac nomine totius Universitatis definiendi & determinandi quaestionem in dictis litteris propoﬁtam: ita quod quicquid duæ partes eorun praesentium inter se decreverint, respondendi dictis litteris, & deﬁnierint ac determinaverint super quaestionem propoﬁta, in ipsam habeat, & reputetur pro &cuestione, Deﬁnitione & determinatione totius Universitatis, & quod licet Vicecancellario, procuratoribus & Scrutatoribus, litteris super dictarum duarum partium deﬁnitione & determinatione concipienda sigillum commune Universitatis apponere; sic quod disputetur Quæstio publice & ante legatur coram Universitate absq; ulteriori gratia desuper petenda aut obtinenda.

Your Highness may perceive by the Notes; that we be already sure of as many as be requisite, wanting only three; and we have good hope of four; of which four if we get two, and obtain of another to be absent, it is sufficient for our purpose.
PLlease let your Highness to be advertised, That as this day I obtained the Common Seal of the Universify of Padua, in substantial and good form; for all the Doctors were assembled upon Sunday, and the Cafe was amongst them solemnly and earnestly disputed all Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and this present Friday in the morning again: and thereupon they concluded with your Highness, and desired a Notary to set his Sign and Hand unto an Instrument, by Leonius and Simo

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XXXIV. The Judgment of the Universities concerning the
King's Marriage; taken from the Printed Edition of them.
London, 1532.

Censure Facultatis Sacrae Theologiae alme Universitatis Parisiensis.

Decanus & Facultas Sacrae Theologiae alme Universitatis Parisiensis,
odmissibus, ad quos praefens scriptum pervenerit, falam in eo,
qui eft vera Salus. Cum nuper suborta magnae difficultatis controversia
super invaliditate Matrimonii, inter Serenissimum Henricum Octavum
Anglie Regem, Fidei Defenforem, & Dominum Hiberniae, ac Illuiffri-
finam Dominam Catharinam Anglie Reginam, clare memoris Ferdi-
nandi Regis Catholicic Filiam contracti, & carnali copula confummati, illa
etiam nobis Quæftio injuftitia & veritate diffcutienda & examinanda
propita fuerat, videlicet, An ducere reliæam fratris mortui fine liberis
fic eft jure divino & naturali prohibitum, ut interveniente summi
Pontificis Difpenfatione, non posset fieri licitum, ut quis Christianus reli-
æam fratris ducat, & habeat in Uxorem ; Nos Decanus & Facultas ante-
dicta, cogitantes, quam eft jure pium & fanctum, nec non debito charita-
tis, & nostra Professionis conflictum, ut his, qui in lege Domini se-
cura, tranquillaq; confcentia vitam hanc ducere, & transfigere cupiant,
viam injuftitiae offendereamus, nolimus tam juftis & piis votis deesse. Hinc
more folito, apud adem S. Mathurini per juramentum convenientes, &
folemini Mifla cum Invocatione Spiritus SancCTOR ob hoc celebrata, nec non
praefito juramento di deliberando super prefata quæftione, fecundum
Deum & Confentiam; Poll varias & multiplicies Secliones, tam apud
adem S. Mathurini, quam apud Collegium Sorbone, ab octava Junii
ufq; ad fecundam Juliæ habitas, & continuatas, percurtatis prius excuf-
siis; quam diligenter & accidit, ac ea qua decurit, reverentia & Religione,
Sacrae Scripture Libris corumq; probatissem interpretilbus, nec non Sacro-
fanæte Ecclesiæ generalibus ac Synodalibus Concilii Decretis & constitutionibus
longo iulius receptis & approbatis: Nos prædicti Decanus & Fac-
cultas de prædita Quæftione differentes, & ad eam respondentes, fe-
quentes unanime judicium & confenfundum Majoris partis totius Facultatis,
Affermamus & determinavimus, prout & in his Scriptis per praefentes
Affermamus & Determinamus, quod prædita nuptia cum reliæam fratrum
decedentiam fine liberis, sic naturali jure pariter & divino sunt prohi-
bite, ut super talibus Matrimoniiis contractis, five contraheendis, Summus
Pontifex difpenfäre non posset. In cujus nostra Affermationis & Deter-
minationis fidem & testimonium, figillum nostra Facultatis cum figno
notri Notarii, seu Bedelli praefentibus apponi curravimus. Datum in

m m

generali
generaliter nostra Congregatione per juramentum celebrata apud S. Ma-
thurianum. Anno Dom. Millelismo quingentefimo trigesimo, Menfis vero
Julli die secundo.

Consueta Facultatis Decretorum alme Universitatis Parisiensis.

IN Nomine Domini Amen. Cum proposita fuit et coram nobis Deca-
ño & Collegio Confultrifime Facultatis Decretorium Parisiensis Uni-
versitatis Quattuor; An Papa poftit Diffenfâre, quod Frater poftit in
Uxorém ducere, vive accipere reliétam Fratris fun, Matrimonio confun-
mato pro Fratrem præmoptum? Nos Decanus & Collegium præfæce
Facultatis, poft multas Disputationes & Argumenta hinc inde fuper hac
materia facia ac habita, cum magna & longa liberorum, tam divini quam
Pontificii & Civilis, jurium revolutione confultimus, & dicimus, Papam
non poft in faéto proposito diffenfâre. In cujus rei testimonium, has
praefentes Sigillo nostra Facultatis, & signo noftri scribae primi Bedelli
muniti fecimus. Datum in Congregacione noftra apud Sanctum Joan-
nem Lateranenfem, Parifis die vicesima tertia mensis Maii, Anno Dom.
millelismo quingentefimo trigesimo.

Consueta alme Universitatis Aurelianensis.

Cum ab hinc aliquod tempus nobis Collegio Doctorum Regentium
alme Universitatis Aurelianensis propositæ fuerint, quæ sequuntur
Quaætiones, videlicet: Si jure divino licet fratri Reliquiam fratris (quam
Fratrum vocant) accipere Uxorém? Item & si hoc fìt eo jure vetitum,
utrum divinæ Legis prohibitio Pontificiâ Diſputatione remitti poſsit?
Nos praedictum Collegium, poſt multas ad prædictorum dubiorum Di-
ſputationem, (de more noſtro) faætas Seſſiones & Congregationes, poſt-
quæ Juris tum Divini tum Canonici locos (quo facere potuimus) exa-
mintatos, & omnibus materia atque exacte penfâris & conferendi: Defi-
nimium, prædictas nuprias citra divinae legis injuryam attentari non poſse,
eriæ illum Pontificis accedat indulgentia, vel permisimus. In cujus
rei testimonium præfens publicum Instrumentum à Scriba præfæce alme
Universitatis fubfignâri fecimus, ejufdem; Sigillo communi. Aétem
in Sacello Beate Mariae Boninuntii Aurelianensis. Anno Dom. Milleli-
mo quingentefimo vigesimo nono, die quinto Mensis Aprilis.

Consueta Facultatem Juris Pontificii & legum Alme
Universitatis Andegavensis.

Cum certo ab hinc tempore nobis Rectori & Doctoribus Regenti-
bus in Pontificiâ & legum disciplina alme Universitatis Andegavi-
ensis sequentes Quaætiones propositæ fuerint, videlicet, Utrocm Jure Di-
vino pariter & naturali illicitum sit homini Christiano Reliquiam fratris
fui, etiam abs; libris, sed Matrimonio jam coniunmato defunti, du-
cere Uxorém? Et an Summo Pontifici Iicet super hujusmodi nupris
difpenfâre? Nos præfati Rector & Doctores, poft plurès ad Disputatione
nem hujusmodi quaætioneum, & veritatem comperiendo faætas, ex mo-
tre, Congregationes & Seſſiones, poſtq; varias Juris tum Divini, quam
humani
Book II. of Records.

humani locos, qui ad eam rem pertinere videbantur, difficilios, multas quoq; rationes in utramq; partem adducias & examinatas, omnibus fide- liter consideratis, & matura deliberatione prehabita, Definimus neque
Divino neque Naturali Jure permititi homini Christiano, etiam cum
Sedis Apostolica: Authoritate feu Diffensione super hoc adhíbita, Re-
liquam fratris, qui etiam sine libris posto confunmatum Matrimonium
decesserit, Uxorem accipere vel habere. In quorum omnium supradic-
torum fidelem, prelensis publicum Instrumentum à Scriba feu Notario pra-
face Alme Universitatis subsignari jussimus, quidemque Universitatis
Magno Sigillo muniri. Aetum in aed sacra Divi Petri Andegavenfi, in
Collegio nostro, Anno Domini Millefimo quingentesimo tricesimo;
die septimo Maii.

Confusura Alme Universitatis Bituricenfis.

Nos cum Decano Theologiae, Facultas in Universitate Bituricenfis
(ut Doctoris Gentium Pauli exemplo plerisque locis autspicemur
scriptum noftrum à precaitione) omnibus dilectis Dei in quibus vocati
eftis, Lectores Charifmimi, quiq; ad quos scribimus, Gratia vobis & pax
à Deo Patre & Domino nostro Jefu Chrifto. Dum compolerunt dies
inter Octavas Pentecostes, & eflemus omnes pariter in cedem loco, cor-
pore & animo congregati, fedentesq; in domo diti Decani; fatia eft
nobis rursum Quodtio eadem, qua fapientes antea, non quidem parva, hunc
in modum: An rem factat illicitam necne, frater accipiens Uxorem à
premortuo fratre relictam, confunnato etiam Matrimonio? Tandem
rei ipsius veritate disquisita & perspeéta, multo singulorum labore, & Sa-
crorum iterata atq; iterata revolutione codicum, unufquisq; noftrum non
facinatus, quo minus veritati obediret, coepit, prout Spiritus Sanctus
dedi, fium hoc unum arbitrium eloqui, abf; perfenam accipente,
in veritate commeri, perfonas memoratas in Capite Levini octavo supra
decimam prohibitam effe jure ipso naturali, authoritate humana minime
relaxabilq; & vetitas, ne invicem Matrimonium contrahant, quo fit fra-
terns turpitudinis abominabilis Revelatio. Et hoc nobis fignum noftri
fedelli Notarii publici, cum Sigillo dicta supra noftrum facultatis præ-
sentibus appenf, Die decimo Junii, Anno vero à Chrifti Nativitate,
Millefimo quingentesimo tricesimo. Ut autem noftra fcriptionis pos &
caput uni reddantur forma, quemadmodum fumus aufpicati à preca-
tione, ita claudamus illius quo utrimq; exemplo. Gratia Domini noftri
Jefu Chrifti, Charitas Dei, & communicatio Sancti Spiritus fit cum omni-
bus vobis. Amen.

Confusura Alme Universitatis Tholofane.

Raetabatur in nostra Tholofana Academia perquam difficilis Qua-
fitio, Liceane fratri eam, qua ejam olim defuncto fratri Uxor fug-
rat (nullis ruten reliquis libris) in Matrimonio fibi congregere? Ac-
cedebat & alias escurpulm, qui nos potissimum torquebat, Si Romanus
Pontifex, cuj; eft commiffa gregis Christiani cura, id fua, quam voca-
mus, Diffensione permittat, tunc falem liceat? Ad utramq; Quæftio-
em agitandum Doctoris omnes Regentes, qui tunc Tholofae aedaret,
cogit Reétor in Concilium, neque id temer tanum fed etiam iternum:

M m m 2 Qquippe
Quippe exstimmavit precipitari non oportere Consilia, indigere; nos tempore, ut aliquid maturius agamus. Demum, cum in unum locum conveniendum omnes, sum Sacrarum Literarum difteriffimi Interpretes, tum utrisqu; Cenfure Conulfiffimi, deniq; qui quavis in re & judicio & oratione viri felicibus ingenii non mediciiier exercitari essent, ac fede Sacrofani Concilii parere velle, Sanctorumq; Patrum haequipra quam piis animis violanda Decreeta imitari jurifident, & unulfiffiq; fum fententiam proutifiit, atq; in utramq; partem diffufe deceraturm effet; tandem in eam Sentiensiam fìc frequentius itum eff, ut uno omnium ore Alma nostra Universitas animis fteriffimi nulloq; fenrento viriatis cenfuiert, Jure Divino pariter & Naturali Uxorem relieétam fratris fui nemini licere accipere. At potuquam id lege eadem non licet, reponfum eff, non pofta Pontificem aliq;eae ea lege folvere. Nee huic fententiae reftragraari potef, quod cogeretur olim frater Uxorem domorum fratris accipere. Nam hoc figura erat, arque umbra futurorum, quae omnì adventiente luce & veritate evidéntur. Hae quomiam ita fì habent, in hanc formam reddigimus, & per Notarium, qui nobis eff à Secretis, signari, fignetiq; autentici ejusdem nostro Alma Universitas ille missus Appenfione communiti. Tholofa Kal. Octob. Ann. à Christo nato M.D.XXX.

Cenfura Facultatis Sacre Theologiae Universitatis Bononienfis.

Cum Deus Optimus Maximus veterem Legem ad morum vitaeque informationem ac institutionem ore fì tudierit, idemque humanitate fumpfa, mortalium Redemptor Deus novum condiderit Testamentum, sed ad dubia, quae in multis emergebant, tollenda declarandaque contulerit, quae ad hominum perfectionem eludicata nonnihil conferrunt; noftra partes femper fore duxmus hujiufmodi fanctiffima Patris aternum docunenta feætari, & in rebus arduis ac dubitabilibus, superno illuftratos lumine, noftram ferre fententiam, ubi caufa mature confulta, multiffiq; hinc inde rationibus, scriptiffiq; Patrum dilucidae fuerit, nihil quod poftimus, in aliquid temere ferentes. Cum ita;q; nos, praefantes quidam & clariffimi viri, omnìe rogarint, ut subfequentemcafum maximam diligentia perfctutaremur, noffrumq; subinde in eum judicium ferrems aquiflime, fìi veritati iminentes, in unum omnès Alma Universitas hujius Doctoris Theologi conveniimus, cafu prius per unumque; noftrum fyllaginum domibus propriis examinato, fummaq; folertia per dies plurimos contracto: Illud una mox vidimus, examinavimus, conftilimus, ad amuffiq; singula qua;q; permutantes ponderavimus, rationes quaefunt; contrarias, quas fieri posse cenfiimus, in medium affertenes atq; folventes, ejusdem fpiitus Reverendiffimi D. D. Card. Cajetani, nec non Deoeronomicae Diffenfationem de fratri fucitaendo femine, & reliquis tandem omnès fententias oppofitas, quæ ad id negotio face revidereur. Quaffum eff igitur à nobis, An ex foa Ecclesias inftitutione vel etiam Jure Divino prohibitum fuerit, ne quis Relictam à fratre fine liberes in Uxorem ducere valeat? Quod fi utraque lege ne fieri poftit, cautum eff; An quenquam poftit Beatiffimus Pontificex super quifinodi contraheendo Matri monio diligenfaire? Qua diligentiaffe (ut diximus) ac exálfiffime fcorim palioum; examinata, ac pro viribus noftris, optimè dilucida Qufitione, Cenfemus, Judicamus, dicimus, confiantiffime
Book II. of Records.

Eftantur, qui Catholicam fidem afferunt, Deum Optimum Maximum legis veteris precepta filius Israel ad exemplar vitæ ac morum nostrorum institutionem ore proprio tradidisse, cundemq; trabæ humanitatis indutum, Redemptorem omnium factum, Novum Testamentum condidisse, & nunc proper hoc, sed ad dubia quaecunque emergentia removenda, dilucidandaq; nobis mifericorditer condonasse, quæ ad nostræ perficcionem enucleata fructus uberes conferunt & salutares. Nostrum emper fuit eritq; per fæcula (ut Christiolas decet) hujsimodi celebratissima Summi Pontificis instituta fectari, & in quibusq; dubitationibus, ac arduis Quæstionibus supernaturali lumine freti, nostrum praefere Judicium, ubi res ipfa optima considerata, multaq; hincinde demonstrationibus, atq; Patrum Authoritatis naturæ declarata fuerit, temere quod post quæmulus nihil omnino judicantes. Cum igitur nos, quidam oratores clarissimi, suppliciter exorarint, ut subiequetem calum diligentissime perfunrari dignaremur, atq; nostrum feruemus exinde fen tentiam, foci veritati simpliciter attendentes: Quæ ex omnibus hujs Alme Universitatis Doctoris Theologi in simul convenimus, re ipfa prior per nostrum quemlibet particulariter propriis dominibus examinata, summaq; cum folertia enucleata, max in unum redacti cuncta confideravimus, examinavimus, omniaq; figillatim ponderavimus, Argumenta quaeque; contraria, quæ fieri quosmodo poiffe putavimus, adducen tes, atq; integerrime dissolventes, necnon Deuteronomicae Dispensationem de Fratris fuciturâ femine, & relinquam omnes rationes atque. fententias oppositas, que ad id facere videbantur: Quæftio igitur talis fuit expofita, An ex sola Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiae institutione, vel etiam de Jure Divino prohibitum fuerit, ne quis Relictam fratris absque liberis in Uxorem ducere valeat? Quod si utroquiq; fieri nequeat cauorem eff; An Beatissimus Pontifex super hujsimodi contrahibendo Matrimonio quenumquodifpenfare legitime poiffe? Quo exactissime (ut dicam eff) foemum publiceq; diffiduiq; ac pro viribus dilucidato quæfito, Dicimus, Judicamus, Decernimus, Attestamur, atque veridice Afferimus, Matrimonium hujsimodi, tale coniugium & tales nuptias nullas effe, immo detestabiles, atque excrændas Christiano cuilibet effe, prophanas, & ut feculæ.
XXXV. The Judgment of the Lutheran Divines about the King’s Marriage, ex MSS. R. Smith, London.

XXXVI. An Abstract of the Grounds of the Divorce.

Written in the beginning, Thomas Cantuarien. with his own hand.


1. Affinitas quæ Divino & Naturali Jure impedit ne Matrimonium contrahatur, & contractum dirimit, solo nuptiali fœdere indiciatur.
2. Substantia Matrimonii, verum perfectumq; conjugium, sola conjugali pâtiione, & non carnali copula efficitur.
3. Vir & Uxor solo fœdere conjugali, Deo inprimis operante, una mens & una caro sunt.
5. Affinitas sola Carnis concupitu orta Sanctione humana solum impedire Matrimonium, & contractum diffolvit.
7. Potest Matrimonium Carnali Copula confummare, etiam Uxoris Virginitate irreperibili non amissa.
8. Serenissimam Catharinam ab Illustriissimo Princeps Arthurio reliquam Virginem non uiuifce affirmamus.
9. Sereniss Catharinam ex Judiciis quam plurimis attestantibus, & violentam præsumptionem inducentibus, ab eodem Illustriissimo Princeps Arthurio corruptam, atque Matrimonium inter eos consummatur uiuifce non dubitant.
10. Serenissima Catharina, Præsumptione violenta hujiusmodi confiantis, Virginitatem suam Juramento praesertim publico probare nequit.
11. Judex eandem Serenissimam Catharinam, super ea caufa jurare volentem, ad juramentum jure quidem admittere non potest.

XXXVII. A Bull sent to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, against the Statutes of Provisors.

Mathinus Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, venerabili Pratri Archeipiscopo Cantuariensi salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Si quam diffirrito Dei Judicio de commitissi tibi ovibus rationem redditurus es, aliquando cogitares, si meminiiles & tu quæ pastoralis officii cura effe debet, quantum; Ecclesie Romana, à qua dignitatem & auctoritatem vendicas, jus atque honorem tueri obligatus es, in considera-
Statuti inquisiras: Considerer prudentia tua, si Regem aut Regnum Hujusmodi Statuta decreveris: Cogita si te tali inplicientem filere oporteat, & non magis clamare, contradicere, & pro viribus reficere. Estne ita fieri lialis Reverentia? Estne ita Christianna devoto quam Regnum Anglie inae Matri Ecclesia & Sed Apos tollic exhibit? Potestne Catholicum Regnum dic, ubi hujiufmodi Statutumur profane leges & obseruantur, ubi prohibetur adiri Victorius Christi, ubi oves suas Succelfor Apostoli Petri pacere juxta mandatum Domini non permittitur? Christus dixit Petri huius; Succelforibus, Pacce oves meas: Statutum autem Regni pacere ipsis non finit, fed vult ut Rex ipsa pacat, devolvendo ad eum in certis calibus Apostolicam Au toritatatem. Christus edificavit super Petrum Ecclesiam: fed Regni Statutum, id prohibet: Nam non patitur Petri Cathedram de Ecclesiis prout judicaverit, expedire, ordinare vel dispone re. Christus voluit quod quicquid fummus Pontificem in terris solvereatur ligaverit, folutum ligatumve effet in ecelis; Statutum hic divinum voluit non allegret: Nam si quos Sacerdotes ad ligandum solvereatur; animas Christi Vicarius in Regnum contra Statutum tenorem deffinaret, non modo ipsis non admissit Statutum sed exulare juber, bonis privatis, aliis; poenitentibus, & conferrantiam Procellium Apostolicum in Regnum defererent, tantum sacrelegus capit punitur. Quid ad locutia Diferentio respondebit? Estne hoc Catholicum Statutum? Potestne fine Christi injuria, fine Evangelii tranfgreffione, fine animae interitu tolerari aut observari? Cur igitur non clamas, & quae tiba exatus vocem tuam, anunclaclos populo tuo peccata tua, Dominus Israel ecclera eorum, ne fanges eorum de manibus tuos requiratur? Quod & si omnes quibus populorum cura commissa est, facere teneantur, quanto magis id tibi erit necessarium equei, cuipus populos & populos minoribus, oves & ovium pastores, tua sollicitudini Romana deputavit Ecclesia, & qua & Primatum & Sedis Apostolice legislationem super Anglicanas Ecclesias fulcepfiti, & ipsius gloriosissimi Martyris Beati Thomae olim Cantuarie & Archeiropofo Succelfor effectus es, qui adversus familiar decer tans Statuta, holo ca tumus & Deo offerens pro libertate Ecclesiastica occubuit. Tu certe ob hec, omnium primus qui vexillo alumnato in acem prodiere deberes, & fratres Co episcopos tuos tuo exemplo in certamina siftere, primus omnium terga vertis, & aliosqes qui forte refi fendi impetu caperent, tua five puflanimitate, five diifimulacione, five (ut omnes attestatunt) evidenti pravoricatione a bono proptro dejeis. Iraq; si de te queritur Ecclesia, fi in te omnis culpa transferretur, non mirari fed dolere, immo potius teipsum corriger deles, & debitum quo ovium jure attricetus es audaciter exolvere: pro qua re efficienda, fi velis quom poes operam adhibere, non magnum certamen firbeundum est. Perfiude tuo pro officio & Auctoritate tua, secularibus, & eos veterrimam infezcze. Offende eis peccatum quo observantes predictum Statutum illacuantur: Et crunt, (ut omnes afferunt) prava in direcina, & afferat in visas planas. Ne ergo, si taceamus & nos, tuae aliorumq; de fistiam diifimulantem similes apud omnipotentem Deum culpae reos efficiat, nere ovium nostrarum falsas (fi neglexerimus) de manibus nostris exigat, tuam fraterraturem qua poftimus infan tiae, tota corde, totaq; affectu horrarmur, monemens, requirimus, & in virtute Sancta obedienti a, & sub Excommunicationis poena cui (fi neglexeris) ipso facto te fisbiciperis, directe praepiendie mandamus, quatenus quamprimum ad
locum ubi Consilii Charissimi in Christo Filii nostri Henrici Angliae Regis Illuisris conveniunt, per sonaliter accedas, esq; tam Ecclesiasticos quam Seculares pro fapiencia tua, quam tibi Dominus inspiraverit, rationibus ac mentionibus reddas instrutus, ut pradictum Statutum in proximo, Parlemento rollant penitus & aboleant: Cum enim Divinae & Humanae rationi, Vereris ac Nobi Teftamenti, Conciliorum, Sanctorum Patrum, Summorum Poffificum Decretis, ipsius denique Universalis Ecclesiae obseruantia evidenceffilme contradicat, nec fine interitu falutis externae quosmod fiervari poiffit. Illudq; inter alia dicere non omitas, qualiter Ecclesiasticis libertatis violatores, faciendae; Statuta aut confuetudines contra libertatem fierari, Officiales, Rectores & Consilii locorum ubi hujusmodi Statuta vel confuetudines editae fuerunt vel fervata, Ac etiam qui fecundum pradicta judicaverint, ipfo jure Excommunicationem incurrunt, quare quantum fi Chrifti fideliibus me reundi, ipsis plene poteris declarare. Idem sub poena eadem te facere volumus cum Parlementum inchoabitur, tam erga pradictos Consiliorios quam Communities, & alios qui vocem in ipfo habuerint Parlemento. Infuper ut pluribus viis honori Dei & dante Matris Ecclesiae, & animarum falutis providatur, sub fimi poena mandas ac precipias omnibus tam Rectoribus Ecclesiis, quam alio officium praedictionis obtinentibus, Secularibus & Religiosis, ut frequenter in fernenibus suis populos de pradicta materia infruere non omitiant. Volumus autem ut quicquid super pradictis feceris per tuas literas (quibus falem duas graves plenene, que ipsis requisitionibus per te faciendis interificent, te fubscribant) nos certiores efficiss. Dat. Rom. apud Sanctos Apostolos quinto die Decembris, Poffificatus nostri Anno decimo.

XXXVIII. A Letter to King Henry the Sixth for Repealing that Statute.

Martimus Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei,Charissimo in Christo Filio Henrico Regi Angliae Illuisri, Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictiorem. Quam post multos nuncios ad tuam Serenitatem pro aboli tione illius detetabilis Statuti contra libertatem Ecclesiasticam editi olim tranfsiillos, potrore dilectum filium Magiftrum Julianum caufarum curit Cameram Apostolicam Auditoem, pro eadem caula deftinatumam; per ipsum tua Celficulo tunc nobis respondit, quod quamprimum commode poiffit,Parlamentum, fine quo idem nequit aboleri Statutum, convoca ret, & in eo quod fii poiffibile foret pro notrrae requisitionis implemento facerer, Profeftans quod Sancte Romanse Ecclesiae fediq; Apostolice Juribus ac Privilegis nullo modo detrahere aut derogare intendebat: Nos ob hoc, ficut deinde alii literis tibi significavimus, ufsq; ad id tempos cum patientia expectaret decrevimus, iterantes quod in Verbo Regi nobis pollcitos fuis, id tempore quo exequi non differes; itaq; quicquid ex parte nostra haetenus faciendum fuit, omnem manfuetudinis & patientiae modum experientes jam fecimus. Et licer gravibus interim per aliquos de Regno tuo laecfifi fumiuris injurias, volumus tamen ( ne quid contra promiflum fieri videretur) ufsq; ad id tempos ( non fine rubore Sedis
Sedis Apostolicae: expectare, ut merito illud verbum Evangelicum jam dici potest, Quod debui tuic vineæ facere & non feci? Tu vero, Fili Charitatis, cum ipsius Parliamenti jam tempus infert, quod ex tua parte agendum reflat, juxta promissione tuam ac verbum Regii implere non omittas, ad quod & Jure Divino & Humano quam Christianissimus Principes obligatus, sine cujusvis requisitione pro tua & tuorum sublicitorum salute & honore facere teneatis: præfertiem quum talia obtuleramus, ob quod nec tibi nec dicto Regno ex predicti Statuti abolitione prajudicium ullam redundare potest; providere enim iis omnibus quæ causam Statuto dedisse dicuntur, jam fepe nostro nomine oblatum est, & nunc de novo offerimus. Jam igitur cum nulla quavis contradicendi occasiæ præfendi potest, Ipsam nunc in dicto Parliamentio tuam Serenitatem ita facturam, ut predictum tam exceivable Statutum penitus de codem Regno tollatur. Quod si feceris, Saltabimus primum, tuam, tum vero multorum animas, quæ ob dictum Statutum gravi crimine illaquate: tenentur: Providebis deinde tuo & ipsius Regni honori, quod uris; propertea non modicum est notatum: Denum nos ac fedem ipsam temper tuis justis desideris obligabis. Super ipsis autem omnibus & de nostra intentione plene per literas nostras instruisti, dicto Filio magistro Joanni de Obizis in dicto Regno Nuncio & Collectori nostro, dabis credentiam sedem plenam. Dat. Rom. die decimo tertio Octobris, Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo.

XXXIX. A Letter to the Parliament upon the same occasion.

Martinius Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, venerabilibus Fratribus & dilectis Filiiis, Nobilibus viris Parliamenti Regni Angliae, Salute & Apostolicam Benedictinam. Multis nunciis ac frequentibus exhortationibus, pro debito pastorali officii, vos ac Regnum vestrum habentus admonuimus, ut pro salute animarum vestrarum, & ipsius Regni honorato quoddam detestabile Statutum contra Divinum & Humanum Jus editum, ut sine interitu falsae externae nullemus servari potest, aboleretur. Et quoniam id sine Parliamento tolli non posses, ex parte Clarissimi in Christo Filii nostri Henrici Regis Angliae illustris, Dilecto Filio Magistro Juliano Caufarum curius Camerae Apostolicae Auditori, tunc Nuncio nostro, respontum extitit, in quo (quum primum posset) convocato, quod ibi possibili foret pro nostra Requisitionis executione & facturam, idem Rex pollicitus est, prorectans Juribus ac Privilegiis Sanctæ Romanae Ecclesiae & Sedis Apostolicae in nullo yelle detrhere aut derogare. Nos volentes solita erga vos manufactudine uti, decretivum ulq; ad ipsius Parliamenti tempus expectare, iberantes quod tam Rex iuxta suam Regiam Promissionem, quam vos pro salute animarum vestrarum, Sanctæ ac Catholicae fectundam nostram Requisitionem concluideris. Itaq; cum Parliamentum (ut fertur) jam infert, vos omnibus quoquar animas nostras cura Dominus noster Iesus Christus commisit, hortamur, monemus, obfcrvamus, ut unanimes vestrarum animarum salutem, ac conscientiam puritatem praeceteris rebus amantes, prædictum abominabile Statutum (quod qui obseruavet vel obseruari f; cias falvari non potest) penitus tollatur, & de Regno in perpetuum aboleatis. Quod si quis forfitan vobis contrarium perfluadere audeat, quicquid;
XL. An Instrument of the Speech the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury made to the House of Commons about it.

D ie Veneris penultimo mensis Januarii, Anno Domini secundum cursum & computationem Ecclesie Anglica: mille quatuor quadraginta septimo die, interdixit festa, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris & Domini nostri Domini Martini Divina Providentia Papae quinto Anno undecimo, Reverendissimi, in Christo Patres & Domini, Domini, Henricus Dei Gratia Cantuariensis & Johannes Eboracensis Archiepiscopi, necnon Reverendissimi Patres W. Londinenis, Benedictus Menevensis, Philippus Elisenis, Iochun & W. Norvicenis, Episcopi, & cum eis venerabiles Patres & viri religiosi Westmonasterii & Radingiae Abbates de palatio regio Westmonasteriensi de Camera, viz. Ubi tam Domini Spirituales quam Temporales in Parlemento ad unum tento negotio Regni tractaverint & tractare solemint, recedentes, & diem illam Domini Temporalibus, in simul transierunt ad viros illos qui pro communitate Regni ad Parlamentum huicmodi venerant in loco flotino, viz. in Refectorio Abbatis Westmonasteriensi praebita persona & divinitates, & incontinentem eisdem Dominis Spiritualibus cum reverentia debita, praemteuent a viris huicmodi communitatem Regni facientibus & representantibus, receptis: Praefatus Reverendissimus Pater Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis cauamar adventus sui & confratrum fuorum ad tum exponere coopit in vulgari; Pretendendo primitus, & protestabatur idem Dominus Cantuariensis vice sua & confratrum fuorum praedictorum,
dictorum, quod pro dicendo tunc ibidem non intendebat ipse Reverendissimus Pater, aut aliquis contrarum fuorum, Domino Regi Anglie aut Corone sus vel communicati Regni in alioque derogare, & sic adhicerendo Protectionis suæ hujiusmodi, idem Reverendissimus Pater prosequatur & expoluit sollemniter causam adventus sui & contra fuum fuorum, fummo quod pro fenente, Reddite quæ sunt Cæfalis, Cæfari, & que fuint Dei Deo. Super quo procedendo, ea quæ ad Jurisdictionem Ecclesiasticam, & ea quæ ad Cæfaream pertinent, notabiliter & ad longum declarant, materiam Provisionis & pro Statuti illius contra Proviores editi abolutione, eum bona & materia deliberatione prosequendo, & in procella declarationis hujiusmodi jura nonnulla & Sacra Scriptura Authoritatem convenientes allegavint, pro jure Domini noftri Pape in Provisiobus habendis, ficut Sancti Prædecessores fui fummi Pontifices in Regno Anglie & aliis per Universalem Christianitatem habuerunt, ipfæ Domini Papa modernus in easteris Regnis habet & poffiderit in praefentia: Unde præmissis, Bullis & literis Apostolicis, quas pro hac re idem Dominus Papa jam tarde ad Regnum transmiserat, diligenter coniferatis, & quod dictus Dominus noftrr Pape toti Ambaffiata & nuncius follement ad profequendum jus fuum & Ecclefliae libertatem in præmissis, non abfè laboribus magnis, periculos & expenfis, de Curia Romana ad Regnum Anglie datinavit, idem Reverendiflimus Pater Cantuar. Archiprefcopus, nomine fui & contrarum fuorum adtunc ibidem praefentium, & abfentium in dico Parlimento per Procuratores comparentium, ad quos ut affuerit divinam faltem principalis cura animarum fuius Communis Chriftifiam Regni pertinere dignificetur, dico turos omnes & finguulos tunc praefentia, Communiaem (ut præmittitur) reprefentantes, requifit & in Domino exhortabatur, quatenus ob faltem animarum fuarum torius; Regni prosperitate & pacem, materiam prædian fìc ponderarent, & taliter in eodem Parlimento fuper eadem deliberanr, ut Sanctiflimus Dominus noftrr Papa placari, ac Regis zelum ad Sedem Apoftolicam fitorius; Regni devotionem in hac parte habere poftet materiam commendand. Et addìdit ultra hujiusmodi Requifitionem & Exhortationem praefatus Reverendiflimus Pater Archiprefcopus Cantuariensis; & ex corde, ut apparuit, expoluit lacrymando, periculo per cenfuram, viz. Ecclesiasticcarum & eum Interdicti fupiniantem, & alias tam Regi quam Regno (quod abfìt) verifimiliter eventura alia, in cafu quo refponfo Parlamenti illius, in materia tunc declarata, grata non fore Domino Pape & accepta, sic dicendo; Ferte vi detur quibusdam veftrum, quod hac quæ Regni Praefatos potiflima concernunt ex corde non profero, Scinti pro certo, & in fide, qua Deo teneor & Ecclefiae, affirmo coram vobis, quod magis mihi foret acceptum nunquam conferre aut eum habere aliquod beneficium Ecclesiasticum, quam aliquo taliis periculo fui procellus nec tempore in Ecclefiae Anglicanae Scandalum venirent. Ulterior isdem Reverendiflimus Pater exprerife declaravit, qualiter dicit Dominus noftrr Pape in diversis Bullis fuis obtulit & promisit, & fæ Sedem Apoftolicam, ad quacunque fæ & caufas & occasiones editionis Statuti prædici rationabile, remedium apponere, & materias caufarum & occasionem hujiusmodi Statuti in toto tollere & abolare; & sic Requifitionem, Exhortationem & periculorum hujiusmodi expeditione finitis, Reverendirsimi Patres Cantuar, & Eborac. Archiepifcopi, cum conftringibus suis Epifcopis & Pralatis prædiciis, recceferunt. Regni
Regni Communitate, seu falcem dictis viris Communiam Regni re-presentabantibus remanentibus, & circa materiam eis expostam tractantibus, praefentibus, & Declarationem, Requisitionem, & Exhortationem, hujusmodi; periculorum explicationem per dictum Dominum Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem (ut præmititur) factas audientibus, venerabilibus viris Richardo Codray Archidiacono Norwici in Ecclesia Norwicensi, Magistro Ioanne Forster Canonico Lincolnieni, &c. & Johanne Boold Notario Publico & multis aliis.

Act. 33. Anno Regni xicesimo tertio.

XLI. An Act concerning Restraint of payment of Annates to the See of Rome.

Forasmuch as it is well perceived, by long approved experience, that great and inestimable Sums of Money have been daily conveyed out of this Realm, to the impoverishment of the same; and specially such sums of Money as the Pope's Holiness, his Predecessors, and the Court of Rome, by long time have heretofore taken of all and singular those Spiritual Persons which have been named, elected, preferred, or postulated to be Arch-bishops or Bishops within this Realm of England, under the Title of Annates, otherwise called First-Fruits. Which Annates, or First-Fruits, have been taken of every Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, within this Realm, by restraint of the Pope's Bulls, for Confirmations, Elections, Admissions, Postulations, Provisions, Collations, Dispositions, Institutions, Installations, Investitures, Orders, Holy Benedictions, Palls, or other things requisite and necessary to the attaining of those their Promotions; and have been compelled to pay, before they could attain the same, great Sums of Money, before they might receive any part of the Fruits of the said Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, whereunto they were named, elected, preferred, or postulated; by occasion whereof, not only the Treasure of this Realm hath been greatly conveyed out of the same, but also it hath happened many times, by occasion of death, unto such Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, so newly promoted, within two or three years after his or their Consecration, that his or their Friends, by whom he or they have been holpen to advance and make payment of the said Annates, or First-Fruits, have been thereby utterly undone and impoverished. And for because the said Annates have riven, grown, and encreased, by an uncharitable Custom, grounded upon no just or good title, and the payments thereof obtained by restraint of Bulls, until the same Annates, or First-Fruits, have been paid, or Surety made for the same; which declareth the said Payments to be exacted, and taken by contraint, against all equity and justice. The Noble Men therefore of the Realm, and the Wife, Sage, Politick Commons of the same, assembled in this present Parliament, considering that the Court of Rome ceaseth not to tax, take, and exact the said great Sums of Money, under the Title of Annates, or First-Fruits, as is afoforeaid, to the great damage of the said Prelates, and this Realm; Which
Which <i>Annates</i>, or First-Fruits, were first suffered to be taken within the same Realm, for the only defence of Christian People against the Infidels, and now they be claimed and demanded as mere duty, only for luce, against all right and conscience. Insomuch that it is evidently known, that there lieth passed out of this Realm unto the Court of Rome, sithen the second year of the Reign of the most Noble Prince, of famous memory, King Henry the Seventh, unto this present time, under the name of <i>Annates</i>, or First-Fruits, payed for the expedition of Bulls of Arch-Bishops and Bishops, the sum of eight hundred thousand Ducats, amounting in Sterling Mony, at the least, to eight thousand pounds, besides other great and intolerable Sums which have yearly been conveyed to the said Court of Rome, by many other ways and means, to the great impoverishment of this Realm. And albeit, that our said Sovereign the King, and all his natural Subjects, as well Spiritual as Temporal, been as obedient, devout, Catholick and humble Children of God, and Holy Church, as any People be within any Realm chrstnsted; yet the said exactions of <i>Annates</i>, or First-Fruits, be so intolerable and importable to this Realm, that it is considered and declared, by the whole Body of this Realm now represented, by all the Estates of the same assembled in this present Parliament, that the King's Highness before Almighty God, is bound, as by the duty of a good Christian Prince, for the conservation and preservation of the good Estate and Common-Wealth of this his Realm, to do all that in him is to obviate, repress, and redress the said abusions and exactions of <i>Annates</i>, or First-Fruits. And because that divers Prelates of this Realm being now in extreme Age, and in other debilities of their Bodies, so that of likely-hood, bodily death in short time shall or may succeed unto them; by reason whereof great sums of Mony shall shortly after their deaths, be conveyed unto the Court of Rome, for the unreasonable and uncharitable Causes abovefaid, to the universal damage, prejudice, and impoverishment of this Realm, if speedy remedy be not in due time provided: It is therefore ordained, established, and enacted, by Authority of this present Parliament, That the unlawful payment of <i>Annates</i>, or First-Fruits, and all manner Contributions for the same, for any Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, or for any Bulls hereafter to be obtained from the Court of Rome, to or for the aforesaid purpose and intent, shall from henceforth utterly cease, and no such hereafter to be payed for any Arch-Bishoprick or Bishoprick, within this Realm, other or otherwise than hereafter in this present Act be declared; And that no manner Person, nor Persons hereafter to be named, elected, presented, or postulated to any Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, within this Realm, shall pay the said <i>Annates</i>, or First-Fruits, for the said Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, nor any other manner of Sum or Sums of Mony, Penfions or <i>Annates</i> for the same, or for any other like exaction, or cause, upon pain to forfeit to our said Sovereign Lord the King his Heirs and Successors, all manner his Goods and Chattels for ever, and all the Temporal Lands and Possessions of this same Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, during the time that he or they which shall offend, contrary to this present Act, shall have, posses, or enjoy, the Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, wherefore he shall so offend contrary to the form aforesaid. And furthermore it is enacted, by Authority of this present Parliament, That any
if any Person hereafter named and presented to the Court of Rome by the King, or any of his Heirs or Successors, to be Bishop of any See or Diocese within this Realm hereafter, shall be letted, deferred, or delayed at the Court of Rome from any such Bishoprick, whereby he shall be fo represented, by means of restraint of Bulls Apostolick, and other things requisite to the same; or shall be denied, at the Court of Rome, upon convenient suit made, any manner Bulls requisite for any of the Causes aforesaid, any such Person or Persons so presented, may be, and shall be consecrated here in England by the Arch Bishop, in whose Province the said Bishoprick shall be, so always that the same Person shall be named and presented by the King for the time being to the same Arch-Bishoprick: And if any Persons being named and presented, as aforesaid, to any Arch-Bishoprick of this Realm, making convenient suit, as is aforesaid, shall happen to be letted, deferred, delayed, or otherwise disturbed from the same Arch-Bishoprick, for lack of Pall, Bulls, or other to him requisite, to be obtained in the Court of Rome in that behalf, that then every such Person named and presented to be Archbishop, may be, and shall be, consecrated and invested, after presentation made, as is aforesaid, by any other two Bishops within this Realm, whom the King's Highness, or any of his Heirs or Successors, Kings of England, for the time being, will assign and appoint for the same, according and in like manner as divers other Arch-Bishops and Bishops have been heretofore, in ancient time by sundry the King's most noble Progenitors, made, consecrated, and invested within this Realm: And that every Arch-Bishop and Bishop hereafter, being named and presented by the King's Highness, his Heirs or Successors, Kings of England, and being consecrated and invested, as is aforesaid, shall be invested accordingly, and shall be accepted, taken, reputed, used, and obeyed, as an Arch-Bishop or Bishop of the Dignity, See, or Place whereunto he so shall be named, presented, and consecrated requisite; and as other like Prelates of that Province, See, or Dioceses, have been used, accepted, taken, and obeyed, which have had, and obtained compleatly, their Bulls, and other things requisite in that behalf from the Court of Rome. And also shall fully and entirely have and enjoy all the Spiritualities and Temporalities of the said Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick, in as large, ample, and beneficial manner, as any of his or their Predecessors had, or enjoyed in the said Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick, satisfying and yielding unto the King our Sovereign Lord, and to his Heirs and Successors, Kings of England, all such Duties, Rights, and Interests, as before this time had been accustomed to be paid for any such Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick, according to the Ancient Laws and Customs of this Realm, and the King's Prerogative Royal. And to the intent our said Holy Father the Pope, and the Court of Rome, shall not think that the pains and labours taken, and hereafter to be taken, about the writing, sealing, obtaining, and other businesse sustained, and hereafter to be sustained, by the Officers of the said Court of Rome, for and about the Expedition of any Bulls hereafter to be obtained or had for any such Archbishoprick, or Bishoprick, shall be irremunerated, or shall not be sufficiently and condignly recompensed in that behalf. And for their more ready expedition to be had therein, it is therefore enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That every Spiritual Person of this Realm, hereafter
hereafter to be named, presented, or postulated, to any Arch-Bishoprick or Bishoprick of this Realm, shall and may lawfully pay for the writing and obtaining of his or their said Bulls, at the Court of Rome, and en-
taking the same with Lead to be had without payment of any Annates, or First Fruits, or other charge or exaction by him or them to be made, yielded, or paid for the same, five pounds Sterling for and after the rate of the clear and whole yearly value of every hundredth pounds Sterling, above all charges of any such Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, or other Mony, to the value of the said five pounds, for the clear yearly value of every hundredth pounds of every such Arch-Bishoprick, or Bishoprick, and not above, nor in any other wife, any thing in this pre-
fent Act before written notwithstanding. And for as much as the King's Highnefs, and this his High Court of Parliament, neither have, nor do intend to use in this, or any other like caufe, any manner of extremity or violence, before gentle courtefy or friendship, ways and means first approved and attempted, and without a very great urgent caufe and oc-
casion given to the contrary, but principally coveting to disburden this Realm of the said great exactions, and intolerable charges of Annates, and First-Fruits, have therefore thought convenient to commit the final order and determination of the Premiffes, in all things, unto the King's Highnefs. So that if it may seem to his high wisdom, and most prudent discretion, meet to move the Pope's Holinefs and the Court of Rome, amicably, charitably, and reasonably, to compound, other to extinct and make frustrate the payments of the said Annates, or First-Fruits; or else by some friendly, loving, and tolerable composition to moderate the fame in such wife as may be by this Realm easily born and sustained; That then those ways and compositions once taken, concluded, and agreed, between the Pope's Holinefs and the King's Highnefs, shall stand in strength, force, and effect of Law, inviolably to be observed. And it is also further ordained, and enacted by the Authority of this present Parliament, That the King's Highnefs at any time, or times, on this side the Feast of Easter, which shall be in the Year of our Lord God, a thousand five hundred and three and thirty, or at any time on this side the beginning of the next Parliament, by his Letters Patents under His Great Seal, to be made, and to be entred of Record in the Rolof his present Parliament, may and shall have full power and liberty to declare, by the said Letters Patents, whether that the Premiffes, or any part, claue, or matter thereof, shall be observed, obeyed, executed, and take place and effect, as an Act and Statute of this present Parliament, or not. So that if his Highnefs, by his said Letters Patents, before the expiration of the times above limited, thereby do declare his pleasure to be, That the Premiffes, or any part, claue, or matter thereof, shall not be put in execution, observed, continued, nor obeyed, in that case all the said Premiffes, or such part, claue, or matter, as the King's Highnefs so shall refuse, disaffirm, or not ratifie, shall stand and be from henceforth utterly void and of none effect. And in case that the King's Highnefs, before the expiration of the times afore-pre-
fixed, do declare by his said Letters Patents, his pleasure and determina-
tion to be, that the said Premiffes, or every Claue, sentence, and part thereof, that is to say, the whole, or such part thereof as the King's Highnefs so shall affirme, accept, and ratifie, shall in all points stand, remain,
remain, abide, and be put in due and effectual execution, according to
the purpose, tenour, effect, and true meaning of the same; and to
stand and be from henceforth for ever alter, as firm, fixed, and avail-
able in the Law, as the same had been fully and perfectly established,
enacted, and confirmed, to be in every part thereof, immediately,
wholly, and entirely executed, in like manner, form, and effect, as
other Acts and Laws; The which being fully and determinately made,
ordained, and enacted in this present Parliament: And if that upon
the aforesaid reasonable, amicable and charitable ways and means, by
the King’s Highness to be experimented, moved, or compounded, or
otherwise approved, it shall and may appear, or be seen unto his Grace,
that this Realm shall be continually burdened and charged with this,
and such other intolerable Exactions and Demands, as heretofore hath
been. And that thereupon, for continuance of the same, our said Holy
Father the Pope, or any of his Successors, or the Court of Rome, will,
or do, or cause to be done at any time hereafter, so as is above rehear-
sed, unjustly, uncharitably, and unreasonably vex, inquiet, moleft,
trouble, or grieve our said Sovereign Lord, his Heirs or Successors,
Kings of England, or any of his or their Spiritual or Lay-Subjects, or
this his Realm, by Excommunication, Excommencement, Interdiction;
or by any other Process, Cenfures, Compulfbries, Ways, or Means;
Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the King’s Highness,
his Heirs and Successors, Kings of England, and all his Spiritual and
Lay Subjects of the same, without any scruples of Conscience, shall
and may lawfully, to the honour of Almighty God, the encreafe and
continuance of vertue and good example within this Realm, the said
Cenfures, Excommunications, Interdictions, Compulfbries, or any of
them notwithstanding, minifter, or cause to be miniftered, throughout
this said Realm, and all other the Dominions or Territories belonging
or appertaining therunto; All and all manner Sacraments, Sacramen-
tals, Ceremonies, or other Divine Services of the Holy Church, or
any other thing or things necessary for the health of the Soul of Man-
kind, as they heretofore at any time or times have been virtuously ufed
or accustomed to do within the same; and that no manner such Cen-
fures, Excommunications, Interdictions, or any other Process or Com-
 pulfbries, shall by any of the Prelates, or other Spiritual Fathers of
this Region, nor by any of their Minifters or Substitutes, be at any
time or times hereafter published, executed, nor divulged, nor suffered
tobe published, executed, or divulged in any manner of ways. 
Cui
quidem Billa pradicta & ad plenum intellecta per dictum Dominum Regem
ex afferenda & Authoritate Parliamenti pradicti taliter et dictis Responsis.

Le Roy le veut.

Soit Baille aux Communes.

A eft Bille les Communes sont afferentes.

Memorand.
M. Emerand. quod nono die Julii, Anno Regni Regis Henrici vici- cetimo quinto, idem Dominus Rex per Literas suas Patentes magno sigillo suo signat. Actum predictum ratificavit & confirmavit, & actui illi asseritum suas regium dedit, prout per eadem Literas Patentes, cujus tenor equitatur in hae verba, magis apte confit.

Here follows the King's Ratification, in which the Act is again recited and ratified.

XLII. The King's last Letter to the Pope. A Duplicate

To the Pope's Holiness, 1532.

After most humble commendations, and most devout kissing of your blessed Feet, Albeit that we have hitherto differed to make answer to those Letters dated at Bova, the 7th day of October; which Letters of late were delivered unto us by Paul of Cassali: Yet when they appear to be written for this Cause, that we deeply considering the Contents of the same, should provide for the tranquillity of our own Conscience, and should purge such Scruples and Doubts conceived of our Cause of Matrimony; We could neither neglect those Letters sent for such a purpose, nor after that we had diligently examined and perpend the effects of the same, which we did very diligently, noting, conferring, and revolving every thing in them contained, with deep study of mind, pretermit not leave to answer unto them. For such that your Holiness feemeth to go about that thing chiefly, which is to vanquish those Doubts, and to take away inquietations which daily do prick our Conscience; inasmuch as it doth appear at the first sight to be done of Zeal, Love, and Piety, we therefore do thank you of your good will. Howbeit such it is not performed in Deed, that ye pretend, we have thought it expedient to require your Holiness to provide us other Remedies; wherefore forasmuch as your Holiness would vouchsafe to write unto us concerning this Matter, we heartily thank you, greatly lamenting also both the chance of your Holiness, and also ours, unto whom both-twain it hath chanced in so high a matter of so great moment to be frustrated and deceived; that is to say, That your Holiness not being instructed, nor having knowledge of the Matter, of your self, should be compelled to hang upon the Judgement of others, and so pur forth and make answers, gathered of other Men, being variable and repugnant among themselves. And that we being so long fick, and exag- tate with this same Sore, should so long time in vain look for Remedy; which when we have augmented our aegritude and diffrets, by delay and protracting of time, ye do so cruciate the Patient and Afflicted, as whofe feeth it should much avail to protract the Cause, and thorough vain hope of the end of our desire to lead us whither ye will. But to speak plainly to your Holiness; Forasmuch as we have suffered many Injuries, which with great difficulty we do sustaine and digest; albeit

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that among all things passed by your Holinels, some cannot be laid, alleged, nor objected against your Holinels, yet in many of them some default appeareth to be in you, which I would to God we could so diminish, as it might appear no default; but it cannot be hid, which is so manifest, and tho we could say nothing, the thing it felt spokeeth. But as to that that is affirmed in your Letters, both of God's Law, and Man's, otherwise than is necessary and truth, let that be ascribed to the remissity and ignorance of your Counsellors, and your Holinels to be without all default, save only for that ye do not admit more discreet and learned Men to be your Counsellors, and stop the mouths of them which liberally would speak the Truth. This truly is your default, and verily a great fault, worthy to be alienate and abhorred of Christ's Vicar, in that ye have dealt so variably, yea rather so inconstantly and deceitfully. Be ye not angry with my words, and let it be lawful for me to speak the Truth without displeasure; if your Holinels shall be disquieted with that we do rehearse, impure no default in us, but in your own Deeds; which Deeds have so molested and troubled us wrongfully, that we speak now unwillingly, and as enforced thereunto. Never was there any Prince so handled by a Pope, as your Holinels hath intreated us. First; When our Caufe was proposed to your Holinels, when it was explicated and declared afore the fame; when certain Doubts in it were resolved by your Counsellors, and all things disjuxtapos'd, it was required that answer might be made thereunto by the order of the Law. There was offered a Commiſſion, with a promiss aloſſ that the fame Commiſſion should not be revoked; and whatsoever Sentence should be given, should ftraight without delay be confirmed. The Judges were sent unto us, the Promiſſe was delivered to us, subscribed with your Holinels's hand; which avouched to confirm the Sentence, and not to revoke the Commiſſion, nor to grant any thing elfe that might lett the fame; and finally to bring us in a greater hope, a certain Commiſſion Decretal, defining the Caufe, was delivered to the Judges hands. If your Holinels did grant us all these things justly, ye did unjustly revoke them; and if by good and truth the fame was granted, they were not made frustrate nor annihilate without fraud; so as if there were no deceit nor fraud in the Revocation, then how wrongfully and subtilly have been done those things that have been done! Whether will your Holinels say, That ye might do those things that ye have done, or that ye might not do them? If ye will say that ye might do them, where then is the Faith which becometh a Friend, yea, and much more a Pope to have, those things not being performed, which lawfully were promised? And if ye will say that ye might not do them, have we not then very just caufe to mistrust those Medicines and Remedies with which in your Letters ye go about to heal our Conscience, especially in that we may perceive and fee those Remedies to be prepared for us, not to relieve the Sickness and Difeafe of our Mind, but for other means, pleasures, and worldly respects? And as it should seem profitable, that we should ever continue in hope or despair, so always the Remedy is attempted; for that we being always healing, and never healed, should be sick till. And this truly was the chief caufe why we did confult and take the advice of every Learned Man, being free, without all affectation, that the Truth (which now with our labour and study
study we seem partly to have attained) by their judgements more manifestly divulged, we might more at large perceive; whose judgements and opinions it is easy to see how much they differ from that, that those few Men of yours do shew unto you, and by those your letters is signified. Tho' few Men of yours do affirm the prohibition of our marriage to be inducted only by the law positive, as your holiness hath also written in your letters; but all others lay the prohibition to be inducted, both by the law of God and nature: Those Men of yours do suggest, that it may be dispensed for avoiding of flanders; the others utterly do contend, that by no means it is lawful to dispense with that, that God and nature hath forbidden. We do separate from our Caufe the authority of the see apostolick, which we do perceive to be destitute of that learning whereby it should be directed; and because your holiness doth ever profess your ignorance, and is wont to speak of other mens mouths, we do confir their sayings of those, with the sayings of them that be of the contrary opinion; for to confir the reasons it were too long. But now the Universities of Cambridge, Oxford, in our Realm; Paris, Orleans, Burges, Aosta, in France; and Bologna in Italy, by one consent; and also divers other of the most famous and learned men, being freed from all faction, and only moved in respect of verity, partly in Italy, and partly in France, do affirm the marriage of the brother with the brother's wife, to be contrary both to the law of God and nature; and also do pronounce that no dispensation can be lawful or available to any christian man in that behalf: But others think the contrary, by whose counsel your holiness hath done that, that hence ye have confir'd ye could not do, in promising to us as we have above rehearsed, and giving that commission to the cardinal Campegge to be shewed unto us; and after, if it so should seem profitable to burn it, as afterwards it was done indeed as we have perceived. Furthermore, those which so do moderate the power of your holiness, that they do affirn, that the same cannot take away the appellation which is used by man's law, and yet is available to divine matters everywhere without distinction. No princes heretofore have more highly esteemed, nor honoured the see apostolick than we have; whereof we be the more sorry to be provoked to this contention, which to our use and nature is most alienate and abhorred. Those things so cruel we write very heavly, and more glad would have been, to have been silent if we might, and would have left your authority untouched with a good will; and constrained to seek the verity, we fell against our will, into this contention; but the sincerity of the truth prohibited us to keep silence, and what should we do in so great and many perplexities? For truly if we should obey the letters of your holiness, in that they do a firm that we know to be otherwise, we should offend God and our conscience, and we should be a great flander to them that do the contrary, which is a great number, as we have before rehearsed: Also, if we should dissent from those things which your holiness doth pronounce, we would account it not lawful, if there were not a cause to defend the fact, as we now do, being compelled by necessity, lest we should seem to contemn the authority of the see apostolick. Therefore your holiness ought to take it in good part, tho' we do somewhat at large and more liberally speak in this cause, which
which doth so oppresses us, specially forasmuch as we pretend none atrocity, nor use no rhetoric in the exaggerating and increasing the indignity of the Matter; but if I speak of any thing that toucheth the quick, it proceedeth of the mean verity, which we cannot nor ought not to hide in this Cause, for it toucheth not Worldly Things but Divine, not frail but eternal; in which things no feigned, false, nor painted Reasons, but only the Truth, shall obtain and take place: and God is the Truth to whom we are bound to obey rather than to Men; and nevertheless we cannot but obey unto men also, as we were wont to do, unless there be an express causel why we should not; which by those our Letters we now do to your Holines: and we do it with charity, not intending to spread it abroad, nor yet further to impugn your Authority, unless you do compel us; albeit also, that that we do, doth not impugn your Authority, but confirmeth the same, which we revocate to its first foundations; and better it is in the middle way to return, than always to run forth head-long and do ill. Wherefore if your Holines do regard or esteem the tranquillity of our Mind, let the same be established with verity, which hath been brought to light by the consent of so many Learned Men; so shall your Holines reduce and bring us to a certainty and quietness, and shall deliver us from all anxiety, and shall provide both for us and our Realm, and finally shall do your Office and Duty. The residue of our Affairs we have committed to our Ambassadors to be propounded unto you, to whom we beseech your Holines to give credence, &c.

XLIII. A Promise made for engaging the Cardinal of Ravenna. An Original.

Rome, Februar. 7. 1532.

Go Willielmus Benet Serenissimi Domini mei D. Henrici Octavi Anglia, &c. Regis, in Romana Curia Orator, habens ad inscriptam ab ipso Rege potestatem & facultatem, prout conflat per ipsius Majestatis Literas Patentes datas in Regia tua, Greenewici die petulime Decemb. M. D. XXXI. manu sua propria suprascriptas, & secreto sigillo suau sigillatus; Quoniam in ipsius Regis arduis negotiis expertus sum singularem & praetam operam Reverendissimi in Christo Patris & Domini D. Henrici Sancti Eufebii S. R. E. Presbyteri Cardinalis Ravennae, quibus & deinceps uti cupio, ut eandem temper voluntatem & operam tua Dominatio Reverendissima erga ipsum regem praestet, libere promitto eidem Cardinali nomine dici mei Regis, quod sua Majestas provideri faciet eidem Cardinali, de aliquo Monaftério seu Monafteriis aut alius beneficiis Ecclesiasficas in Regno Galliarum primo vacaturis, usfj ad valorem annum sex millium ducatorum: Et inuper promitto quod Rex Angliae praedictus praefenabat,俊 nominatib et eundem Cardinalem ad Ecclesiam Cathedralem primo quovis modo vacaturam, seu & ad praefens vacanter, in Regno Angliae, & de illa ei provideri faciet; & causu quo Ecclesia prima vacatura hujusmodi, ceu ad praefens vacans, non sit Ecclesia Elenis
XLIV. Bonner's Letter about the proceedings at Rome. An Original.

Rome, April 29, 1532.

Pleaze it your Highness; this is to advertise the same, That fitten we William Bonnet, Edward Karne, and Edmund Bonner, sent over Letters of the 7th of this present to your Highness; There hath been two Disputations publick, the one the 13th of this, the other the 20th day of the same, according to the order given and assign'd, which was three Conclusions to be disputed every Confoitory: and what was spoken, as well by your Highness's Counsel, for the justification of the Con- clusion purpofed the faid 13th, as also for the impugnation thereof by the party adverse, with Answers made thereunto by your Highness's faid Counfel as fully as were any wife deduced, your faid Highness shall perceive by the Books lent herewith containing the fame; and also the Justifications, Objections, and Answers, made in the 6th of this pre- fent, according as I Edward Karne in my faid Letters promis'd. The Copies of all the which Justifications, Objections, and Answers, after that they were fully noted and deduced in writing, and maturely con- fidered by your Highness's Learned Counfel, I Edward Karne did bring to the Pope's Holiness, and to the Cardinals, for their better information; and likewise did it of the fift, alwife afore the Confoitory, according to the order assign'd at the beginning; looking in likewife that the Queen's Counfel should do this fame, but as yet they have done nothing therein, tho' your Ambaffadors and I have called upon the Pope many times for the fame. And as concerning such things as were spoken and done for either part in the Disputation of the 20th day, it is not po- ssible for us, by reason of the shortness of time, to reduce all in good or- der, and to fend the fame to your Highness at this time; nevertheless with all speed it shall be made ready, and fend to your Highness by the next Courier. After the Disputation done, the faid 13th day of this prefent, the Advocate of the Party adverse did alledge, That we did fpeak this Disputation but only to defer the Procefs; protesting therefore, That the Queen's Counfel would dispute no more; and defiring therefore the Pope's Holiness, and the whole Confoitory, to make procefs in the prin- cipal Caufe. Whereunto I Edward Karne faid, That the Pope's Holiness, with the whole Senate, had granted the Disputations upon the Matters, and given an order that the Conclusions published should be disputed according to the fame. Whereupon I defired that forasmuch as there remained
remained sixteen Conclusions not disputed (which to propose and justly, with your Highness's Counsel, I would be ready at all times) that if the Party adverse knowing the Conclusions to be Canonical, would not confefs them, and thereby avoid Disputations, that then the said Party should dispute them, and upon the refusal of both the same, the Matters excusatory to be admitted by his Holiness, especially because the said Party adverse hath nothing material that could be perceived to lett the same. The Pope's Holiness answered, That he would deliberate upon the demand of both Parties. The 16th of this present, the Datary on the Pope's behalf sent unto me Edward Karne an Intimation for Disputation of the Confitory to be kept the 20. of this present, and that I should send the Conclusions not disputed, that they might be in the said Confitory disputed; adding withal, that the said Confitory should be, ultimus & peremptorius terminus quoad alias Disputaciones. Of the which Intimation your Highness shall receive a Copy herewith. Upon this, with the advice of your Ambassadors and Counsel here, I repaired unto the said Datary, and brought unto him three Conclusions to be disputed, with a Proteffation, De non recedendo ab ordine hactenus observato, according to the Proem of the said Conclusions, the Copy whereof your Highness shall receive herewith. Afterwards, with the fame Conclusions and Proteffation, I went to Cardinal de Monte, who faid, at the beginning, That all the Confitory crieth out upon the Disputations, and that we had been heard sufficiently, and that it was enough that we should have the fourth Disputation; adding withal, That it was a thing never seen before after such fort; and that it stood not with the honour of the See to have such Disputations in the Confitory, to the great difquieting of the Pope and the Cardinals, especially considering the manner that is used, and that all the Conclusions be touched which should content us. To this I answered, and defird his most Reverend Lordship to call to his remembrance, what he had promised to your Highness's Ambassadors and me, in the Castel-Angel upon Shrove-Sunday, the Pope being present, and allowing the fame, contented that all the Conclusions should be disputed singulariter; and that I should at my pleasure, from time to time, chufe the Conclusions to be disputed. And how also afterward, viz. 17. Febr. the Pope's Holiness, Cardinal Accona, and his Lordship, not going from that promise, gave direction for three Conclusions to be disputed every Confitory; the choice whereof to be at my liberty (according to the Copy of the said Order which I sent to your Highness with my Letters, of the date of the 22. of the last): And furthermore, that what time the order to dispute three conclusions in a Confitory was sent unto me, and I required to fend the conclusions first to be disputed according to the said order; I did, to avoid all manner of doubts, protest afore I would accept it, and in the deliverance of the said Conclusions, that I would not otherwise accept it, but that all the Conclusions, according to the order promis'd in Castel-Angel, should be disputed and examined singulariter, and that standing, and not otherwise, I delivered my said Conclusions according to the Order of the 17th of February; which Order the Pope's Holiness hitherto had approved and observed, and from that I neither could nor would go: And where he faid that we had been heard sufficiently; I faid, that Audience and Information
mation of less than the one half of a Matter could not be sufficient; and if they intended to see the truth of the whole, every point must be discussed. And as for the crying out of the Cardinals, I said, They had no cause so to do, for it was more for the honour of the See Apostolic, to see such a Cause as this, well and surely tried, so that the Truth may appear, and the Matters be well known, than to proceed precipitately, as they did at the beginning of this Matter, afore they well knew what the Matter was. And as touching the disquieting the Pope's Holiness, and the said Cardinals, I said, your Holiness for their pains was much beheld on them; nevertheless, I said, that they might on the other side ponder such pains as your Holiness hath taken for them, in part declared by me; which was much more than for them to sit in their Chairs two or three hours in a week, to hear the justice of your defence in this cause. And as touching the manner used in the said Disputation, I said, his Lordship knew well that it was by the Party adverse, which all manner of ways goeth about to fatigate and make weary the Consiictory of the Disputations, specially in chiding, scolding, and alluding Laws and Decisions that never were, nor spoken of by any Doctor, and mainly continuing the time, to the intent that the Pope's Holiness, and the Cardinals, dissolving the Consiictory, and not giving audience, the said party, without Law, Reason, or any good ground, might attain their desire, and keep under the Truth, that it should not appear; and if any thing was sharply spoken of our Party, I said it was done only for our defence, and to shew the errors and falsity of the Queens Advocates in their Allegations, wherein, I said, they should not be spared. And forasmuch as on the behalf of your Holiness there was nothing spoken but that which was grounded upon Law, and declared in what place, so that it cannot be denied; I desired his Lordship that he would continue his goodness in this Matter, as your Holiness's especial trust was he would do; and that we might always, as we were accustomed, have recourse unto the fame in all our Business for his good help and counsel. His Lordship not yet satisfied, said, That as concerning the Order, the Pope's Holiness might interpretate and declare what he meant by it; and as touching the Conclusions, they were superfluous, impertinent, and calumnious, only propounded to defer the Matter. I answered, and said, That to interpretate the said Order where it is clear out of doubt, the Pope's Holiness considering the promis made on Shrove Sunday, with my Protestation foresaid, and the execution of the said Order to that time, in divers Consistories observed, could not by right interpretate the said Order, admitting disputation upon all the Conclusions; and of this I said, That if such alterations were made, without any cause given of your Holiness's Party, there was little certainty to be reckoned upon amongst them. And as touching the superfluous and impertinency of the said Conclusions, I said, That that was the saying of the Party adverse, that did not understand the same Conclusions. And further, that such Conclusions as were clamorously, by the Advocates of the Party adverse, alleged to be superfluous, his Lordship in the Disputation and trial thereof in the Consiictory, did manifestly perceive that it was not so. And where it was alleged the said Conclusions to be calumnious, and laid in to defer the Process. I answered, That we might well allege again the
Counseil of the party adverse, the thing against us allledged, and say truly, that we were calumniously dealt withal, seeing the matters were so just and clear, and yet not admitted. Then his Lordship went further, and said, that Impedimentum allegatur et perpetuum, because your Highness, ex usu e politicis, could not come out your Realm, and quia dignitas est perpetua; and allo quod Causa requirit celeritatem. To this I said, that his Lordship mistook the Matter, for we said not in the matters that your Highness could not go out of your Realm to no place, but we said, that the fame could not go, ad loca tam remotas, as Rome is; so that it was not perpetuum impedimentum. And to the other I shewd him a Text, and the common opinion of Doctors in a Caufe of Matrimony, being inter Regem & Reginam, which took away the thing that he had laid. Then his Lordship said, That it was enough that the place were sure to the Procurator by the Chapter, Cum olime de tessibus, I said, That that Chapter did not prove that Allegation, and that they mistook the Text that so did understand it, for the Alternative that is in that Text is not referred ad locum tutum, but ad ordinem Citationis inchoante in personas principales, aut ejus procuratore; and so Petrus de Anchoro, understood that Text; and otherwise understanding the fame it should be against the Chapter, Ex parte de appellatione, and the common opinion there. Then he said that Areina faith, Quod sufficit quoniam locus sit tutus procuratori. I said, that under his favour, Areina faith the contrary, for he faith, Quod partibus debet locus tutus assignatur poterit, & si non poterit partibus, debet procuratoribus. Then his Lordship said to me, That I knew well he began to fet forward these Disputations, and that he would do the better he could for the furtherance thereof.

The 19th of this present I went with your Highness's Ambassadors to the Pope, and delivered his Holiness in writing those things that were done in the Disputation of the 17th of this: And then your Ambassadors were in hand with the Pope to alter the Intimation, and to put out the term peremptory, and other that were exclusory of further Disputations to be had upon the same Conclusions. The Pope's Holiness said, That Disputations was no act Judicial requiring to be in the Consiitory; and therefore he said, he would call certain Congregations of Cardinals, on Friday and Monday following, to hear the Disputations. Then I William Benet said, That that could not stand very well with the Decree of the Intimation, which was peremptory for any further Disputations after the 20th of this present; and therefore I spake that the same term peremptory might be put out of the Intimation, alluding withal, that upon the said Friday or Monday it was no time to hear the Disputation, being so high after; and that his Holiness hitherto hath observed the Consiitory for the Disputations, which Consiitory cannot be unto after Easter, if the manner of the Court be observed. Then the Pope said, he might call a Consiitory when he would, as he hath done in making of Cardinals, an Act much more solemn than a Disputation. To that I said, his Holiness might so do if he would; howbeit, it should be præter folitum morem: and therefore desired his Holines to consider therein the order before affigned, and that this term peremptory would not stand with the order. His Holiness then willed we should inform the Cardinals, Ancona, and de Monte, and so we did; Ancona shewed himself somewhat reasonable, and was contented the term peremptory should
should be put out. De Monte said that the Pope would promise to hear
the Conclusions disputed in Congregations, calling thereto certain Car-
dinals, so that the term peremptory should not be prejudicial. Then I
Edward Karne desired him, that if the said term should not be prejudi-
cial, that it might be stricken out, for I told him plainly that I would not
stand to words, the writing shewing the contrary; adding withal, that
I would not dispute in this term, tangam peremptoria, but would mani-
feally shew and protest, That I, with other your Highness's Counsel,
were ready to defend the Conclusions publisht, according to the order
given, and hitherto observed; alledging also, that the Conclusions be-
ing justified, the Matters ought to be admitted; and that if the Pope's
Holinels and the Cardinals would not give audience to me and your
Highness's said Counsel, for the manifest trial and shewing of the truth,
they should give us cause to complain upon them, and to cry out, ut
ad Sidera, your Highness's Ambassadors all affirming the same. Then
the said Cardinal de Monte said, that the Pope's Holinelis would provide
for the Disputations, notwithstanding the term peremptory assigned, and
said also, that in the Morning he would speak with the Pope, and give
your Ambassadors and me an answer.

In the morning, which was the 20th of this present, the said Cardi-
inal would, that nothing of the Decree of intimation should be mani-
ifested, because the other part had a Copy thereof, but would the Pope's
Holinels to give an order that the word peremptory should be only for
Disputations to be had in the Consistory, and not in Congregations, in
which Congregations, the Conclusions remaining might be disputed;
and tho they had drawn out this Order, yet because it was nothing plain,
neither certain to be conformable to the former Order, I would have
had the said Cardinal to speak to the said Datarie for to make it as afore;
and he was then contented, howbeit the Pope's Holinelis commanded all
the Cardinals to their places, so that I could not have the said Order,
and was driven thereby either to dispute and accept the term, tangam
peremptorium, or else to fly the Disputations, giving occasion to the adver-
sce Party to say, that I diffixed in the justnels of the Matters, and de-
ference of the Conclusions. Whereupon your Highness's Ambassadors
and we, with other your Learned Counsel, concluded, that I Edward
Karne should protest, De non consentiendo in termino, tangam peremp-
torio, and afterward to proceed to the proposing of the Conclusions, and
so I did by mouth according to the tenor of a Copy, which herewith-
at your Highness shall receive. When I had proceeded, and the Pope
had spoken this word Acceptatus, the Queen's Advocate began to
protest that they would dispute no more, and desired his Holinelis to
proceed in the principal Cause. Then I Edward Karne said, That the
Pope's Holinelis did well perceive, that the Conclusions were publisht
and proposed, not only for them to dispute, but also for all other,
come who would, for the information of his Holinelis, and the whole
Consistory. And therefore I said, that tho they would not dispute, yet
I was there, with other your Highncss's Learned Counsel, to propose
the Conclusions, according to the Order given, justifying them to be
Canonical, and ready to defend them against all those that would gain-
lay them; and thereupon desired the Pope's Holinelis, that tho the
Counsel of the Party Adverse would not dispute, yet I with your
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Highness's Learned Council might be heard again; against which my desire the Queen's Advocate made great exclamations, till at the last the Pope commanded him to silence, and willed us to go to the Conclusions, which we did.

And here now it is determined, That we shall have no more Disputations in the Consistory, but the rest of the Conclusions to be disputed in Congregations before the Pope, purposely made for the same; and what therein shall be determined or done, your Highness from time to time shall thereof by us be advertised, and of all other our doings in that behalf.

And as concerning the Letters which your Highness sent by Francis the Courier, of the last of February, as well to the Pope, as to me Edward Karne, for the admission of me and the Matter exculatory, we shall, according to your Highness's pleasure and order aforesaid, in the common Letter sent unto us by your said Highness, proceed and do therein as may be most beneficial and profitable for the same.

And thus most humbly we commend us to your Highness, beseeching Almighty God to preserve the same in felicity and health many years.

At Rome the 28th of March 1532.

Your Highness's most humble Subjects,

Servants, and Chaplains,

William Bennet,

Edward Karne,

Edmond Bonner.

XLV. Another Letter concerning the Process at Rome.

An Original.

Leafeth it your Highness, sithen our Letters of the 23 of March, here hath been great labour, and soliciting, to bring the Disputation publick out of the Consistory kept once in the week, into the Congregations, to be observed and kept before the Pope's Holiness and the Cardinals, in such place, and as oft as should please them; to the intent, as we perceived, that the said Disputation might be the sooner ended, and not take such effect as it was deviled for. And upon this great importune labour, I, Edward Karne, was monished oftentimes to send Conclusions to be propounded in the said Congregations, as well in Palm-Sunday-week, as in Easter-week, as appeareth by the Copies of the Intimations sent herewithal to your Highness: Upon which Intimations I delivered certain Conclusions, according to the order taken at the beginning, with a Protestation devised by your Grace's Council here, De non recedendo ab codem ordine, & de proponendo eisdem conclusiones in
in Consistory, juxta eundem ordinem & non alter. That notwithstanding
the Pope’s Holiness caused me to be monified again, cum Communione,
that if I would not come in, cum Advocatis, the third day of April,
procederet ad posterius, protestatione mea prævia non obstante. Whereupon,
with the advice of your said Learned Counsel, I conceived a Protesta-
tion, and the same delivered to the Pope’s Holiness the said third day in
the morning, protesting as it was therein contained, and causing it to be
registered by the Datary; of the which Protestation your Highness
shall also receive a Copy herewithal. This notwithstanding, the Pope’s
Holiness, the said third day in the afternoon made a Congregation,
where the said Protestation was examined; and after the Treaty had
upon the same, we were in conclusion remitted again to the Consistory,
there to be heard, as much as the Consistory intendeth to hear, upon the
Conclusions that are published; which was much more beneficial to us,
than to have had all proposed in Congregations to have been kept, as
is afores. And by this means the Matter was shifted off, and deferred
unto the 10th of this month; at which time the Pope’s Holiness kept
the Consistory. And one Mr. Providel, a singular good Clerk, which
came from Bonon for the furtherance of your Highness’s Cause, very
compendiously, and after good fashion and handling, to the great con-
tention, as appeared, of the Audience there, proposed three Conclu-
sions, of the which two concerned the habilitation of me Edward Karne, to
lay in the Matters Excusatory: And the third was, that the Cause ought
to be committed, extra curiam, ad locum tertium utrique partis: Of the
which Conclusions, and also his Sayings, the said 10th day, your High-
ness shall receive a Copy herewithal. And forasmuch as in the said
Consistory, neither the Imperials, neither yet the Queens Counsel did
appear; I, Edward Karne, with the advice of your Highness’s Counsel,
said to the Pope’s Holiness, after the Proposition made by Mr. Providel,
that his Holiness might perceive well, that if the Party adversus had any
good matter to allledge, against such things as were deduced for the ju-
ification of the Conclusions, and matter Excusatory, and did not dif-
fide of their part, they should not have abated themselves, or shrun-
ken from the Disputations, which they afore had accepted and taken;
wherefore I accused their continuance and absence, deferring that it might
be enacted; and thereupon departed from the Consistory, for that day
dissolved.

The 14th of this present, the Pope’s Holiness caused Intimation to be
made unto me, of the Consistory to be kept the 17th of the same;
willign me to be there, cum Advocatis, to dispute all the Conclusions not
proposed and disputed. Upon the which Intimation, I delivered to the
Datary three Conclusions, the 19, the 20, and the 21 in order, with a
Protestation devise by your Learned Counsel, sent herewithal to your
Highness: And in the said Consistory, Mr. Providel did also allledge for
the justification of the Matters and Conclusions; and over that an-
swered to such Objections as he thought the Party adversus to make
foundation upon, and that very compendiously, being forry that the
Imperials, and Queen’s Counsel, did not come in to dispute the said
Conclusions; and the sayings of the said Mr. Providel in the said Consi-
story, with my Protestation also, in not agreeing to the term, as peremptory,
your Highness shall perceive in writing sent herewithal.
As concerning the seven Conclusions yet remaining undisputed, we think the Pope's Holiness will hear us no further in the Consistory; saying, that the Part adverse will not abide the Disputations, nor come in to the same: Nevertheless to take otherwife out of the Consistory, with the Cardinals Information, his Holiness is well contented.

And verily, Sir, to study, labour, set forward, and call upon such things as may confer to the advancement of the Matter, and your Highness's Purpose, there shall not want, neither good will, neither diligence to the uttermost, that we can excogitate or desire, as hitherto neither Party hath failed; trusting in God that thereby if Justice be not oppressed, some good effect shall follow, to the good contentation of your Highness. With these Prefents, your Highness shall also receive a Copy of all things that were spoken, as well for your Highness's behalf, as by the Party adverse, in the Consistory, the 20th day of March.

And thus most humbly we commend us to your Highness, beseching Almighty God long to continue the same in his most Royal Estate. At Rome, the 29th of April.

Your Highness's most humble Subjects,

and poor Servants,

Edward Karne.

Edmond Bonner.

bendaseffe, quibus veftram Majeflatem adhor tarentur, ut velit hic ad Causam Procuratordem constitutur, idq; per tum Octobrem proximum facere. Pontifer pratera faudebat ut ad idem nos Majeflatem veftram colortarentur, idemq; lecuerunt Cardinales, volentes omnes ambiguitates & dubitationes colere. Respondimus, vele quod nobis injungebatur Majeflari veftre iterbere; verum illud non poiffe reticere quod erga Majeflatem veftram inique adsum videbatur; quum neq; Excufator admissus, neq; ipfius allegationes forent probate ac recepfe, idq; quod tam fape infiantiffime petitum fuerat. Praterea non poiffe nos non valde mirari, ac etiam fumiporeque conqueri, quod quum pro comperto haberemus juris eftl fieri, effet nihilominus denegatum; quum praefertim petendo Mandatum procuratorum, tacite viderentur rejicere Excufato rerum, & per ipfum allegata. Sic autem illi nobis Responderunt, neque Excufatorum uifile retctum, neque per ipfum allegata, fed in codem, quo prius, statu permanere; hoc autem excufatorium negotium minime, ut nobis judicibus clarum, sed dubium videri. Ibiq; Anconitanus quodam nothris contraria adduxit, quod D. Karne uius litteris recerfit. Dicebant quoq; in haec re favorabilius nos, quam adverfarios sua & atatos; hoc autem excufatorio negotium minime, ut nobis illis librbis reliquirerent, ex cke & Pontifer & Cardinales ambo confianter aflevarabant. Quum vero nos fepeus diceremus, excufatorem admitti debuifle; dixerunt, fe refte considerare velimus, nos idem ipfum re habuifle; fe enim (aie bant), Procurator hic constitutur, Itera Remifloria & Compulforia decernentur, ad refles in partibus examinandos. Itemq; vir aliquis probus ad id delegabitur ad utramque partem, refteque fecl. examinandos, ita ut processus in partibus fiat; Atque hoc pafto nos id confique quod desideramus, quoniam quod ad torius caufe decisionem pertinet, ex eo quod de Pontificis poteflata cognofcendum, & de jure Divino receptandum fit, ac alius etiam de caufis, ipfam Decisionem Pontifici integram fepmer refervari nihilominus oporteret, quamvis caufam alibi quam Rome cognofci permifsim fuiufter. Nobis certe vifum eft, haud parum effe quod obtinuimus, longe enim penis timebamus, quum ne mo in urbe effet, quin non crederet Excufatorem una cum eius allegationibus retctum irrit. Hunc quidem eventum rei Cefariani legemline tule runt. Optime valuit Majeflatus veftra. Romae die 13, Julii 1532.

Vezlre Regia Majeflatis

Hier. Epifcopus Wigornien.

W. Bener.

Gregorio Cassali.

XLVII. The
XLVII. The Sentence of Divorce.

dicta causa respectively habit, gesta, facta, exhibit, & producta; Nec
non: ex eidem, & diversis aliis ex causis & considerationibus, argumen-
tiq; & probationum generibus variis, & multiplicibus, valid is quidem
& efficacius; quibus animum nostrum hac in parte ad plenum informa-
tvnum, plene & evidenter invenimus & comperimus dictum Matrimonium
inter prateros Illustriissimum & Potentissimum Principem & Dominum
nostrum Henricum Octavum, ac Serenissimum Dominam Catharinam,
ut premittitur, contra tum & confummatum, nullum & omnino invalidum
fuilae & esse, & Divino Jure prohibente contractum & confummatum
exitisse: Idcirco nos Thomas Archiepiscopus Primas & Legatus ante-
dictus, Christi nomine primitus invocato, ac solum Deum praes oculis
nostras habentes, pro nullitate & invaliditate dicti Matrimonii pronun-
ciamus, declaramus & declaramus, ipsumq; pratenfium Matrimonium
fuilae & esse nullum & invalidum, ac Divino Jure prohibente contractum
& confummatum, nulliusq; valoris aut momenti esse, fed viribus & fir-
mitate juris caruius & catere, praefatoque Illustriissimo & Potentifsim
Principi Henrico Octavo & Serenissima Domina Catharine non licere
in eodem pratenfo Matrimonio remanere, & pronunciamus, decernimus &
declaramus; ipfoq; Illustriissimum & Potentissimum Principem Henrici
Octavum ac Serenissimum Dominam Catharinam, quatenus de facto &
non de jure dieatum pratenfum Matrimonium ad invicem contraxerunt
& confummarunt, ab invicem separamus & divorciamus, atq; sic sepa-
ratos & divorcios, necnon ob omni vinculo Matrimoniali respctu dicti
pratenfi Matrimonii liberos & immunes fuilae & esse, pronunciamus, de-
cernimus & declaramus, per fame nostram sententiam definitivam, five
hoc nostrum finale Decretum, quam five quod ferimus & promulga-
mus in his scriptis. In quorum præmiiflorum fidem & testi­monium, has
literas nostras testimoniales, five præfens publicum sententia; vel Decreti
instrumentum, exinde fieri ac per Notarios Publicos subscripsos, scribas
& auxiliarior nostris in ea parte specialiter assumptos, subscribi & signari,
nostriq; sigilli appensione jubimus & fecimus communiri.

He likewise passed Judgement (confirming the King's Marriage with Queen
Ann) at Lambeth, May 28. 1533. which is in the same Inpeximus.

Act 5. Anno Regni 25.

XLVIII. An Act concerning the Deprivations of the Bishops of
Salisbury and Worcester.

WHere before this time the Church of England, by the King’s most
noble Progenitors, and the Nobles of the same, have been
founded, ordained, and established, in the Estate and degree of Prela-
tic Dignities, and other Promotions Spiritual, to the intent and pur-
pose that the said Prelates, and other Persons, having the said Dignities
and Promotions Spiritual, continually should be abiding, and Reliants
upon their said Promotions within this Realm; and also keep, use, and
exercise Hospitality, Divine Services, teaching and preaching of the
Qq
Laws of Almighty God, to such Persons as were and have been within the present of their Promotions or Dignities, for the Wealth of the Souls of their Givers and Founders, greatly to the honour of Almighty God. Of the which said Spiritual Persons, the King's Highness, and his most noble Progenitors, have had right honourable, and well-learned Persons, apt, meet, and convenient, for to guide and instruct his Highness, and his most noble Progenitors, in their Counsels, concerning as well their Outward as Inward Affairs, to be devised and practised for the utility and preservation of this Realm; by reason whereof the Titles, Revenues, Profits, and Treasure, rising and coming of the said Spiritual Promotions and Dignities, were and should be spent, employed, and converted within this Realm, to the great profit and commodity of the King's Subjects of the same. And where also by the laudable Laws and Provisions of this Realm, before this time made, it hath been ordained, used, and established, that no Person nor Persons, of whatsoever Estate, Degree, or Quality he or they were, should take or receive within this Realm of England, to Farm, by any Procuracy, Writ, Letter of Attorney, Administrations, by Indenture, or by any other Mean, any Benefice, or other Promotion within this Realm, of any Person or Persons, but only of the King's true and lawful Subjects, being born under the King's Dominions. And also that no Person or Persons, of what estate and degree soever he or they were, by reason of any such Farm, Procuracie, Letter of Attorney, Administration, Indenture, or by any other mean, as is aforesaid, should carry, convey, or cause to be carried and conveyed out of this Realm, any Gold, Silver, Treasure, or other Commodity, by Letter of Exchange, or by way of Merchandise, or otherwife, for any of the Caufes aforesaid, to the profit or commodity of any Alien, or other Stranger, being born out of this Realm, having any such Promotion Spiritual within the same, without licence of the King's Highness, by the advice of his Council, as by the same Laws, Statutes, and Provisions, more plainly at large it may appear; which said laudable Laws, Statutes, and Provisions, were made, devised, and ordained, by great policy and foresight of the King's most noble Progenitors, the Nobles and Comons of this Realm, for the great profit, utility, and benefit of the same, to the intent that the Gold, Silver, Treasure, Riches, and other Commodity of the same, by the occasion aforesaid, should not be exhausted, employed, converted, and otherwise transported out of this Realm and Dominions of the same, to the use, profit, and commodity of any Stranger being born out of this Realm, or the Dominions of the same; but only to be spent, and used, and bestowed within the same, to the great comfort and consolation of the Subjects of this Realm. Norwithstanding which said wholesome Laws, Statutes, and Provisions, the King's Highness being a Prince of great benignity and liberality, having no knowledge, nor other due information, or instruction of the same Laws, Statutes, and Provisions, heretofore hath nominated, and preferred, and promoted, Laurence Campegio Bishop of Sarum, with all the Spiritual and Temporal Poffeffions, Promotions, and other Emoluments and Commodities in any wife belonging or appertaining to the same: And also hath nominated, preferred, and promoted Hierome, being another Stranger, born out of the King's said Realm and Dominions, to the
the See and Bishopric of Worcester, with all the Spiritual and Temporal Promotions, and other Emoluments and Commodities, in any wife belonging or appertaining to the same: Which said two Bishops, and namely the Bishop of Sarum, nothing regarding their Duties to Almighty God, nor their Cures of the said Bishoprics, everish or for the more part of the time of their said Promotions or Protections into the same, have been, and yet be resident, dwelling and abiding at the Sea of Rome, or elsewhere, in other parts beyond the Sea, far out and from any of the King's said Dominions; but reason whereof, the great Hospitality, Divine Service, teaching and Preaching the Laws, and Examples of good living, and the other good and necessary effects before reheard, have been many years by-past, and yet continually be, not only withdrawn, decayed, hindered, and diminished, but also great quantity of Gold, Silver, and Treasure, to the yearly sum and value of 3000 l. at the least, have been yearly taken and conveyed out of this Realm, to the singular profit, and great enriching of the said Bishops, and daily is like to be conveyed, transported, and sent, contrary to the purpose and effect of the said former wholesome Laws and Statutes, to the great impoverishing of this Realm, as well presently as for to come, if needily remedy be not had, therefore in brief time provided. In consideration whereof, be it enacted by the Authority of this present Parliament, that the said two severall Sees and Bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester, and either of them from henceforth, shall be taken, reputed, and accounted in the Law to be utterly void, vacant, and utterly defunct of any Incumbent, or Prelate, &c.

XLVIII. A Letter from Cromwel to Ether, about the Maid of Kent, Anno 34, or end of 35.

My Lord, in my right hearty wife I commend me to your Lordship, doing you to understand, that I have received your Letters dated at Rochester, the 18th day of this Month; in which ye declare what craft and cunning ye have to perswade, and to fet a good Countenance upon an ill Matter, drawing some Scriptures to your purpose; which well weighed, according to the places whereout they be taken, make not so much for your purpose as ye alledge them for; and where in the first Leaf of your Letters ye write, that ye doubt nothing, neither before God nor before the World, if need shall that require; to declare your self, whatsoever hath been said of you, that ye have not deserved such heavy words, or terrible threats, as hath been sent from me unto you by your Brother.

How ye can declare your self afore God and the World, when need shall require, I cannot tell; but I think verily that your Declaration made by these Letters, is far insufficient to prove that ye have deserved no heavy words in this behalf. And to say plainly, I fentre you no heavy words, but words of great comfort, willing your Brother to shew you how

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how benign and merciful the Prince was: And that I thought it expedient for you to write unto his Highness, and to recognize your Offences, and desire his pardon, which his Grace would not deny you now in your age and sickness; which my counsell I would you had followed, rather than to have written these Letters to me, excusing your self altho' there were no manner of default in you. But, my Lord, if it were in an other manner of cafe than your own, and out of the Matter which ye favour, I doubt not but that ye would think him that should have done as ye have done, not only worthy heavy Words, but also heavy Deeds; for where ye labour to excuse your self of your Hearing, Bribing, and concealing of the Maiden's falle and feigned Revelations, and of your manifold lending of your Chaplains unto her, by a certain intent which ye pretend your self to have had, to know by communing with her, or by lending your Chaplains unto her, whether her Revelations were of God, or no, alleging divers Scriptures that ye were bound to prove them, and to receive them after they were proved. My Lord, whether you have used a due means to try her and her Revelations, or no. it appeareth by the procels of your own Letters. For where you write that ye had conceived a great opinion of the holiness of this Woman, for many considerations rehearsed in your Letters, comprised in six Articles; whereof the first is grounded upon the bruit and fame of her; the second, upon her entering into Religion after her trances and disfiguration; the third, upon rehearsal that her Ghostly Father being Learned and Religious, should testify that she was a Woman of great holiness; the fourth, upon the report that divers other vertuous Priests, Men of good Learning and Reputation, should so testify of her, with which Ghostly Father, and Priests, ye never spake, as ye confes in your Letters; the fifth, upon the praisfs of my late Lord of Canterbury, which shewed you, as ye write, that she had many great Visions; the sixth, upon the sayings of the Prophet Amos, Non faciet Dominus Deum Verbum, nisi revelaverit secretum suum ad servos suos Prophetas. By which Considerations ye were induced to the desire to know the very certainty of this Matter, whether these Revelations which were pretended to be shewed to her from God, were true Revelations or not. Your Lordship in all the sequel of your Letters, shew not that ye made any further trial upon the truth of her and her Revelations, but only in communing with her, and lending your Chaplains to her with idle Questions, as of the Mary Magdalens, by which your communication and lending, ye tried out nothing of her falfhood, neither (as it is credibly supposed) intended to do as ye might have done, in any wife more easily than with communing with her, or lending to her; for little credence was to be given to her, affirming her own feigned Revelations to be from God; for if credence should be given to every such lewd Person as would affirm himself to have Revelations from God, what reader way were there to subvert all Common-Weals and good orders in the World?

Verily, my Lord, if ye had intended to trace out the truth of her, and of her Revelations, ye would have taken an other way with you; first, you would not have been converted with the vain Voices of the People, making bruits of her Trances and Disfiguration, but like a wife, discreet, and circumspecft Prelate, ye should have examined (as other
other since) such fad and credible Persons as were present at her Trans-
ces and Diffigurings, not one or two, but a good number, by whose
testimony ye should have proved, whether the Bruits of her Transces and
Diffigurings were true or not. And likewise ye should have tried
by what craft and perfwafion fhe was made a Religious Woman; and if
ye had been fo defrous, as ye pretended, to enquire out the truth or
fallhood of this Woman, and of her Revelations; it is to be fuppo{ed
ye would have spoken with her good, religious, and well-learned
Ghoftly Father e're this time, and alfo with the vertuous and well-
learned Priests, (as they were efteeemed) of whose reports ye would have
been informed by them which heard them spea{; or ye would alfo have
been minded to fee the Book of her Revelations, which was offered you,
of which ye might have had more trial of her and her Revelations, than
of a hundred communications with her, or of as many fendings of your
Chaplains unto her. As for the late Lord of Canterbury's faying unto
you, That fhe had many great Vifions, it ought to move you never
da{ to give credence unto her or her Revelations; for the faid Lord
knew no more certainty of her, or of her Revelations, than he did by
her own report. And as touching the faying of Amos the Prophet, I
think verily the fame moved you but a little to hearken unto her; for fe-
ience the Confirmation and the end of the Old Testament, and fiken
the Passion of Chrift, God hath done many great and notable things in
the World, whereas he fhoued nothing to his Prophets that hath come
to the knowledge of Men. My Lord, all these things moved you not
to give credence unto her, but only the very matter whereupon fhe
made her false Prophecies; to which matter ye were fo affeced, as ye
be noted to be in all matters which ye enter once into, that nothing
could come amifs that made for that purpofe. And here I appeal
your Confcience, and infantly desire you to anfwer, Whether if fhe
had fhoued you as many Revelations for the confirmation of the King's
Graces Marriage, which he now enjoyeth, as fhe did to the contrary,
ye would have given as much credence to her as the fame done, and would
have let the trial of her and her Revelations, to overpa{ those many
years, where ye dwelt not from her but twenty miles in the fame Shire
where her Trances, and Diffigurings, and Prophecies in her Trances
were furmifed, and reported. And if per{a{ ye will fay (as is not
unlike but ye will fay, minded as ye were wont to be) that the matter
be not like, for the Law of God, in your opinion, ftrandeth with the
one and not with the other: Surely, my Lord, I fuppo{e there had
been no great caufe to truft the one more than the other; for ye
know by Scriptures of the Bible, that God may by his Revelation dif-
pence with his own Law, as with the Israélites spoiling the Egyptians,
and with Jacob to have four Wives, and fuch other. Think you, my
Lord, that any indifferent Man, considering the quality of the Matter,
and your Affections, and alfo the negligent paling over of fuch lawful
Trials as ye might have had of the faid Maiden, and her Revelations, is
fo dull, that cannot perceive and difcern that your communing, and often
fending to the faid Maid, was rather to hear and bru{ many of her Re-
velations, than to try out the truth and fallhood of the fame? And in this
Buitinefs, I fuppo{e, it will be hard for you to purge your self before
God, or the World, but that ye have been in great default in hearing,
believing, and concealing such things as tended to the destruction of the
Prince; and that her Revelations were bent and purposed to that end,
it hath been duly proved afore as great Assembly and Council of the
Lords of this Realm, as hath been seen many years meet out of a Parlia-
ment. And what the said Lords deemed them worthy to suffer, which
said, heard, believed, and concealed those false Revelations, be more ter-
rible than any threats spoken by me to your Brother.

And where ye go about to defend, that ye be not to be blamed for
concealing the Revelations concerning the King's Grace, because ye
thought it not necessary to rehearse them to his Highness, for six Caufes
following in your Letters; afore I shew you my mind concerning thefe.
Caufes, I suppose that albeit you perceafe thought it not necessary to be
shewed to the Prince by you, yet that your thinking shall not be your
Trial, but the Law must define whether ye oughted to utter it or not.

And as to the first of the said seven Caufes; Albeit she told you that
she had shewed her Revelations concerning the King's Grace to the King
herself; yet her saying, or others, discharged not you, but that ye
were bound, by your fidelity, to shew to the King's Grace that thing
which seemed to concern his Grace and his Reign to nightly: for how
knew you that she shewed thefe Revelations to the King's Grace, but by
her own saying, to which ye should have given no such credence, as to
forbear the utterance of so great Matters concerning a King's Well? And
why should you so finitely judge the Prince, that if ye had shewed
the same unto him, he would have thought that ye had brought that tale
unto him, more for the strengthening and confirmation of your Opin-
ion, than for any other thing else. Verily, my Lord, whatsoever
your Judgement be, I see daily such benignity and excellent humanity
in his Grace, that I doubt not but his Highness would have accepted it
in good part, if ye had shewed the same Revelations unto him, as ye
were bounden by your fidelity.

To the second Caufe; Albeit she shewed you not that any Prince, or
other Temporal Lord, should put the King's Grace in danger of his
Crown; yet there were ways enough by which her said Revelations
might have put the King's Grace in danger, as the foresaid Council of
Lords have substantially and duly considered: And therefore albeit she
shewed you not the means whereby the danger should ensue to the
King; yet ye were nevertheless bounden to shew him of the dan-
ger.

To the third; Think you, my Lord, that if any Perfon would come
unto you, and shew you, that the King's destruction were confpired
against a certain time, and would fully shew you that he were sent
from his Master to shew the same to the King, and will say further un-
to that, he would go freight to the King; were it not yet your duty
to certify the King's Grace of this Revelation, and also to enquire wheth-
er the said Perfon had done his foresaid Message or no? Yes verily,
and so were ye bound, tho the Maiden shewed you it was her Message
from God to be declared by her to the King's Grace.

To the fourth; Here ye translate the temporal Duty that ye owe to
your Prince, to the spiritual Duty of such as be bound to declare the
Word of God to the People, and to shew unto them the ill and punish-
ment
ment of it in another World; the concealment whereof pertaineth to
the Judgement of God, but the concealment of this Matter pertaineth
to other judges of this Realm.

To the fifth; There could no blame be imputed to you, if ye had
shewed the Maidens Revelations to the King's Grace, albeit they were
afterward found false, for no Man ought to be blamed doing his Duty:
And if a Man would shew you secretly, that there were a great Mischief
intended against the Prince, were ye to be blamed if ye shewed him of
it; albeit it was a feigned talk, and the said mischief were never ima-
gined?

To the sixth; Concerning an Imagination of Mr. Pary, it was known
that he was beside himself, and therefore they were not blamed that
made no report thereof; but it was not like in this case, for ye took
nor this Maiden for a mad Woman, for if ye had, ye would not have
given unto her so great credence as ye did.

To the final, and seventh Cautē; Where ye lay unto the charge of
our Sovereign, that hath so unkindly entreated you with grievous
Words, and terrible Letters, for shewing his Grace truth in his great
Matter, whereby ye were discomfited to shew unto him the Maidens
Revelations: I believe that I know the King's Goodness, and natural
Gentleness so well, that his Grace would not so unkindly handled you,
as your unkindly writings him, unless ye gave him other Cautēs than be
expressed in your Letters. And whatsoever the King's Grace hath said
or written unto you heretofore, yet notwithstanding ye were neverthe-
less bounden to utter to him those pernicious Revelations.

Finally; Where ye desire, for the Passion of Chrift, that ye be no
more twirled in this Matter, for if ye be put to that trait, ye will
not lose your Soul, but ye will speak as your Conscience bindeth you,
with many more words of great courage. My Lord, if ye had taken
my counsel sent unto you by your Brother, and followed the same, sub-
mittting your self, by your Letters, at the King's Grace, for your offences
in this behalf, I would have trusted that ye should never be quykkrand
in this matter more. But now, where ye take upon you to defend the
whole Matter, as ye were in no default, I cannot so far promise you:
And surely, my Lord, if the Matter come to trial, your own confessi-
on this Letter, besides the Witeness which be against you, will be suffi-
cient to condemn you: Wherefore, my Lord, I will oft-foons advise
you, That laying apart all such excusēs as ye have alledged in your Let-
ters, which in my opinion be of small effect, as I have declared, ye be-
sche the King's Grace, by your Letters, to be your Gracious Lord, and
to remit unto you your negligence, over-fight, and offence, committed
against his Highness in this behalf; and I dare undertake that his High-
ness shall benignly accept you into his gracious favour, all matters of
displeasure past afore this time forgotten and forgiven. As touching the
speaking of your Conscience, It is thought that ye have written and have
spoken as much as ye can, and many things, as some right probably be-
lieves, against your own Conscience; and many report, that at the last
Convocation, ye spake many things which ye could not well defend;
and therefore it is not greatly feared what ye can say or write in that
Matter, howsoever ye be quykkrand and startled. And if ye had taken, etc.

L. A.
L. A Renunciation of the Pope's Supremacy signed by the
Heads of six Religious Houses.

Ollum ea fit non solum Christianae Religionis & pietatis ratio, sed
tum etiam obediencia regulae, ut Domino nostro Henrico ejus
nominis pro Domino Regio Octavo, cui uni & soli posset Christum Jezum
Salvatorum nostrum debentur omnia, non modo omnino in Christo,
& canore sinceram, perpetuam; animi devotionem, idem, observant-
iam, honorem, cultum, reverentiam praetemus, sed etiam de eadem
fide & observantia nostra rationem quotiescumque postulabitur reddamus,
& palam omnibus fi res poscet libentissime restetem: Nonint universali ad
quos prædens scriptum pervenit, quod nos Piores & Conventus fratrum,
viz. praedicatorum Langley Regis ordinis Sancti Dominici, Minorum de Ail-
bury Ordinis Sancti Francisci, praedicatorum Dunftopliae Ordinis ante-
dicti, Minorum de Bedford Ordinis Sancti Francisci, Fratrum Carmelita-
rum de Hechych Ordinis Beatae Maris, Minorum de Morea Ordinis
Sancti Francisci, uno ore & voce, arque unam omnium & singulorum
confinxi & affini, hoc scripto nostro sub figuris nostris communius,
& in domibus nostris capitularibus dato, pro nobis & successoribus nostris
omnibus & singulis, in perpetuum proferemur, testamur & fideliciter promit-
imus & ipdemos, nos dictos Piores & Conventus & Succesores nos-
istros, omnes & singulos, integram, inviolatam, sinceram per-
temperam; idem, observantiam & obedienciam semper praefituros erga Dominum
Regem nostrum Henricum Octavum, & erga Serenissimam Regiam
Annam Uxorem ejusdem, & erga caftum sanctum; Matrimonium nu-
per non solum inter eodem jufte & legitime contractum, ratum & con-
firmatum, sed etiam tam in duabus Convocationibus Cleri, quam in
Parliamento Dominorum Spiritualium & Temporalius atq; Communi-
um in eodem Parliamento congregatorum & praefentium determinatum,
& per Thomam Canturiæ. Episcopum folenniter confirmatum, & erga
quam cum: aliam ejusdem Henrici Regis nostrui Uxorem, pot mortem
predicte Anna nunc Uxoris fui legitime ducendam, & erga fobolem
dicti Domini Regis Henrici ex predicte Anna legitime tam proponit
quam proponendam, & erga fobolem dicti Domini Regis ex alia qua-
cum; legitima Uxore pot mortem ejusdem Anna legitime proponen-
dam, & quod eadem populio notificabimus, praedicabimus & iudicabimus,
ubique daritur locus & occasio. Item, quod confirmatum ratum; ha-
benus tempus; perpetuo habituris fumus, quod praebitus Rex nofier
Henricus eft Caput Ecclesiae Anglicanæ. Item, quod Episcopus Roma-
nus, qui in suis Bullis Papæ nomin repurpot & fumm Pontificis Prin-
cipatum fibi arrogat, nihil majoris neq; Autocratis aut jurifdictionis
habendus fit, quam extern quivis Episcopi in Anglia alibi in fua ejusq;
Dioecela. Item, quod foli dicto Domino Regi & Succelforibus fuis ad-
hacibus, atq; ejus & Proclamationes, infuper omnes Anglie leges at-
que etiam Statuta omnia, in Parliamento & per Parliamento decreta,
confirmata, fubtilia & ratificate, perpetuo mutuenebimus, Episcopi
Romani legibus, decretis & Canonibus, fi qui contra legem Divinam &
Sacram Scripturam efie venientur, in perpetuum renunciationes. Item,
quod nullus nostrum omnium in ulla vel privata vel publica concione
quicquam
quicquam ex Sacris Scripturis defumptum ad alium fenium detorquere praefumer, sed quicquis Christum ejus, vera praedicabile Catholice & Orthodosc. Item, quod uulquique in suis orationibus & commrecationibus de more faciendis, primum omnium Regem, tanquam Supremum Caput Ecclesiae Anglicanae, Deo & populi precibus commendabit; deinde Regiunm cum fua fobo, tum deumum Archepiscopum Cantuarien, cum eferis Cleri Ordinibus, prout videbitur. Item, quod omnes & singuli praedici Priorcs & conventus & Successores nostri, Conficient, & Jurisprundie Sacro firmiter obligamus, quod omnia & singula praedicta fideliter & in perpetuum obseruabimus. In cunea rei testimoniump Huic Instrumento, vel scripto nostro, communia figilla nostra appendimus, & nositra nomina propria quia manu subfcripimus, Sacris in Domino nostris Capitularibus, die quintu Mensis Maii, Anno Christi millefimo quingente quarto, Regni vero Regis nostri Henrici Octavi vicefimo sexto.

Ego Frater Richardus Ingerth
Prior Conventus, & Praedicator
Langley Regis, cum commenu omnium Fratrum Conventus praedicti, non coaet us fed fponte subfcribo.

Ego Frater Joannes Cotton,
Prior Conventus Praedicatorum
Dunfanbliae, cum adfenui omnium Fratrum Conventus praedicti, non coaet us sed fponte fubfcribo.

Ego Frater Joannes Sutler,
Prior Conventus Carmelitarum
Hicchiae, cum affenui omnium Fratrum Conventus praedicti, non coaet us sed fponte subfcribo.

Ego Frater Edwardus Tryley
Sacra Theologiae Bacalaureus, &
Conventus Alsberiae, cum affenui omnium Fratrum Conventus praedicti, non coaet us sed fponte fubfcribo.

Ego Frater Joannes Wyatt,
Sacra Theologiae Doctorum Conventus Bed, una cum affenui omnium Fratrum, fponte hoc fcribo & non coaet us.

Ego Frater Joannes Chapa-
nus, Sacra Theologiae Bacalaure-
us, Magifter immerito Conventus Mare, cum affenui omnium
Fratrum, mea fponte subfcribo.

Another Declaration to the fame purpofe, Mutatis mutandis, is made by the Priores of Bedford in Kent, of the Order of St. Dominick, May 4. 1534. Regn. vicefimo fe into. Rot. Claufa.
Ill. A Mandate for the Consecration of a Suffragan Bishop.

Rot. Pat. 2. par. 27 Regni.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri & perdidéo Consilio no- 

stro Thome Cantuariensi Episcopo salutem. Reverendus Pater 

dilectus Consiliarius noftri Richardus Norvicensis Episcopus nobis sig- 
nificavit, quod Diocefsis fua Episcope Suffragani folatio,qui fua follici- 

crudinis partem fufcinere coniugivit, deftituta eft & exifit; & ideo reve- 

rendos Patres Gregorium Abbatem Monafterii Beatæ Marie de Leytione, 

& Thome Manninge Priorem Monafterii Beatæ Marie de Butley, 

Norvicen. Dioce. Ordine Sacerdotali rite insignitos, & legitimo Matri- 

monio natos, & in atate legitima constitutos, virojo; in Spiritualibus 

& Temporalibus multum circumiqueos, quibus de Canoniciis nihil ob- 

viam inftitu, quo minus (ut afuerum) ad Epifcopalem Suffraganis. 

Dignitatem admirari pollut & debere, nobis per fias litteras tuo magno 

figillo munias praeventavit, humiliter & devore suppliantus, quatenus nos 

alterum ipforum fic praeventorum ad aliqam fedem Epifcope Suffraga- 

nei infra Provinciae Cantuarienfis exiftentem nomine, ipfique fic 

nominate styllum, Titulum & Dignitatem huymodi fedis donec dig- 
naremur: unde nos ex gratia noftra fpeciali & mero motu noftris, dí- 

ctum Reverendum Patrem Thomam Manninge Priorem Monafterii 

Beatæ Marie de Butley praefici, alterum ex difcis, praeventamus in 

Epifcopum Suffraganenum Sedis Gips vicī Norvicen. Diocefeantediæ, no-

minamis, cique Stilum, Titulum & Dignitatem ejufmodi Sedis Epifcope 

Suffraganei damus & conferimus. Atque hac vobis tenore praeventa- 

mus, fignificamus, requirentes vos, quatenus eundem Patrem fic per nos 

ominatam, in Epifcopum Suffraganenum ejufdem Sedis Gips vicis confe- 

cretis, cique Benedictionem ac omnibus Epifcopealia Infignia conforeri 

cateraq; omnia & fingula que veltro in hac parte incumbunt officio pa- 

florali, juxta modum & formam Statuti Parliamenti in vicefimo fexto 

Anno Regni noftri apud Weftmonafterium nuper editi perageris.

T. R. apud Weftm. 6. die Martii 27 Regn.
Ad Librum Tertium.

I. Instructions for the General Visitation of the Monasteries.

Articuli Regii Inquisitionis, in Monasticam vitam agentes, exponendi, & precipue in exemptos & jurisdictione Diocesana, jam tantum Regii Majestati & ejus jurisdictioni subditos & subjectos, ac hu- jus molyti sui Regii Statutis & legibus, nullis, aliis penitus, ob- noxiis & ascriptos.

1. In primis; Whether Divine Service be solemnly sung, said, ob- served, and kept in this Monastery, according to the Number and the Abilities thereof, by Night and by Day, in due time and hours? and how many be present commonly at Mattins, and other Service, and who be absent, and so accustomed to be, without cause or sick- nesses?

2. Item; How many Monks, Canons Regulars, or Nuns, be within this Monastery, and how many there ought to be, and whether the number be complete according to the Founder's Will, or the Statutes, Ordinances, and laudable custom of this House; and whether the number be augmented or diminished now of late?

3. Item; Who were the first Founders of this House?

4. Item; Whether this House hath had any increase of Lands given to it since the first Foundation thereof, by whom? by how many? and when?

5. Item; To what Sum of Money these Revenues and Rents of this House do extend and amount yearly?

6. Item; Whether this House was ever translated from one Habit and order to another? by whose Authority? and for what Cause?

7. Item; How the Lands and Possessions appertaining unto this Monastery, given by the first Founder, and all other Lands given since the first Foundation, were granted, given, and established, and so first brought to Morte main? whether by the only Authority of the Giver, or by the Authorization of the Prince for that time reigning, and by what tenour and form ye hold them?

8. Item; What evidence have you to shew for all and singular your Lands, Manors, Tenements, and other your Possessions Mortlitate, and given unto you, and this your Monastery?

9. Item;
9. Item; Wherefore, for what Causes and considerations ye were exempt from your Diocesan? and what was your Suggestion and Motive at the obtaining of your said Exemption?

Exemptionem exhibeant.

10. Item; Whether ye have any private, peculiar, or local Statutes, Confirmations, Ordinances, or Rules, made only for the behoof, good order, and singular weal of this House, besides the Rules of your Profession? and whether they were made either by your Founders before your Exemption, or by the good Fathers of this House, with the whole consent of the Brethren, being finneth your exemption: to what use they were made, and how ye observe them?

Statuta illa localia, &c. exhibeant, exhibeant.

11. Item; By what way and form the Master of this House was elected and chosen? And whether all the Brethren having, or ought to have, by the Law, Statutes, or lawful custom of this House, Voices in the Election, were present in the same Election, or lawfully called or cited to it?

12. Item; Whether any Persons Excommunicate, Suspended, or Interdicted, did give Voices in the same Election?

13. Item; Within what time after the Election was made and done, the Master of this House was confirmed? and by whom?

14. Item; Whether unto the Confirmation, all that had Interdict, or that would object against the same, were lawfully cited, monifhed, and called?

Exhibit Electionem Confirmationem & Titulum sua Incumbentiae.

15 Item; What Rule the Master of this House, and other the Brethren, do profess?

16. Item; How many be professed, and how many be Novices; and whether the Novices have like Habit, or use to wear an Habit distinct from the Habit of the Brethren Professed?

17. Item; Whether ye do use to profess your Novices in due time, and within what time and space after they have taken the Habit upon them?

18. Item; Whether the Brethren of this House do know the Rule that they have professed, and whether they keep their Profession according to that their Rule, and Custom of this House; and in especial, the three substantial and principal Vows, that is to say, Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience?

19. Item; Whether any of the Brethren use any propriety of Mony, or of Plate, in their Chambers: or of any other manner thing unwarre of the Master, and without his knowledge and licence, or by his sufferance and knowledge? and for what cause?

20. Item; Whether ye do keep Chastity, not using the company of any suspect Woman within this Monastery, or without? And whether the Master, or any Brother of this House be suspected upon Incontinency, or defamed for that he is much conversant with Women?

21. Item; Whether Women are so much and resorced much to this Monastery by back-ways, or otherwise? and whether they be accusto

22. Item; Whether the Master, or any Brother of this House, useth to have any boys or young men laying with him?

23. Item; Whether the Brethren of this House keep their Obedience, being ready at their Master's Commandment, in all things honest, lawful, and reasonable?

Segueuntur Regulae Ceremoniales.

24. Item; Whether ye do keep silence in the Church, Cloister, Frairie, and Dormitorie, at the hours and time specified in your Rule?

25. Item; Whether ye do keep Fasting and Abstinence, according to your Rules, Statutes, Ordinances, and laudable Customs of this House?

26. Item; Whether ye abstain from Flesh in time of Advent, and other times declared and specified by the Law, Rules, and laudable Customs of this House?

27. Item; Whether ye wear Shirts and Sheets of Woollen, or that ye have any Constitution, Ordinance, or Dispensation, granted or made to the contrary, by sufficient and lawful Authority?

Proficientes Regularis Benedicti quam arbitrime tenetur ad praelias Ceremonialias observandas.

28. Item; Whether ye do sleep altogether in the Dormitorie, under one Roof, or not?

29. Item; Whether ye have all separate Beds, or any one of you doth lay with another?

30. Item; Whether ye do keep the Frairy at Meals, so that two parts, or the least, the two part of the whole Covent be always there, unless the Master at every one time dispense with you to the contrary?

31. Item; Whether ye do wear your Religious habit continually, and never leave it off but when ye go to bed?

32. Item; Whether every Brethren of this House have lightly departed hence, and hath gone to any other House of like Order and Profession, without special Letters and Licence of their Master?

33. Item; Whether the Master and Brethren of this House have received and admitted any Brother of another House, without special Licence and Letters of his Master and Head?

34. Item; Whether any of you, sickness the time of your Profession, hath gone out of this House to his Friends, or otherwise?

35. Item; How oftentimes he did so, and how long at every time ye tarried forth?

36. Item; Whether ye had special licence of your Master so to go forth, or not?

37. Item; Whether at every time of your being forth, ye changed or left off your habit, or every part thereof?

38. Item; Whether ye, or any of you be, or hath been, in manifest Apostasy, that is to say, Fugitives or Vagabonds?

39. Item; For what cause or occasion ye have so gone forth and been in Apostasy? and whether the cause of your going forth was by reason of the great cruelty of your Master, or by his negligence, not calling you home to your Cloister?

40. Item;
40. Item: Whether ye be weekly shaven, and do not nourish or suffer your Hair to be long? and whether ye wear your Apparel according to the Rule, not too excessive, nor too exquisite; and in like wise the traps of your Horses, and other your bearing Beasts?

41. Item: Whether the Master and Head of this House do use his Brethren charitably, without partiality, malice, envy, grudge, or displeasure more showed to one than to another?

42. Item: Whether he do use his Disciplines, Corrections, and Punishments upon his Brethren, with mercy, pity, and charity, without cruelty, rigorously, and enormous hurt, no more favouring one than another?

43. Item: Whether any Brother, or Religious Person of this House, be incorrigible?

44. Item: Whether the Master of this House do use his Brethren charitably when they be sick and diseased? and whether in time of their sickness he do procure unto them Physicians, and all other necessaries?

45. Item: Whether he make his Accompts (as he ought to do) once every year before his Brethren, and chiefly the Seniors and Officers, to the intent they may be made privy to the state and condition of the House, and know perfectly the due administration thereof?

46. Item: Whether the Prior, Subprior, Sellerar, Kitchener, Turrent, Sacrilen, or any fuch-like Officer, having Administration of every manner Revenues of this House, do make his whole and true Accompt, according as he is bound to do, not applying any thing by him received to his own proper use or commodity?

47. Item: Whether any Religious Person of this House do bear, occupy, or exercise more Offices than one, for, and to his own singular commodity, advantage, or profit, by the partial dealing of the Master?

48. Item: Whether all and singular the Revenues and Profits of this House be converted and employed to the behave and use thereof, and of the Brethren, and according to the Founder's mind and Giver?

49. Item: Whether the Master do make sufficient reparations upon his Monastery, as the Church and all other housing thereto adjoynd, and also upon all other the Lands, Granges, Farms, and Tenements belonging to the same, and whether he suffer any dilapidation, decay, or ruine in any part of them?

50. Item: Whether there be any Inventory made of all and singular the Moveables, Goods, which from time to time have been, and yet be in this House, as of Jewels, Reliques, Ornaments, Vestsments, ready Money, Plate, Bedding, with other Utensils; also of Corn, Chattels and other Commodities, to the intent the state and condition of this House may be always known?

51. Item: That ye express truly and sincerely the whole state and condition of this House, as in Money, Plate, Cattell, Corn, and other Goods?

52. Item: Whether this Monastery be indebted? to whom? and for what cause?

53. Item: Whether any of the Lands be sold, or mortgaged? and for what Sums?

54. Item: Whether any be let to Farm by the Master of this House for term of years, and for how many years? and specially whether they be
be lettered for small Sums, or for less Sums than they were wont to be
lettered for, to the intent to have great sums of ready Mony before
hand?

55. Item; Whether he do enforce, compel, or contrain his Brethren,
or any of them, to confess to the sealing of any Leafles, Grants, Farm-Holds,
Annuities, Corrodys, or any other Alienations?

56. Item; Whether the Plate and Jewels, or any part or parcel thereof
or of any other moveable Goods of this Houfe be laid to pledge, fold, or alien-
ated for a time, or for ever? for what caufe, and to whom? or otherwise
imbezled, or confused?

57. Item; Whether the Master of this Houfe be wont to give under his
Seal of Office, or Covent-Seal; Farms, Corrodys, Annuities, or Oflices,
to his Kinsfolk, Alliances, Friends, or Acquaintance, for term of years, or
otherwise, to the hurt, hindrance, damage, and impoverishment of
this Houfe?

58. Item; Whether he be wont to grant any Patent, or Covent-Seal,
without the consent of his Brethren?

59. Item; Whether the Covent-Seal of this Houfe be safely and
safely kept under three Keys; that is to say, one remaining and being
in cuftody of the Master, and the other two in the cuftody of two Se-
niours?

60. Item; Whether the Muniments and Evidences of the Lands,
Rents, and Revenues of this Houfe, be safely kept from Vermine and
Moiftnes?

61. Item; Whether the Master do keep Hospitality according to the
ability of his Houfe, and in like manner as other Fathers hereof have
done heretofore?

62. Item; Whether the Master of this Houfe, in receiving any No-
vices, being of willing and forward mind to enter into Religion, hath
demanded or received, or consented to receive any Mony, Rewards,
or any other temporal Commodities of him fo entering, or willing to en-
ter, or of any other his Friends? and whether for not promising,
granting, or giving such Rewards or Gifts, any hath been repelled and not
received?

63. Item; Whether the Novices, and other received into Religion,
have a Preceptor and Master deputed unto them to teach them Grammar
and good Letters?

64. Item; Whether any Seniour of this Houfe be deputed to declare,
inform, and instruct them their Rules, and whereunto they shall be bound-
en to observe and keep, after their Profession?

65. Item; Whether any of you have taken upon him the Habit and
Profession of your Religion, chiefly for the intent, hope, or truelf to be
made Head and Master of this Houfe?

66. Item; Whether the Master of this Houfe, in giving any Advo-
cation, Nomination, Presentation, or Collation of any Parfonage, Vi-
carage, Chapel, or Benefice of the Patronage and Gift of this Houfe, do
take, or use to take any manner Pension, Portion, or other Commo-
dity or Gains; or else doth make any Convention or Compaction, whereby
any lucre may enue him in that behalf?

67. Item; Whether he do receive, or use to receive, the Fruits and
Revenues of every such Benefice vacant, or use to borrow any Mony of
of him to whom he intendeth to give such Benefice unto, expressly covenanting or intending, that he do obtaining the said Benefice, shall freely and clearly remit the said Mony so borrowed?

68. Item; What, and how many Benefices the Master of this House doth occupy and keep in his own hands?

69. Item; Whether the same Benefices be appropriate and united to this House by sufficient authority?

70. Item; Whether the Master of this House doth make distributions amongst the Parishioners of the Benefices appropriate, and doth keep and observe all and singular other Provisions and Ordinances specified and expressed in the Appropriations of the same Benefices?

    *Exhibitae omnès & singulares Appropriationes, una cum Ordinationibus & Dotationibus Vicariatu.*

71. Item; Whether he do promote unto such Benefices as be of his Gift, sufficient and able Persons in Learning, Manners, and Virtue?

72. Item; Whether any Brother of this House do serve any Parish- Church, being appropriate and united to the same, and how many Churches appropriate be served?

73. Item; Whether the Master of this House hath and possesseth any Benefice with Cure, or any other Dignity with his Abbey?

    *Si aliquod tale habet, Dispensationem exhibit.*

74. Item; Whether the Master of this House at any time since he was first made Abbot, or Master, did know or believe that he was Suspended, or Excommunicate, either by the Law, or by any Judge, and whether he knowing or supposing himself so to be, did sing Mass in the meantime, and before he was abfolved?

    *In Visitatione Monialium ad Premissam addantur hæc.*

75. Item; Whether this Monastery hath good and sufficient Enclosure, and whether the Doors and windows be diligently kept shut, so that no Man can have any entry into the same, or any part thereof, at inconvenient times?

    *Propter quod necessarium erit Visitori circunire Monasterium, aevidere & rimare dispositionem adscriptionem, & aut aliquis loca percipia per quæ secretæ intrari possit; & una secum habeat Abbatissum cum duabus aut tribus superioribus Monialibus, & quisum tum interroget, an sita Monasterii singulis quibusque noctibus sub claustros clausa teneantur, & que cæcum Monialium senio conferantur, vel sit Abbas ipsa clausum custodiam tempore nocturno habeat & teneat: nam non est tuta clauisma custodiam Junioribus committere.*

76. Item; Whether strangers, both Men and Women, useth commonly to have communication with the Sitters of this House, without licence of the Abbots or Priores, specially in secret places, and in the absence of their Sitters?

77. Item;
Book III. of Records.

77. Item; Whether any Sister of this House were professef for any manner of compullion of her Friends and Kinsfolks, or by the Abbefs or Priores?

78. Item; Whether any of the Sifters of this House ufeth to go forth any whither out of the Precinct thereof, without special Licence of their Abbefs or Priores?

79. Item; Whether any Sifter doth ufeth her Habit continually out of her Cell?

80. Item; Wherein every one of you occupieth her self, bedefe the time of Divine Service?

81. Item; Whether any Sifter of this House hath any familiarity with Religious Men, Secular Priests, or Laymen, being not near of kin unto them?

82. Item; Whether any Sifter of this House hath been taken and found with any fuch accuftomably lo comming, and could not shew any reasonable caufe why they fo did?

83. Item; Whether any of you doth ufe to write any Letters of Love, or lascivious fashion to any Perfon, or receive any fuch, or have any pri- vye Meffengers coming and retorting unto you, or any of you, with Token or Gifts, from any manner secular Perfon or other?

84. Item; Whether any of you doth ufe to speak with any manner of Perfon, by night or by day, by Grates or back Windows, or other privy Places within this Monaftry, without licence of your Head?

85. Item; Whether the Confessor of this Houfe be a discreet Man, of good learning, vertue and honeft behaviour, of good name and fame, and whether he hath been always fo taken?

86. Item; How oftimes in the year the Sifters of this Houfe ufeth to be Confefsed and Communicate;

Reflat pro Ecclesiis Collegiatis, Hospitalibus, Ecclesiis Cathedralibus, Parochialibus, Ecclesiis, Epifcopo, & Archiepifcopo, pro ordine Jerofolomitarum?

Exhibeant omnia scripta, munimenta, Inventaria, Schedulas quaеunque, unde aliquid cognitionis corum reformationi Monafleriiorum, five domorum utili-tati, necessaria explicari, aut quoquo modo colligi possit.

II. General Injunctions to be given on the King's Highness's behalf in all Monaftries and other Houfes, of whatsoever Order or Religion they be.

First; That the Abbot, Prior, or President, and all other Brethren of the Place that is visited, hall faithfully, truly, and heartily, keep and obferve, and caufe teach, and procure to be kept and ob- served of other, as much as in them may lie, all and singular Contemns, as well in the Oath of the King's Highness Succession, given heretofore by them, as in a certain Profeflion lately sealed with the Common Seal, and subscribed and Signed with their own hands: Also that they shall ob- serve
observe and fulfill, by all the means that they best may, the Statutes of this Realm, made, or to be made, for the suppression and taking away of the usurped and pretended Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome within this Realm: and for the alteration and confirmation of the Authority, Jurisdiction, and Prerogative of our most noble Sovereign Lord the King, and his Successors; and that they shall diligently instruct their Juniors and Youngers, and all other committed to their Cure, That the King's Power is by the Laws of God most excellent of all under God in Earth: and that we ought to obey him afore all other Powers, by God's Precept; and that the Bishop of Rome's Jurisdiction or Authority here-tofore usurped, by no means is founded or established by Holy Scripture: but that the same, partly by the craft and deceit of the same Bishop of Rome, and by his evil and ambitious Canons and Decretals; and partly by the toleration and permission of Princes, by little and little hath grown up; and therefore now, of most right and equity, is taken away and clean expelled out of this Realm.

Also, that the Abbot, Prior, or President and Brethren, may be declared, by the King's Suprem Power and Authority Ecclesiastical, to be absolved and loosed from all manner Obedience, Oath, and Profession by them heretofore perchance promised, or made, to the said Bishop of Rome, or to any other in his stead, or occupying his Authority; or to any other Forreign Prince, or Perfon: And nevertheless let it be enjoined to them, that they shall not promise or give such Oath or Profession to any such Forreign Potentate hereafter. And if the Statutes of the said Order Religious, or Place, seem to bind them to Obedience, or Subjection, or any other Recognition of Superiority to the said Bishop of Rome, or to any other Forreign Power, Potentate, Person or Place by any ways; such Statutes, by the King's Graces Visitors, be utterly annihilate, broken, and declared void and of none effect; and that they be in no place bounden or obligate to the same, and such Statutes to be forthwith utterly put forth and abolished out of the Books, or Muniments of that Religion, Order or Place, by the President and his Brethren.

Also, that no Monk, or Brother of this Monastery, by any means go forth of the Precinct of the same.

Also, that Women, of what state or degree soever they be, be utterly excluded from entering into the Limits or Circuit of this Monastery, or place, unless they first obtain licence of the King's Highness, or his Visitor.

Also, that there be no entering into this Monastery but one, and that by the great fore-gate of the same, which diligently shall be watched and kept by some Porter specially appointed for that purpose, and shall be shut and opened by the same both day and night, at convenient and accustomed hours; which Porter shall repel all manner Women from entrance into the said Monastery.

Also, that all and singular Brethren, and Monks of this Monastery, take their refects altogether in a place called the Missericorde, such days as they eat Flesh, and all other days in their Refectory; and that at every Mens there fit four of them, not of duty demanding to them any certain, unifal, or accustomed duty or portion of Meat as they were wont to do; but that they be content with such Vifhtuals as is set before them, and there take their refects soberly, without excess, with giving due thanks
thanks to God; and that at every such Reflection; some Chapter of the New Testament, or Old, by some of the said Brethren, be read and recited to the other, keeping silence, and giving audience to the fame.

Also, that the Abbot and President do daily prepare one Table for himself and his Guefts thither resorting, and that not over-fumptuous, and full of delicate and strange Dishes, but honestly furnished with common Meats; At which Table, the said Abbot, or some Senior in his stead, shall fit to receive, and gently entertain the Strangers, the Guefts.

Also, that none of the Brethren send any part of his Meat, or the leavings thereof to any Person, but that there be assign'd an Almoner, which shall gather the Leavings, both of the Covent and Strangers Tables, after that the Servants of the House have had their convenient Reflections, and distribute the fame to poor People; amongst whom special consideration be had of such, before other, as be Kinsfolk to any of the said Brethren, if they be of like power and debility as other be; and also of those which endeavour themselves, with all their will and labour, to get their living with their hands, and yet cannot fully help themselves for their chargeable Household, and multitude of Children: yet let not them be so chequered, that they shall leave labour and fall to idleness; with consideration also specially to be had of them, which by weaknesses of their Limbs and Body be so impatient that they cannot labour; and by no means let such Alms be given to valiant mighty and idle Beggars and Vagabonds, as commonly use to resort about such places; which rather, as drove-beasts and Mychers, should be driven away and compelled to labour, than in their idleness and lewdness, against the form of the King's Graces Statute in this behalf made, cherished, and maintained, to the great hindrance and damage of the Common-Weal.

Also, that all other Almses or Distributions due, or accustomed to be made, by reason of the Foundation, Statutes, or customs of this place, be made and given, as largely and as liberally as ever they were at any time heretofore.

Also, that the Abbot, Prior, or President, shall find Wood andfewel sufficient to make Fire in the Refectory, from Alhallow-even to Good-Friday.

Also, that all the Brethren of this House, except the Abbot, and such as be sick, or evil at ease, and those that have fulfilled their jubilee, lie together in the Dormitory, every one by himself, in several Beds.

Also, that no Brother, or Monk, of this House, have any Child or Boy laying, or privily accompanying with him, or otherwife haunting unto him, other than to help him to Maf.

Also, that the Brethren of this House, when they be sick, or evil at ease, be seen unto, and be kept in the Infirmary duly, as well for their sustenance of Meat and Drink, as for their good keeping.

Also, that the Abbot, or President, keep and find in some University, one or two of his Brothers, according to the Ability and Possessions of this House; which Brethren, after they be learned in good and holy Letters, when they return home, may instruct and teach their Brethren, and diligently preach the Word of God.

Sff2

Also
Also, that every day, by the space of one hour, a Lesson of Holy Scripture be kept in this Convent, to which all, under pain by this said President to be moderated, shall return; which President shall have Authority to dispense with them, that they, with a low and treatable voice, say their long hours, which were wont to be sung.

Also, that the Brethren of this House, after Divine Service done, read or hear somewhat of Holy Scripture, or occupy themselves in some such like honest and laudable exercise.

Also, that all and every Brethren of this House shall observe the Rule, Statutes, and laudable Customs of this Religion, as far as they do agree with Holy Scripture and the Word of God. And that the Abbot, Prior, or President of this Monastery, every day shall expound to his Brethren as plainly as may be, in English, a certain part of the Rule that they have professed, and apply the same always to the Doctrine of Christ, and not contrariwise; and he shall teach them, that the said Rule, and other their Principles of Religion (so far as they be laudable) be taken out of Holy Scripture; and he shall show them the places from whence they were derived; and that their Ceremonies, and other observances of Religion, be none other things than as the first Letters or Principles, and certain Introductions to true Christianity, or to observe an order in the Church. And that true Religion is not contained in Apparel, manner of going, shaven Heads, and such other marks; nor in silence, fasting, up-rising in the night, singing and such other kind of Ceremonies, but in cleanliness of mind, purity of living, Christ's Faith not fainded, and brotherly Charity, and true honouring of God in Spirit and Verity. And that those above said things were instituted and begun, that they being first exercised in these, in process of time might ascend to those as by certain steps, that is to say, to the chief point and end of Religion: and therefore let them be diligently exhorted, that they do not continually stick and surcease in such Ceremonies and Observances, as tho' they had perfectly fulfilled the chief and utmost of the whole true Religion; but that when they have once past such things, they endeavour themselves to higher things, and convert their minds from such external Matters, to more inward and deeper Considerations, as the Law of God and Christian Religion doth teach and show. And that they assure not themselves of any Reward or Commodity any wise, by reason of such Ceremonies and Observances, except they refer all such to Christ, and for his sake observe them; and for that they might thereby the more easily keep such things as he hath commanded, as well to them as to all Christian People.

Also, that the Abbot and President of this Place shall make a full and true reckoning and account of his Administration every year to his Brethren, as well of his Receipts as Expences; and that the said Account be written in a great Book remaining with the Convent.

Also, that the Abbot and President of this House shall make no waste of the Woods pertaining to this House, nor shall let out undividedly any Farms of Reversions, without the consent of the more part of the Convent.

Also, that there be assigned a Book and a Register that may copy out into that Book all such Writings, word by word, as shall pass under the Convent-Secal of this House.

Also,
Also, that no Man be suffered to profess, or to wear the Habit of Religion in this House, or he be 24 years of Age compleat; And that they entice nor allure no Man with fations and blandiments to take the Religion upon him.

Item, that they shall not shew no Reliques, or feigned Miracles, for increase of Lucre, but that they exhort Pilgrims and Strangers to give that to the Poor, that they thought to offer to their Images or Reliques.

Also, that they shall suffer no Fairs, or Markets, to be kept or used within the limits of this House.

Also, that every Brother of this House that is a Priest, shall every day in his Mass, pray for the most happy and most prosperous estate of our Sovereign Lord the King, and his most noble and lawful Wife Queen Ann.

Also, that if either the Master, or any Brother of this House, do infringe any of the said Injunctions, any of them shall denounce the same, or procure to be denounced, as soon as may be, to the King's Majesty, or to his Visitor-General, or his Deputy. And the Abbot, or Master, shall minister spending Mony, and other Necessaries, for the way to him that shall so denounce.

Other spiritual Injunctions may be added by the Visitor, as the place and nature of the Comperts shall require, after his discretion.

Referring Power to give more Injunctions, and to examine and discuss the Comperts, to punish and reform them that be convict of any notable Crime, to search and try the Foundations, Charters, Donations, Appropriations and Muniments of the said Places; and to dispose all such Papistical Escrips as shall be there found, to the Right Honourable Mr. Thomas Cromwell General-Visitor to the King's said Highness, as shall seem most expedient to his high wildom and discretion.

III. Some Particulars relating to the Dissolution of Monasteries.

Section I.

The Preamble of the Surrender of the Monastery of Langden.

Omibus Christi fidelibus, &c. Willielmus Dyer, Abbas Monasterii Beatae Mariae Virginis & S. Thomæ Martyris de Langden, in Com. Kent, & ejusdem loci Conventus, Ordinis Praemonstrat. capitulum divinum plene facientes, ejusdem; domus (qua in frui fructibus, redditibus, provenien. even. & emolumen. non mediocrer deteriorata est, & quasi in total diminuta, ingentiq; ex alieno obtusa, oppressa, & gravata extinct) statumat ufiq; adeo matura deliberatione, & diligentia tractatu, considerantes, ponderantes, & penitentes, quod nisi celeri remedio, regia provisione huic Monasterio five Prioratus (quippe quod de ejus fundatione & personate exstitit) brevi succurratur & provideatur; funditus
funditus in Spiritualibus & Temporalibus annihiletur, per præsentes damus & concedimus, &c.

The rest follows in the ordinary form of Law: but the ordinary Preamble in most Surrenders is,


But it seems some few Houses, though they were prevailed with to surrender, yet would not do it with such a Preamble, for there are about twenty Surrenders without any Preamble at all, made to John London Clerk, ad usum Domini Regis.

Section II.

A Lift of Religious Houses, which by the King's Letters Patents were of new founded and preserved from the dissolution of Lesser Monasteries.

Anno Regni 28.

† T. Mary of Betlesden, Buckinghamshire, Cistercians.
St. Mary of Huntington, Augustians.
St. Michael Hull, York-shire, Carthuflians.
St. Clare of Denby, Cambridg-shire, Nuns.
Kymme, Lincoln shire, Augustin.
St. Mary of Bindon, Dorset-shire, Cistercians.
St. Mary Harpa, Westmor. Præmontfrat.
St. Mary de-la-Pray, Northamp. shire, Nuns.
St. Mary of Kelling, York-shire, Nuns.
De-la-val, York-shire, Carthus.
Wormley, Herefordsh. August.
St. Mary of Alnewick, Northumb. Præmonst.
Bellalanda, Yorksh. Cisterc.
St. John Baptist. Egglestone, Yorksh.
S. Mary de Nith, Glamorgansh. Cisterc.
St. Mary Ulneftock, Leiceltersh.
St. Mary of Dale, Derbysh. August.
St. Mary Chester, Nuns.
St. Mary of Studley, Oxfordsh. Nuns.

T. Mary
The Grants for these Houses are all in the 28 year of the King, to be held in perpetuum eleeosynam, and are enrolled in the 1st, 2d, 4th, and 5th parts of the Patent Rolls for that Year.

Section III.

A List of all the Surrenders of Abbies, which are yet extant in the Augmentation Office.

Regni 27.

L
Folkeston, Benedict. the Prior, Kent. 15.
Dover, the Prior, 8 Monks, Kent. 16.
Merton, Auguft. the Prior, and 5 Friars, Yorkfh.
Hornby, Premonst. the Prior and two Monks. 9. February.
Tilty, Cifterc. the Abbot and 5 Monks, Eflex. 28.
Billington, the Prior and two Monks, Kent. 21.

These are all enrolled Rot. Claufl. Part rff.

Regni 28.

Furneſfe, the Abbot and 30 Monks, Lancashire. 9. April.
Bermondt, the Abb. Surrey. 1. June.
Buſhſhiam, Ep of St. Davids, Commendator, Berk. 5. July.

The Originals of these two laſt are lost, but enrolled Rot. Claufl. Part 2d. Regn. 28.

Regni 29.

Lanthony, Auguft. the Prior and 21 Monks, Gloceſth. 10. May.
Abbington, Bened. the Abbot and 25 Monks, Berksfh. 29.
Charterhouſe, the Prior, London. 10. June.
Chrefey,—the Abbot and 14 Monks. 6. July.
Wardon, Cifterc. the Abbot and 14 Monks, Bedfofh. 4. December.
St. Affins Canterbury. the Abby Seal. 5.
Kingwood, Cifterc. Gloceſth. the Abbot and 13 Monks. 1. February.
Coxhall, Cifterc. the Abbot, Eſſex. 5.
St. Andrew, Bened. Northampton. the Prior and 12 Fr. 2. March.
Holmcruſtin—the Abbot and 25 Monks, Cumberland. 6.
Butley, Auguft. the Commend. and 8 Monks, Suffolk. 7.
Stradford-Langthorn, Cifterc. the Abbot and 14 Mon. Eſſex. 8.
Southwicke, Auguft. Hampſh. 7. April.
Kennelworth, Bened. the Prior and 16 Mon. Warwickfh. 14.
Merton, Auguft. the Abbot and 14 Monks, Surrey. 16.
Pont-Robert, Cifterc. the Abbot and 8 Monks, Suffolk. 16.
Belloloſo, Cifterc. the Abbot and 19 Monks, Hampſh. 17.

Besides these, the following Surrenders are enrolled.

Lewes,
Almost all the Abbies were above the value of two hundred pounds, so that they were not within the Statute for suppressing the lesser Abbies, but the Abbots were prevailed on by other Motives to surrender their Houses to the King.

Bulbitham, Bened. Berks. the Abbot and 15 Monks. 19.
Axholm, CARforth. Lincolnsh. the Prior and 8 Monks. 22.
Rupa, Cistcr. Yorks. the Abbot and 17 Monks. 23.
Lincoln, Gilbertines the Prior, and 15 Monks. 14.
Feverfham, Cluniac. Kent, the Abbot and 8 Monks. 8.
Bordeley, Cistcr. Worcetsh. the Abbot and 19 Monks. 17.
Cumbermore, August. Chesl. the Abbot. 27.
St. Aulfins, Canterb. Bened. the Abbot and 36 Monks. 30.
St. James, Northamptonsh. Bened. the Abbot Elect and 5 Monks. 25. Augst.
Fordham, Gilbertines, Cambridgsh. the Prior and 3 Frat. 1. September.
Chateras, Black-Nuns, Cambridgsh. the Abbess & 10 Nuns. 3.
Val-royal, Chesl. the Abbot and 14 Monks. 7.
Croxtot, Prémonst. Leicestoph. the Abbot and 22 Mon. 8.
Houghmnd, Canons, Shropsh. the Abbot and 10 Mon. 9.
De-la-pray, no Subscriptions, only the Common Seal. 16.
Rositer, August. Staffordsh. the Abbot and 3 Monks. 16.
Crockefden, Cistcr. Staffordsh. the Abbot & 12 Monks. 17.
Hilton, Cistcr. Staffordsh. the Abbot and 8 Monks. 18.
Semperingham, * Gilbertines, the Prior and 8 Monks. 18.
Sulby, Prémonst. Northampsh. the Abbot and 11 Mon. 20.
Haberholm, Gilb. Lincolnsh. the Prior and 6 Can. 24.
Bettesford, Cistcr. Bedfordsh. the Abbot and 11 Monks. 25.
Cately, Gilb. Lincolnsh. the Prior. 25.
Sixhill, Gilb. Lincolnsh. the Command. and 8 Monks. 27.
Thetford, August. Norfolk, the Prior. 27.
Alvinghame, Gilb. Lincolnsh. the Prior and 27 Monks. 29.
Ormesby, Gilb. the Prior and 6 Frat. 30.
Linn Carmelites, The Prior and 10 Fra. 30.
Linn, Francisc. the Warden and 9 Frat. 1. October.
Coventry, Carm. Warwickh. the Prior and 13 Frat. 1.
Newstead, Gill. the Prior and 5 Monks. 2.
Matterley, Gill. the Prior and 4 Monks. 3.
Coventry, Franc. Warden and 10 Frat. 4.
Marmond, Canons, Cambridgh. the Prior and 1 Monk. 5.
Stamford, Auguft. Lincolnh. the Prior and 5 Frat. 6.
Stamford, Dominic. the Prior and 9 Frat. 7.
Grinsbey, Francisc. Lincolnh. the Prior and 5 Frat. 9.
Miraval, Cliferc. Warwickh. the Abbot and 9 Monks. 13.
Shouldham, Gill. Norfolk. the Prior, 9 Monks, 7 Nuns. 15.
Braywood, Black-Nuns, Staffordsh. the Priorefs. 16.
Lilleshull, Auguft. Shropfh. the Abbot and 10 Monks. 16.
Stafford, Auguft. the Prior and 5 Monks. 16.
Northampton, Dominic. the Prior and 7 Frat. 16.
Northallerton, Carmel. Yorkfh. the Prior and 9 Frat. 17.
Warwick, Dominic. the Prior and 6 Frat. 20.
Northampton, Carmel. the Prior and 8 Frat. 20.
Weatheral, Dominic. Cumberland, the Prior. 20.
Chickland, Gill. Bedfordsh. the Prior, 6 Monks, 18 Nuns. 22.
Darley, Auguft. Derbysh. the Abbot and 13 Monks. 22.
Repton, Auguft. Derbysh. the Subprior and 8 Monks. 25.
Grace-dieu, Auguft. Nuns; Leicesterf. the Priorefs. 27.
Northampton, Francisc. the Warden and 10 Frat. 28.
Northampton, Auguft. the Prior and 9 Frat. 28.
Mallen Nuns, Kent, the Abbefs and 10 Nuns. 29.
Bardney, Bened. Lincolnh. the Abbot and 13 Monks. 1. November.
Barnwell, Auguft. Cam. Cambridgh. the Prior and 6 Monks. 8.
Leicester, Francisc. the Warden and 7 Frat. 10.
Dominic. the Prior. 10.
Auguft. the Prior. 10.
Auguft. the Prior and 12 Frat. 12.
Francisc. the Warden and 25 Frat. 12.
Crofs-Friers, 6 Frat. 13.
Doncafter, Carm. Yorkfh. the Prior and 6 Friers. 13.
Pipewell — Lincolnh. the Abbot and 13 Monks. 15.
Wigmore—Herefordfh. the Commend. and 10 Friers. 15.
York, Auguft. the Prior and 7 Friers. 18.
Doncafter, Francisc. Guardian, 6 Friers, 3 Novices. 20.
St. Helens London, a Nunnery, no hands, only the Seal. 25.
York, Carmel. the Prior, 9 Friers, 3 Novices. 27.
Francisc. the Guardian, 15 Friers, 5 Novices. 27.
Dominic the Prior, 6 Friers, 4 Novices. 27.
Gilbertines, the Prior, 3 Monks. 28.
Auguft. the Prior, 9 Friers, 4 Novices. 28.

Dunnington, the Order of the Trinity, Berks. the Minifter. 30.

Ryeval, Cisterc. Yorksh. the Abbot and 23 Monks. 3. December.

St. Albans, Bened. Herfordh. the Abbot and 37 Monks. 5.

Anbham, Bened. Oxfordh. the Prior and 8 Monks. 4.

Kirkham, August. Yorksh. the Prior and 17 Friers. 8.

Notely —— Yorksh. the Abbot and 17 Monks. 9.

Ellerenc, Gilber. Yorksh. the Prior and 4 Friers. 11.

York, the H. Trin. the Minifter and 10 Priests. 9.

Yaron, Dominic. the Prior, and 5 Friers and 6 Novices. 3. January.

Darby, Dominic. the Prior and 5 Friers. 3.

Semperingham, Gilber. the Command. and 3 Monks. 6.

Newcastle, Francif. the Warden, with 8 Friers & 2 Nov. 9.

Newcastle, August. 9.

Newcastle, Dominic. the Prior and 12 Friers. 10.

Newcastle, Carmel. the Prior, 7 Friers, and 2 Novices. 10.

Walknell, Newcastle. H. Trin. the Prior. 10.


Warwick, Bened. the Prior and 12 Monks. 15.

Coventry, Caffhüf the Prior and 7 Monks. 16.

York, August. the Prior and 17 Fellows. 17.

Bredneftock, Wilfth. the Prior and 13 Monks. 18.

Richmond, Yorksh. Francif. the Prior and 14 Friers. 19.

Laco. k, Wilfth. Nunnery, the Abbés. 21.


Kenifham, Sommer.sh. the Prior and 15 Monks. 22.

Bolton, Yorksh. August. the Abbot and 10 Monks. 23.

Cockerland, Lanc.sh. Premonf. the Abbot and 22 Monks. 29.

Polfworth, Warwicksh. Nunnery, no Hands, only the Seal. 31.

Nottingham, Carmel. the Prior and 6 Friers. 5. February.

Francif. the Prior and 7 Friers. 5.

Athelney, Sommer.sh. Bened. the Abbot and 8 Monks. 8.

Taunton, Sommer.sh. August. the Prior and 12 Monks. 10.

Buckland, Sommer.sh. Nunnery, the Priorefs. 10.


Witham, Sommer.sh. Caffhüf, the Prior and 12 Monks. 15.

Bollfham, Devonsh. 19.

Cannonleigh, Devonsh. Nunnery, no Hands but the Seal. 19.

Hartland, Devonsh. August. the Abbot and 4 Monks. 21.

Tory, Premonf. Devonsh. the Abbot and 15 Monks. 23.

Launcelton, Cornwal, August. the Prior and 8 Monks. 24.

Buckaff, Devonsh. Ciferc. the Abbot with 10 Monks. 25.

Buckland, Devonsh. Ciferc. the Abbot. 27.

Bodmyn, Cornwal, August. the Prior and 8 Monks. 27.

Eatingdon, Wilfth. August. the Rektor and 12 Monks. 28.

Plimpote, Canons, August. Devonsh. the Prior & 8 Monks. 11.


Ford, Ciferc. Devon. the Abbot and 13 Monks. 8.


Abbots bury, Bened. Dorseth. the Prior and 16 Monks. 12.

Tarent
Tarent Nunnery, Dorset. the Abbess and 18 Nuns. 13.
Cerne, Benedict. Dorset. the Abbot and 16 Monks. 15.
Sherburne, Benedict. Dorset. the Abbot and 16 Monks. 18 March.
Montecute Cluniax. Somerfl. the Abbot and 13 Monks. 20.
Tavenstock, Benedict. Somerfl. the Abbot and 20 Monks. 20.
Shaftsbury Nunnery, Dorset. the Abbess. 23.
Willton Nunnery, Wilt. the Abbess. 25.
Hinton Carthul. Somerfl. the Prior and 19 Monks. 31.
Bruton Canons-August. Somerfl. the Abbot & 14 Monks. 1 April.
in April, but no date.

Without date there are four.

Franciscans Cambr. the Guardian and 23 Frat
Dominicans Cambr. the Prior. and 15 Fr.
Thetford Dominic. the Prior.
Sancta Maria de Pratis, the Abbot and 19 Monks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hospital resigned this Year.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Thomas Southwark, the Master and one Brother. 25. July.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John Wells, the Master and 3 Brothers. 3. February.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridgewater, the Master and 7 Brothers. 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John Exon, the Master and 2 Brothers. 20.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the former Resignations have the Covent Seals put to them, except those of some few Houses of Begging Friars, which perhaps had no Seals; they are also enrolled in the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 5th Class. Rolls of that Year. There are likewise some few more enrolled, of which the Originals are lost, which follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clattercott. Gilbert. the Prior. 22. August.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedford, Francif. the Warden. 3. October.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stamford, Francif. the Warden. 8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derleyghs, Cisterc. Staffordsh. the Abbot. 20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De-la-pray Nunnery, Northam. fh. the Abbess. 16. December.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northallerton, Carmel. Yorksh. the Prior. 20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newburg, August. Yorksh. 22.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bath Cathedrall, Bened. 27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brufyard Nunnery, Suffolk, the Abbess. 17. February.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Here follow the Resignations made in the 31. Year of the King's Reign, of which the Originals are yet extant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resignation</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, the Prior and 9 Monks, Bevofl</td>
<td>6. July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cathedrall, Northing, the Prior and 7 Monks</td>
<td>8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuncottou Nunnery, Lincoln, the Priores and 17 Nuns,</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyning Nunnery, Lincoln, no subscriptions.</td>
<td>11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yolle Nunnery, Lincoln, the Priores.</td>
<td>11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newhead Premonst, Northing, the Prior and 11 Monks</td>
<td>21.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsh Nunnery, Bedfordin the Abbefs.</td>
<td>26. August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamond, a Commision to the Bp. of Chester to take the Surrender of it.</td>
<td>31.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swine Nunnery, Yorksh. no subscriptions.</td>
<td>3. September</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haugldmond Can. August. Sallop. the Abbot and 10 Mon.</td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nunkeling Nunnery, Yorksh. no subscription but the Seal.</td>
<td>10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nmunition Nunnery, the Priores, 27 Croffes for subcript.</td>
<td>12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulmeoff, Leicesters, the Prior and 11 Fryers.</td>
<td>15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marrick Nunnery, Yorksh. the Priores.</td>
<td>15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burnham Nunnery, Bucks, the Abbefs and 9 Nuns.</td>
<td>19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Bartholomew Smithfield, the Prior.</td>
<td>25. October</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmundsbury Bened. Suffolk, the Abbot and 44 Monks.</td>
<td>4. November</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Commision for the surrender of St. Allborough, Chesh.</td>
<td>7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin Nunnery, Effex, the Abbefs.</td>
<td>14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olney, *bid. ib. and 12 Monks.</td>
<td>17.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goditow Nunnery, Oxforsh. subscribed by a Notary</td>
<td>17.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studley Nunnery, Oxforsh. signed as the former.</td>
<td>19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thetford, Norfolks, the Prior and 13 Monks</td>
<td>16. February</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westminister Bened. the Abbot and 27 Monks.</td>
<td>16. January</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Commision for the Arch Bp. of Canterb. for taking the surrender of Christ's-Church Canterbury.</td>
<td>20. March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And another for the surrender of Rochefter, both dated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waltham Benedict. Effex, the Abbot and 17 Monks</td>
<td>23.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary Watte, Gilber.Bp. of Landaffe Command. 8 Fryers and 14 Nuns.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is also in the Augmentation Office, a Book concerning the Resignations and Suppressions of the following Monasteries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monastery</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Swithins Winchester</td>
<td>15. November</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary Winchester</td>
<td>17.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christ's Church, Twinham, the Commendator thereof is called Episcopus Neopolitanns.</td>
<td>23.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchelcomb.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambrofe Bury.</td>
<td>3. December</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Aulfins, near Bifit.</td>
<td>4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16. April</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*What this
Surrender can
not account.*
There are also several other Deeds enrolled, which follow.

S. Michael, near Kingston upon Hull, Carthus. 9. November.
Burton upon Trent, Stafford. 15.
Hampol Nunnery, Yorks. 15.
St. Olwald, Yorks. 19.
Kirkital, Yorks. 20.
Pontfret, Yorks. 22.
Kirkelles, Yorks. 23.
Ardynston, Yorks. 24.
Fountains, Yorks. 26.
St. Mary York. 29.
St. Leonard York. 1. December.
Nunnapleton Nunnery, Yorks. 5.
St. Gelmansk Selbe, Yorks. 6.
Melfey, Yorks. 11.
Malton, Yorks. 11.
Whitby, Yorks. 14.
Alabalanda, Northumb. 18.
Montgrafle Carthus. Yorks. 18.
Alnewick Premonstrat. Northumb. 22.
Gisburn Augt. Yorks. 22.
Newshame, Dunelme. 29.
St. Catchberts Cathedral of Durefine. 31.
Eglelston, Richmond. 5.
St. Mary Carlile, Cumber. 6.
St. Werburg, Chester. 20.
St. Mary Chester, a Nunnery. 21.

Section IV.

It seems there was generally a Confeffion made with the Surrender:

Of these some few are yet extant, though undoubtedly great care
was taken to destroy as many as could be in Queen Mary’s time. That
long and full one made by the Prior of St. Andrews in Northampton, the
Preamble whereof is printed by Fuller, and is at large Printed by Wes-
ter, is yet preferred in the Augmentation-Office. There are some few
more also extant, fix of these I have seen, one of them follows.

For-
Orafmuch as we Richard Green, Abbot of our Monastery of our Bleued Lady St. Mary of Betlefed, and the Convent of the said Monastery, do profoundly consider, That the whole manner and trade of living, which we and our pretended Religion have practis'd, and us'd many days, does most principally consist in certain dumb Ceremonies, and other certain Constitutions of the Bishops of Rome, and other Forinfegal Potentates, as the Abbot of Ciflini, and therein only nois'd, and not taught in the true knowledge of God's Laws, procuring always Exemptions of the Bishops of Rome from our Ordinarys and Diocelians: submitting our selves principally to Forinfegal Potentates and Powers, which never came here to reform such disorders of living and abus'd, as now have been found to have reigned amongst us. And therefore now a'ftrained knowing, that the most perfect way of living is most principally and sufficiently declared unto us by our Master Chrift, his Evangelifts and Apoftles, and that it is most expedient for us to be governed and ordered by our Supream Head, under God, the King's most noble Grace, with our mutual afent and consent, submit our selves, and every one of us, to the most benign Mercy of the King's Majesty; and by these prefents do surrender, &c.


There are others to the fame purpo{e Signed by the Guardian and seven Francifcans at Alisbury, the 1ft of October. By the Francifcans at Bedford the 3d of October. The Francifcans in Coventry, the 5th of October. And the Francifcans in Stamford the 8th of October. And the Carmelites in Stamford on the fame day, which I shall alfo infer, the former four agreeing to it.

Orafmuch as we the Prior and Friers of this House of Carmelites in Stamford, commonly called the White Friers in Stamford, in the County of Lincoln, do profoundly consider that the perfection of Christian living doth not consist in fome Ceremonies, wearing of a white Cloath, difguifing our selves after strange fashions, dockying and becking, wearing Scapulars and Hoods, and other-like Papifical Ceremonies, wherein we have been most principally pra{tis'd and nois'd in times past; but the very true way to please God, and to live a true Christian Man, without all hypocrify and feigned dif{imulation, is sincerely declared to us by our Master Chrift, his Evangelifts, and Apoftles; being minded hereafter to follow the fame, conforming our fel's to the Will and Plea{ure of our Supream Head, under God, on Earth, the King's Majesty; and not to follow henceforth, the fuperfifitious Traditions of any Forinfegal Potentate or Power, with mutual afent and content, do submit our selves unto the Mercy of our said Sovereign Lord, and with the like mutual afent and content do surrender, &c.

Signed by the Prior and 6 Friers.
Section V.

Of the manner of suppressing the Monasteries after they were surrendered.

The Reader will best understand this by the following account of the Suppression of the Monastery of Tewksbury, copied from a Book that is in the Augmentation-Office, which begins thus:

The Certificate of Robert Southwell Esquire, William Petre, Edward Kairne, and John London, Doctors of Law; John Aprice, John Kingsman, Richard Peale, and William Bernars, Esquires, Commissioners assigned by the King's Majesty, to take the Surrenders of divers Monasteries, by force of his Grace's Commission to them, 6, 9, 4, or 3 of them, in that behalf directed; bearing date at his Highness's Palace of Westminster, the 7th day of November in the 31 year of the Reign of our most dread Sovereign Lord Henry the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of England, and of France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and in Earth immediately under Christ Supreme Head of the Church of England, of all and singular their Proceedings, as well in and of these Monasteries by his Majesty appointed to be altered, as of others to be dissolved, according to the tenour, purport, and effect of his Grace's said Commission; with Instrucions to them likewise delivered, as hereafter ensueth.

Com. Glocefter.

Surrendered to the use of the King's Majesty, and of his Heirs and Successors for ever made bearing date under the Covent-Seal of the same late Monastery, the 9th day of January, in the 31 year of the Reign of our most dread victorious Sovereign Lord Henry the Eighth; and the said day and year clearly dissolved and suppressed.

As well Spiritual as Temporal, over

The clear yearly value of all the Possessions belonging to the said late Monastery.

S 126 l. 8 s. 1 d. in Fees, Annuities, and Custodies, granted to divers Persons by Letters Patents under the Covent-Seal of the said late Monastery for term of their lives.

1595: 15: 06

Pensions
Records and Evidences remaining in the Treasury there under the Custody of John Whittington Knight being delivered to Richard Paulet Receiver.

The Lodging called the Newark, leading from the Gate to the late Abbot's Lodging, with Buttery, Pantry, Cellar, Kitching, Larder, and Pastry thereto adjoining. The late Abbot's Lodging, the Hoftery, the Great Gate entering into the Court, with the Lodging over the same; the Abbot's Stable, Bakehouse, Brew-house and Slaughterhouse, the Almry, Barn, Dairy house, the great Barn next Avenue the Maltinghouse, with the Garnees in the same, the OXhouse in the Barton, the Barton-gate, and the Lodging over the same.

The Church, with Chappels, Cloister, Chapterhouse, Misericord, the two Dormitories, Infirmary with Chappels and Lodgings within the same; the Work-hay, with another House adjoining to the same, the Covent-Kitching, the Library, the old Hoftery, the Chamberers Lodging, the new Hall, the old Parlor adjoining to the Abbot's Lodging; the Cellarers Lodging, the Poultry-house, the Gardener, the Almry, and all other Houses and Lodgings not above reserved.

Deemed to be superfluous.

Committed to the custody of John Whittington Knight.

Committed as above.

Leads remaining upon The Quire, Iles, and Chappels annexed the Cloister Chapter-house, Frater, St. Michaels Chapel, Halls, Fermory, and Gate-house, esteemed to

Bells remaining In the Steeple there are eight poize, by estimation 14600 weight.

Jewels

Pensions assigned to the late Religious dioces that is to say, to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Wych, late Abbot there</td>
<td>266 13 s. 4d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Beke, late Prior there</td>
<td>16 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Bromegrove, late Prior of Delcharton</td>
<td>13 06 08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Cavester, Prior of St. James</td>
<td>13 06 08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will. Dicote, Prior of Cranborne</td>
<td>10 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Chelthenham B. D.</td>
<td>10 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Monks 8 l. a piece</td>
<td>16 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Monk</td>
<td>07 00 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Monks 6 l. 13 s. 4d. each</td>
<td>180 00 00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And so remains clear 1044 08 10
Jewels reserved to the use of the King's Majesty.

Plate of Silver referred to the same use.

Ornaments referred to the said use.

Sum of all the Ornaments, Goods, & Chattels belonging to the said late Monastery.

Payments to the late Religious & Servants dispatched.

Payments for debts owing by the said late Monastery.

Sold by the said Commissioners, as in a particular Book of Sales thereof made ready to be shewed, as more at large may appear.

To 38 late Religious Persons of the said late Monastery of the King's Majesty.

To an 144 late Servants of the said late Monastery, for their Wages and Liveries.

To divers Persons for Victuals and Necessaries of them had to the use of the said Monastery, with 10l. paid to the late Abbot there, for and in full payment of 124l. 5s. 4d. by him to be paid to certain Creditors of the said late Monastery, by Covenants made with the aforesaid Commissioners.

And so remains clear—191208

Then follows a list of some small Debts owing to and by the said Monastery.

Then follows a list of the Livings in their Gift:

Com. Gloucester. Four Parsonages and 10 Vicarages.
Com. Wigorn. Two Parsonages and 2 Vicarages.
Com. Warwick. Two Parsonages.
Com. Will. 5 Five Parsonages and 1 Vicarage.
Bristol.

Com. Wilts. 3 2 Vicar.

Com. Oxon. 2 One Parf. and 2 Vicar.

Com. Dorf. 3 Four Parf. and 2 Vicar.

Com. Sommer 3 Three Parf.

Com. Devon. 3 1 Vicar.

Com. Cornub. 3 2 Vicar.

Com. Glamorg. and Morgan. 3 5 Vicar.

In all 21 Parsonages and 27 Vicarages.

IV. Queen Ann Boleyn's last Letter to King Henry.

Sir,

Your Grace's displeasure, and my Imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you fend unto me (willing me to confess a Truth, and to obtain your favour) by such an one whom you know to be mine ancient professed Enemy; I no sooner received this Message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a Truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your Command.

But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor Wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a Fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And to speak a Truth, never Prince had Wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Ann Boleyn, with which Name and Place I could willingly have contented my self, if God, and your Grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my Exaltation, or received Queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer Foundation than your Grace's Fancy, the least alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that Fancy to some other Subject. You have chosen me, from a low estate, to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honour, Good your Grace let not any light Fancy, or bad counsel of mine Enemies, withdraw your Princely Favour from me; neither let that Stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good Grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful Wife, and the
Infant-Princefs your Daughter: Try me, good King, but let me have a lawful Trial, and let not my sworn Enemies sit as my Accusers and Judges; yea, let me receive an open Trial, for my Truth shall fear no open shame; then shall you see, either mine innocence cleared, your suspicion and Conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the World stopped, or my Gilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open cenfire; and mine Offence being so lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty, both before God and Man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful Wife, but to follow your Affection, already felt, on that Party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose Name I could some good while since have pointed unto: your Grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein.

But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my Death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness; then I desire of God, that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine Enemies, the Instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his General Judgement-Seat, where both you and my self must shortly appear, and in whose Judgement I doubt not (whatsoever the World may think of me) mine Innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

My last and only request shall be, That my self may only bear the burthen of your Grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent Souls of those poor Gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strict Imprisonment for my sake. If ever I haue found favour in your sight, if ever the Name of Ann Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request; and I will so leave to trouble your Grace any further, with mine earnest Prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your Actions. From my doleful Prison in the Tower this 6th of May.

Your most Loyal and ever Faithful Wife,

Ann Boleyn.

V. The Judgement of the Convocation concerning General-Councils. Published by the L. Herbert from the Original.

As concerning General-Councils, like as we (taught by long experience) do perfectly know that there never was, nor is, any thing devi'd, inve'n'ted, or instituted by our Fore-Fathers, more expedient or more necessary for the establishment of our Faith, for the extirpation of Heresies, and the abolishing of Sects and Schifms; and finally, for the reducing of Christ's People unto one perfect unity and concord in his Religion, than by the having of General-Councils; so
that the same be lawfully had and congregated in Spiritu Sanido, and be also conform and agreeable, as well concerning the purity and indiff-
encency of the Places, as all other Points requisite and necessary for the same, unto that whole and godly Institution and usafe, for the which they were at first devifed and used in the Primitive Church: Even so on the other side, taught by like experience, we esteem, repume, and judge. That there is, ne can be any thing in the World more peflent and pernicious to the Common-wal of Chriffendom, or whereby the Truth of God's Word hath in times past, or hereafter may be sooner defaced or subverted, or whereof hath and may enfile more contention, more discord and other devilish effects, than when such General Coun-
cils have or shall be assembled, not Chrifiianly nor charitably, but for and upon private malice and ambition, or other worldly and carnal Re-

pects and Considerations, according to the saying of Gregory Nazianze-
nus, in his Epifele to one Procopius, wherein he wreteth this Sentence following; Sae fentio, fi verum feribendum ess, mones Convemn Epifes-

corum fugiendo effe, quia nullus Syrodi feren vii boann, neque indicem magis solutionem malorum, quam incrementum: Nn a capidatis conten-
tionum, & gloriæ (fed ne putes me odiosum fcribentem) vncorrectionem. That is to fay; "I think this, if I should write truly, That all General "Councils be to be escheewed, for I never faw that they produced any "good End or Effect, nor that any Provision or Remedy, but rather "increafe of Milchefs proceeded of them. For the defire of mainte-
nance of Men's Opinions and ambition of Glory (but reckon not that "I write this of malice) hath alwayes in them overcomea reafon. Wherefore we think that Chriflian Princes, especially and above all things, ought and must, with all their wills, power, and diligence, fore-

see and provide; Ne Sanfiffima hac in parte majorum lnffitu, ad im-

probifimos ambiztiones amalgimetus effectus expleendo, diversiffimo fono & ffebratiffimo pervertantur: Neve addidum pretexus poffint valere, & lon-
ge diversam effe tum orbis producere quam Sanfiffima ret facies prae fefert. That is to fay, "Left the moft noble wholefome Institutions of our El-

ders in this behalf be perverted to a moft contrary and moft wicked "end and effect; that is to fay, to fulfill and farifie the wicked affecti-

ons of Men's Ambition and Malice; or, left they might prevail for any "other colour, or bring forth any other effect than their moft veritious "and laudable countenance doth outwardly to the World shew or pre-
"tend. And ift of all we think that they ought principally to confi-

der who hath the Authority to call together a General Council. Second-
ly, Whether the Caufes alledged be fo weighty and fo urgent, that ne-

cessarily they require a General Council, nor can otherwife be remedied. Thirdly, Who ought to be Judges in the General Council. Fourth-
ly, What order of proceeding is to be obferved in the fame, and how the Opinions or Judgements of the Fathers are to be confulted or asked. Fifthly, What Doctrines are to be allowed or defended, with diverfe other things which in General Councils ought of reafon and equity to be obferved. And as unto the first Point, We think that neither the Bifhop of Rome, nor any one Prince, of what estate, degree, or pre-
elminence ever he be, may by his own Authority, call, indite, or fu-

mon any General Council without the express confent, affent, and agree-

ment of the residue of Chriflian Princes, and especially fuch as have
have within their own Realms and Seigniories, Imperium mereum, that is to say, of such as have the whole, intire, and supream Government and Authority over all their Subjects, without knowledgeing or recognizing of any other supream Power or Authority. And this to be true, we be induced to think, by many and sundry, as well Examples as great Reasons and Authority. The which, formerly as it should be over long and tedious to express here particularly, we have thought good to omit the same for this present. And in witnesses that this is our plain and determinate Sentence, Opinion and Judgement, touching the Prelimines, we the Prelates and Clergy under-written, being congregate together in the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, and representing the whole Clergy of the same, have to these Presents subscribed our Names the 26th of July, in the Year of our Lord, 1536. 28 Hen. 8.

Signed by
Thomas Cromwell, Thomas Cantuariensis,
Johannes London, with 13 Bishops;
and of Abbots, Priors, Arch-Deacons,
1 canis, Proctors, Clerks, and other
Ministers 49.

VI. Instructions for the King's Commissioners, for a new survey, and an Inventory to be made of all the Demeñnes, Lands, Goods, and Chattels appertaining to any House of Religion of Monks, Canons, and Nuns within their Commission, according to the Articles hereafter following. The number of which Houses in every County limited in their Commission, being annexed to the said Commission: An Original.

Henry R.

Ex MSS.
Nob. D.C.
Pierpoint.

If it; After the Division made, one Auditor, one particular Receiver, one Clerk of the Register of the last Vilitation, with three other difcereft Persons to be named by the King in every County where any such Houfe be; after their repair to such Houfe, shall declare to the Governour, and Religious Persons of the fame, the Statute of Difolution, the Commission, and the cause and purpose of their repair for that time.

Item; That after the Declaration made, the said Commissioners shall swear the Governours of the Houses, or such other the Officers of the fame House, or other, as ye shall think can best declare the same and plight of the fame, to make declaration and answer to the Articles there under-written.

Item; Of what Order, Rule, or Religion, the fame House is, and whether it be a Cell or not; and if it be a Cell, then the Commissioners to deliver to the Governours of the House a Privy Seal, and also to join him, in the King's Name, under a great pain, to appear without delay before the Chancellor of the Augmentations of the Revenues of
the King's Crown and the Council; and in the mean time not to meddle with the same Cell, till the King's pleasure be further known.

Item: What number of Persons of Religion be in the same, and the conversion of their lives, and how many of them be Priests, and how many of them will go to other Houses of that Religion; or how many will take Capacities; and how many Servants or Hinds the same House keepeth commonly, and what other Persons have their living in the same House.

Item: To survey the quantity or value of the Lead and Bells of the same House, as near as they can, with the ruine, decay, state and plight of the same.

Item: Incontinently to call for the Covent-Seal, with all Writings and Charters, Evidences and Muniments concerning any of the Possessions to be delivered to them, and put the same in sure keeping; and to take a just Inventory betwixt them and the Governor, or other Head-Officer, by Indenture, of the Ornaments, Plate, Jewels, Chattels, ready Money, Stuff of Household, Coin, as well signed as not signed, Stock and Store in the Farmer's hands, and the value thereof, as near as they can, which were appertaining to the same Houses the first day of March last past; and what debts the House doth owe, and to what Person; and what Debts be owing to them, and by whom.

Item: After, to caufe the Covent, or Common-Seal, the Plate, Jewels, and ready Money, to be put in safe keeping, and the residue of the Particulars specified in the Inventory, to be left in the keeping of the Governor, or some other Head-Officer, without wasting or consumption of the same, unless it be for necessary expense of the House.

Item: That they command the Governor, or other receiver of the same House, to receive no Rents of their Farms until they know further of the King's pleasure, except such Rents as must needs be had for their necessary Food or Sustenance, or for payment of their Servants Wages.

Item: To survey discreetly the Demesnes of the same House; that is to say, such as have not been commonly used to be letten out, and to certify the clear yearly value thereof.

Item: To examine the true yearly value of all the Farms of the same House, deducting thereof Rents reserved, Peniions and Portions paid out of the same, Synodals, and Proxies; Bailiffs, Receivers, Stewards, and Auditors Fees, and the Names of them to whom they be paid and due, and to none other.

Item: What Leases hath been made to any Farmer, of the Farms pertaining to the same House; and what Rent they reserved, to whom, and for how many years, and a Copy of the Indenture if they can get it or else the Counter-pane.

Item: To search and enquire what Woods, Parks, Forrefts, Commons, or other Profit belonging to any of the Possessions of the same Houses, the Number of the Acres, the Age and Value, as near as they can.

Item: What Grants, Bargains, Sales, Gifts, Alienations, Leases of any Lands, Tenements, Woods, or Offices, hath been made by any the said Governors, of any of the said Houses, within one Year next before
the 4th day of February last past, and of what things, or to what value, and to whom, and for what estate.

Item; If there be any House of the Religion aforesaid omitted and not certified in the Exchequer, then the said Commissioners to survey the same, and to make Certificate accordingly.

Item; That they strictly command every Governour of every such House limited in their Commission, to Sow and Till their Grounds as they have done before, till the King's pleasure be further known.

Item; If there be any House given by the King to any Person, in any of the said several Limits of the said Commission, the Names whereof shall be declared to the said Commissioners, Then the said Commissioners shall immediately take the Covent from the Governor, and take an Inventory indented of the Lead, Bells, Debts, Goods, Chattels, Plate, Jewels, Ornaments, Stock and Store, to the King's use; and to make sale of the Goods, Chattels, and other Implements, Plate and Jewels only excepted.

Item; The said Commissioners in every such House, to send such of the Religious Persons that will remain in the same Religion, to some other great House of that Religion, by their discretion, with a Letter to a Governor for the Receipt of them; And the residue of them that will go to the World, to send them to my Lord of Canterbury, and the Lord Chancellor for their Capacities, with the Letter of the same Commissioners.

Item; The said Commissioners to give the said Persons that will have Capacities, some reasonable Rewards, according to the distance of the place, by their discretion to be appointed.

Item; The said Commissioners to command the Governour to report to the Chancellor of the Augmentation for his yearly Stipend and Pension.

Item; If there be any House dissolved or given up to the King by their Deed, then the Commissioners shall order themselves in every point and purpose, as the Houses given by the King to any other Person in form aforesaid.

Item; Every of the said Commissioners having in charge to survey more than one Shire within the Limits of their Commission, immediately after they have perused one Shire, parcel of their Charge, in form aforesaid, shall send to the Chancellor of the Court for the Augmentation of the Revenues of the King's Crown, a brief Certificate of all these Comperst, according to the Instructions aforesaid, what they have done in the Premisses, and in every County so surveyed, then to proceed further to another County; and so as they pass the said Counties to make like Certificate, and so forth, till their Limits be surveyed, and there to remain till they know further of the King's pleasure.

Item; If the said Commissioners have but one County in charge, then to certify the said Chancellor in form aforesaid; and there to remain till they know further of the King's pleasure.
VII. Injunctions given by the Authority of the King's Highness
to the Clergy of this Realm.

In the name of God, Amen. In the Year of our Lord God one
thousand five hundred thirty six, and of the most noble Reign of
our Sovereign Lord, Henry the Eighth, King of England and France,
the 28 Year, and the day of Thomas Cromwel, Knight,
Lord Cromwel, Keeper of the Privy-Seal of our said Sovereign Lord
the King, and Vicegerent unto the same, for and concerning all his
Jurisdictions Ecclesiastical within the Realm, visiting by the King's Highness's
Supream Authority Ecclesiastical, the People and Clergy of this
Deanery of
by my trusty Commiffary lawfully de-
puted and constitute for this part have, to the glory of Almighty God, to
the King's Highness's honour, the publick weal of this his Realm, and
encrease of Virtue in the same, appointed and assigned these Injunctions
enfluting to be kept and observed, of the Dean, Parfons, Vicars,
Curates, and Stipendaries, reliat or having cure of Soul, or any other
Spiritual Administrations within this Deanery, under the pains hereafter
limited and appointed.

The first is; That the Dean, Parfons, Vicars, and other, having cure
of Soul any-where within this Deanery, shall faithfully keep and ob-
serve, and as far as in them may lie, shall cause to be observed and kept
of other, all and singular Laws and Statutes of this Realm, made for
the abolishing and extirpation of the Bishop of Rome's pretended and
ufurped Power and Jurisdiction within this Realm. And for the esta-
blishment and confirmation of the Kings Authority and Jurisdiction
of the same, as of the Supream Head of the Church of England; and
shall, to the uttermost of their Wit, Knowledge, and Learning, purely,
sincerely, and without any colour or difsimulation, declare, manifest,
and open, for the space of one quarter of a year next enfluing, once
every Sunday, and after that at the least-wife twice every quarter, in
their Sermons and other Collations, that the Bishop of Rome's usurped
Power and Jurisdiction, having no establisment nor ground by the Law
of God, was of moft just caufes taken away and abolifhed; and there-
fore they owe unto him no manner of obedience or subjeccion; and
that the King's Power is within his Dominion the highest Power and
Poremate, under God, to whom all Men within the same Dominions,
by Gods Commandment, owe moft loyalty and obedience, afore and
above all other Powers and Potentates in Earth.

Item; Whereas certain Articles were lately devised and put forth by
the King's Highness's Authority, and condescended upon by the Prelates
and Clergy of this his Realm in Convocation, whereof part are nec-
sary to be holden and believed for our Salvation, and the other part do
come and teach certain laudable Ceremonies, Rites, and Usages
of the Church, meet and convenient to be kept and used for a decent and
politic order in the same; the said Dean, Parfons, Vicars, and other
Curats, shall so open and declare in their said Sermons, and other
Collations,
Collations, the said Articles unto them that be under their Cure, that they may plainly know and discern which of them be necessary to be believed and observed for their Salvation, and which be not necessary, but only do concern the decent and politick order of the said Church: according to such Commandment and Admonition as hath been given unto them heretofore, by Authority of the King's Highness in that behalf.

Moreover, That they shall declare unto all such as be under their Cure, the Articles likewise devised, put forth, and authorized of late, for and concerning the abrogation of certain superfluous Holy-days, according to the effect and purport of the same Articles; and persuade their Parishioners to keep and observe the same inviolable, as things honestly provided, decreed, and established, by common consent, and publick Authority, for the Weal, Commodity, and Profit of all this Realm.

Besides this, to the intent that all Superstitition and Hypocrifey, crept into divers Mens hearts may vanish away, they shall not let forth or ex-tol any Images, Reliques, or Miracles, for any superstitition or lucre; nor allure the People by any inticements to the pilgrimages of any Saint, otherwise than is permitted in the Articles lately put forth by the Authority of the King's Majesty, and condescended upon by the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm in Convocation; as though it were proper or peculiar to that Saint to give this Commodity, or that: seeing all Goodness, Health, and Grace, ought to be both asked and looked for only of God, as of the very Author of the same, and of none other, for without him it cannot be given: But they shall exhort, as well their Parishioners as other Pilgrims, that they do rather apply themselves to the keeping of God's Commandments, and fulfilling of his Works of Charity: persuading them that they shall please God more by the true exercising of the bodily Labour, Travail, or Occupation, and providing for their Families, than if they went about to the said Pilgrimages; and that it shall profit more their Souls health, if they do bellow that on the Poor and Needy, which they would have bestowed upon the said Images or Reliques.

Also in the same their Sermons, and other Collations, the Parson's, Vicars, and other Curats, aforesaid, shall diligently admonish the Fathers and Mothers, Masters and Governours of Youth, being within their Cure, to teach, or cause to be taught, their Children and Servants, even from their Infancy, their Pater Nofer, the Articles of our Faith, and the Ten Commandments, in their Mother Tongue: And the same to taught, shall cause the said Youth oft to repeat and understand. And to the intent that this may be the more easily done, the said Curats shall, in their Sermons, deliberately and plainly recite of the said Pater Nofer, the Articles of our Faith, and the Ten Commandments, one Clause or Article one day, and another another day, till those be taught and learnt by little; and shall deliver the same in writing, or show where printed Books containing the same beto be fold, to them that can read or will desire the same. And thereto that the said Fathers and Mothers,

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Masters
Masters and Governours, do bestow their Children and Servants, even from their Childhood, either to Learning, or some other benefit Exercise, Occupation, or Husbandry: exhorting, counselling, and by all the ways and means they may, as well in their said Sermons and Collations, as otherwise, persuading the said Fathers, Mothers, Masters, and other Governours, being under their Cure and Charge, diligently to provide and foresee that the said Youth be in no manner-wise kept or brought up in idlenes, left at any time afterwards they be driven, for lack of some Mystery or Occupation to liveby, to fall to begging, stealing, or some other unthriftiness; forasmuch as we may daily see, through sloth and idlenes, divers valiant Men fall, some to begging, and some to theft and murder; which after brought to calamity and misery, impure a great part thereof to their Friends and Governours, which suffered them to be brought up so idly in their Youth; where if they had been well educated and brought up in some good Literature, Occupation, or Mystery, they should, being Rulers of their own Family, have profited, as well themselves as divers other Persons, to the great commodity and ornament of the Common-wealth.

Alfo, that the said Parsons, Vicars, and other Curats, shall diligently provide that the Sacraments and Sacramentals be duly and reverently ministered in their Parishes; and if at any time it hapned them, either in any of the Cafes expressed in the Statutes of this Realm, or of special licence given by the King's Majesty to be absend from their Benefices, they shall leave their Cure, not to a rude and unlearned Person, but to an honest, well-learned, and expert Curate, that may teach the rude and unlearned of their Cure wholesome Doctrine, and reduce them to the right way that do err; and always let them see, that neither they, nor their Vicars, do seek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the Souls that they have under their Cure, or the Glory of God.

Alfo, the said Dean, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, and other Priests, shall in no wise, at any unlawful time, nor for any other caufe, than for their own necessity, haunt or resort to any Taverns or Ale-houses; And after their Dinner and Supper, they shall not give themselves to Drinking or Riot, spending their time idly, by Day or by Night, at Tables or Cards-playing, or any other unlawful Game; but at such times as they shall have such leisure, they shall read or hear somewhat of Holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some other honest Exercise; and that they alway do those things which appertain to good congruence and honesty, with profit of the Common-wealth, having always in mind, That they ought to excel all others in purity of life, and should be examples to all other to live well and christianly.

Furthermore; Because the Goods of the Church are called the Goods of the Poor, and at these days nothing is les seen than the Poor to be sustaine with the same; all Parsons, Vicars, Penfionaries, Prebendaries, and other Beneficed Men within the Deanery, not being resident upon their Benefices, which may dispence yearly 20 l. or above within this Deanry, or elsewhere, shall distribute hereafter yearly amongst their
their poor Parishioners, or other Inhabitants there, in the presence of the Church-Wardens, or some other honest Men of the Parith, the fortieth part of the Fruits and Revenues of the said Benefices: lest they be worthily noted of Ingratitude; which referring to many parts to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof amongst the poor People of that Parith, that is so fruitful and profitable unto them.

And to the intent that Learned Men may hereafter spring the more for the execution of the Premisses; Every Parson, Vicar, Clerk, or beneficed Man within this Deanery, having yearly to dispense in Benefices, and other promotions of the Church, an 100l. shall give competent exhibition to one Scholar; and for as many hundred pounds more as he may dispense, to so many Scholars more shall give like exhibition in the University of Oxford or Cambridge, or some Grammar-School; which after they have profited in good Learning, may be Partners of their Patrons Cure and Charge, as well in preaching as otherwise, in the execution of their Offices; or may, when need shall be, otherwise profit the Common-wealth with their Counsel and Wisdom.

Also, that all Parsons, Vicars, and Clerks, having Churches, Chappels, or Mansions within this Deanery, shall belly yearly hereafter upon the same Mansions, or Chancels of their Churches being in decay, the fifth part of their Benefices till they be fully repaired; and the same so repaired, shall always keep and maintain in good state.

All which and singular Injunctions shall be inviolably observed of the said Dean, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, Stipendaries, and other Clerks and beneficed Men, under the pain of suppenfion and sequestration of the Fruits of their Benefices, until they have done their duty according to these Injunctions.

VIII. Cromwel's Letter to Shaxton, Bishop of Sarum, taken from a Copy writ by his Secretary.

My Lord, after hearty Commedations, I cannot but both much marvel that you whom I have taken as mine trusty Friend, should judge me, as I perceive by your Letters you do, and also be glad that ye do frankly utter your Stomach to me. I would thank you for your plain writing and free monitions, faving that you seem fuller of suspicion than it becometh a Prelate of your sort to be; and (to say that maketh me more sorry) much worse perfwaded of me than I thought any of your Learning and Judgement could have been. I took a Matter out of your hands to mine, if upon considerations mine Office bind me to do so, what cause have ye to complain? if I had done this, either upon affection, or intending prejudice to your estimation, you might have expostulated with me; and yet if ye then had done it after a gentler sort, I should both sooner have amended that I did amifs, 

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and also have had better cause to judge your writing to me, to be of a friendly heart towards me. If ye be offended with my sharp Letters, how can your telling words (I had almost given them another Name) delight me? I required you to use no extremity in your Office, dare ye call it; and when ye have done, ye begin again, even as though all being laid, all were still behind. If ye have used none extremity, I am, I enquire you, as glad of it as I ought to be: And though ye do not, yet upon a complaint my Office bindeth me to siccourage him that hath he is over-matched, and is compelled to suffer wrong. I was thus informed, and by Persons to whom I gave more credit than I intend to do hereafter, if they have abused me, as ye would make me believe they have. They thus complaining, could I do less than grant unto them such Remedies as the King's Highness and his Laws give indifferently to all his Subjects? Might I not also somewhat gather, that ye proceed the former against the Reader, Roger London, when I had seen how much you desired the preferment of your Servant to that Revenue? My Lord, you had shewed your self of much more patience, I will not lay of much more prudence, if ye had contented your self with their lawful Appeal, and my lawful Injunctions; and rather have written somewhat fully to instruct us in this Matter, than thus to desire to conquer me by shrewd words, to vanquish me by sharp threpp of Scripture, which as I know to use travel, so I trust to God as great a Clerk as ye be, is done already. Thus out of their place, it becometh me not, neither yet I am wont to vaunt my self of well-doing, I know who worketh all that is well wrought by me; and whereas he is the whole Doer, I intend not to offer him this wrong, to labour, and I to take the thanks; yet as I do not cease to give thanks, that it hath pleased his Goodness to use me as an Instrument, and to work somewhat by me, so I trust I am as ready to serve him in my Calling, to my little power, as ye are pret to write worse of me than ye ought to think. My Prayer is, That God give me no longer life, than I shall be glad to use mine Office in seditionem, and not in definitionem, as ye bear me in hand I do. God, ye say, will judge such using of Authority, meaning flatly, that I do abuse such Power as hath pleased God and the King's Highness to set me in; God, I lay, will judge such Judges as ye are, and charge also such thoughts as ye mislike: ye do not so well as I would ye should do, if ye so think of me as your Letters make me think ye do. The Crime that ye charge me withal, is greater than I may or ought to bear, untruer I trust, than they that would frame, shall be able to prove. It is a strange thing, ye say, that I neither would write, nor fend you word by mouth, what ye should do with the Popham Monks of Abington; and that the Abbot of Redening could get a right way my Letters to inhibit your just doings; That was not my mind which I wrote, I did not intend to lett your just doings, but rather to require you to do justly; neither I was twitted in granting my Letters to him, albeit I am much reader to help him that complains of wrong, than pret to further on him that defirous punishment of a Person whom I am not sure hath offended. I made you no answer, a strange thing! my Lord, I thought ye had better known my Business, than for such a Matter to esteem me not your Friend; you might have better judged that I was too much cumbred with other Affairs, that those which
fued for the Abbot, could better esp'y their time than you could. Some
Man will think it rather utter displeasure conceived before, than that ye
have any urgent occasion here to misjudge my mind towards you. As con-
cerning your Manor you must use your Priviledges as things lent unto
you, so long as ye shall occupy them well, that is, according to the mind
and pleasure of them that give you them. I took neither the Monk's
Cause, nor any other, into my hands, to be a bearer of any such whom
their upright dealings is not able to bear. No, you know I think, that
I love such readers of Scripture as little as ye do: would God Men of
your forte were as diligent to see that in all their Dioceses good were
made, as I am glad to remove things when I know them; if ye had tak-
en even then but half the pains to fend up such things against him as
ye now fend, neither you should have had cause, no occasion thus
easily to divine of my good or evil-will towards you, nor I have been
umbered with this answer. My Lord, I pray you, while I am your
Friend, take me to be so, if I were not, or if I know any cause
why I ought not, I would not be afraid to shew you what had alienated
my mind from you; so you should well perceive that my displeasure
shall not longer than there were cause. I pass over your Nemo le-
ditor nisi a fensi, I pray with you this first part, Our Lord have pity
upon me; the other part is not in my Prayers, That God should turn
my heart, for he is my Judge, I may err in my doings for want of know-
ledge, but I willingly bear no misdoers, I willingly hurt none whom
honesty and the King's Laws do not refute. Undo not you your self, I
intend nothing less than to work you any displeasure. If hitherto I
have shewed you any pleasure, I am glad of it; I showed it to your Qua-
lities and not to you; if they tarry with you, my good-will cannot
depart from you, except your Prayer be heard, that is, My heart be
turned. I assure you I am right glad ye are in the place ye are in, and
will do what shall lie in me to aid you in your Office, to maintain your
Reputation, to give you credit among your Flock, and elsewhere; as
long as I shall see you faithful to your Duty, according to your Calling.
I will not become your good Lord, as your desire is, I am and have
been your Friend, and take you to be mine; call out vain fullipicion,
let rash Judgement rule Men of less wit and discretion, wilfulrife be-
cometh all Men better than a Bishop, which should always teach us to
lack gladly our own Will, because you may not have your own Will.
Here is Christus papa, facit & dicit, cum Dominus dedit & Dominus absu-
lit, to what purpose? Sit nomen Domini benedictum, can never lack his
place, it becometh always in fealon; or else as great a Divine as ye are,
I would say, it were not the best placed here, except you will better,
you had rather lofe all than any part of your will. I pray you teach
Patience better in your Deeds, or else speak as litter of it as ye can.
My Lord, you might have provoked an other in my place, that would
have used less patience with you, finding to little in you; but I can take
your Writings, and this Heat of your Stomach, even as well as I can, I
trull, beware of Flatterers. As for the Abbot of Redding, and his Monk,
if I find them as ye say they are, I will order them as I shall think good;
ye shall do well to do your Duty, if you so do, ye have no cause to
mistrust my Friendship; if ye do not, I must tell it you, and that some-
what after the plainest fort, To take a Cause out of your hands into
mine,
mine, I do but mine Office, you meddle further than your Office will bear you, thus roughly to handle me for using of mine. If ye do so no more, I let pass all that is past, and offer you such kindness as ye shall lawfully desire at my hands. Thus fare you well.

IX. The Sentence given out by Pope Paul the third, against King Henry.

Damnatio & Excommunicatio Henrici s. Regis Angliae; ejusque Fautorum & Complicium, cum aliarm penarios ad ejus memoriam.

Paulus Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

E]Jus qui immobiliis permanens sua providentia ordine mirabili dat cuncta moveri, dilponente clementia, vices, licet immerti generes in terris, & in fede iustitiae constituunt, iuxta prophetæ quoque Hieræ vaticiniium dicentis: Ecce te constituit supergentes & Regina, ut evelias & deslras, adicias, plantes, præcipatum super omnes Reges Universæ Terræ cunetolj; populos obtinentes principum: ac illum qui pius & misericors est, & vindictam ei qui illam prævenit paratam temporat, nec quos impenitentes vider severa utiione castigat, quin prius comminetur, in asidue autem peccantes & in peccatis perferuantur, cum excelsus misericordiae fines prateruunt, ut falsum metu pecna ad cor reverti cogantur, iustitiae vires exercet, imitantes; ex incumbenti nobis Apollonie fælicitudinis studio per-urgemur, ut cunctarum perfona- rum nostra curæ cælitus confirmemur filiibrib statui solerius intendamus, ac erroribus & scandalis, quæ Hoftis antiqui verutia imminere conspicimus, propenius obviemus, excellefut; & enormia ac scandalosæ crimina congrua severitate coercemus, & iuxta Apostolum inobedien- tiam ovium promptius ulcificendo, illorum perpetratores debita corre- cione fie compeceamus, quod eos Dei iram provocassen peneiteat, & ex hoc alius exemplo cautelæ salutaris accedat.

Sane cum superiores diebus nobis relatum fuisset, quod Henricus Angliae Rex, licet tempore Pontificatus feæl. record. Leonis Pæpæ X. Prædecclloris nostri diversorum hereticorum Errores, &epe ab Apollonie Sede & Sacris Concilii præteritis temporibus damnatos, & novissimæ nostræ aetate per perditionem aliumnum Martinum Lutharem sui- caros & innovatos, zelo Catholicae Fidei, & erga diæram Sedem devotio- nis fervore inducandus, non minus docte quam pie, per quendam librum per cæli defuper compositum, & eodem Leoni Præcedendori ut eum examinaret & approbaret oblatum, confutatis, ob quod ab eodem Leone Prædcestori ultra diæ libri, cum magna infius Henrici Regis laude & commendatione, approbationem, titulum Defensores Fidei reportaverit, Æte Fidei & Apolloniae tramite devians, ac propriæ salutis, famæ, & honoris
Book III. of Records.

honoris immemor, postquam Charissima in Christo Filia nostra Catharina Angiae Regina illustri sua progenie comuge, cum qua publice in ficio Ecclesia Matrimonium contraexerat, & per plures annos continuaverat, ac ex qua, dixto confante Matrimonio, prolem pluris lucreperat; nulla legitima futiifente caufa, & contra Ecclesia prohibitionem dimifta, cum quodam Anna Bolena, Muliere Anglica, dixta Catharina adhuc vivente, de fato Matrimonio contraexerat, ad deteriores profliens, quaflam leges ceu generales Constitutiones edere non erubuit, per quas fubditos fuis ad quoddam harreticos & schifmaticos Articulos tenendos, inter quos & hoc erat quod Romanus Pontifex Caput Ecclesiae, & Christi Vicarius non erat, & quod ipse in Anglica Ecclesia fupremum Caput exiferat, fub gravisbus etiam mortis peninis coegerat. Et his non contentus, Diabo1 facrilegii crimen fiuadente, quamplures Prelatos, etiam Epifcopos, alia2; personas Ecclefiafiicas, etiam Regulares, necnon Saculares, fibi ut harretico & schifmatico adharere, ac Articulos pridicos Sanctorum Patrum decretis & Sacrorum Conciliorum Statutis, imo etiam ipfi Evangelica veritati contrarios, tanquam tales alias damnatos approbare, & fequi nolentes, & intrepide reculantes, capi & carceribus munciari. Hifip; himiter non contentus, mala malis accumulating, bone memoria Jo. H. S. Vitalis Presbyt. Cardinal. Roffen. quem ob fidei constantiam & verae Sanctorum ad Cardinalatus dignitatem promoveramus, cum dictis harretibus & erroribus confentire nollet, horrenda immantate & debeatfanda favitia, publice miferabilis fupplicio tradi & decollari mandate, & fecerat, Excommunicationis, & Anathematiferitati, alia3; gravisbus fententias, cenfuras, & penas in litteris & constitutionibus recolendo mem. Bonificiis VIII. Honoris III. Roman. Pontificium praecefforum nosfiorum defipuer editis contentas, & alfas in tales a jure latas dannabili ter incurundo, ac Regno Anglico, & dominis quae tenebant, necnon regalis fatigii celitutinde ac prefati tituli praeogativa, & honore fe in dignum redendo.

2. Nos licet ex eo, quod prout non ignorabamus, idem Henricus Rex certis cenfundis Ecclefaifiacis, quibus a pie memorie Clemente Papa VII. etiam praeceffore nofтро, postquam humanifimis litteris & paternis exhortationibus, multis; nuncius & medias, primo & pottermo etiam judicialiter, ut praefatur Annam a fe dimitteret, & ad pridicte Catharinae fute vate Conjugis confortium rediret, fruttra monitus fuerat, innodatus extirerat, Pharonis durium imitantio, per longum tempus in clavium contemptum infoduerat, & infoderecebat, quod ad cor rediret, vix sperare posse videreamus. ob paternam tamen Charitatem, qua in minoribus confitutus donec in obedientia, & reverentia Sedis pradicae permaniff, cum profecati fueramus, ut q; clarius videre poifeamus, an clamor qui ad nos delatus fuerat, (quem certe etiam ipsius Henrici Regis refpe& vallum effe defideramus) verus effet, statuimus ab ulteriori contra ipsum Henricum Regem proceffu ad tempus abfifendo, his rei veritatem diligentius indare.

3. Cum autem debitis diligentis defuper factis clamorem ad nos, ut prefertur, delatum, verurn effe, fimulque, quod doleter referimus, dixtem Henricum Regem ita in profundum malorum defendisse, ut de ejus refipificantia nulla penitus videatur fpec haberi posse, repererimus: Nos attendentes vetere lege, crimen adulterii notatum lapida i mandatum, ac auctores Schifinatis habatur terra abfportos, eorumq: fœcaces celefti igne
igue consumptos, Elymanque Magum viis Domini resistentem per Apo-
tolum aequa ferveritate damnatum tuile, volente; ne in diligentia exa-
mine iphisi Henrici Regis & subditorum fuorum, quos secum in perdi-
tionem trahere videmus, animarum ratio ad nobis expofcatur, quem
nobis ex alto conceditur, providere contra Henricum Regem, ejusque
complices, fautores, adherentes, & feguaces, & in pramiflis qumodo-
libet culpabiles, contra quod ex eo quod excellitus, & delicta praedita
adeo manif esta funt & notoria, ut nulla poftfint tergiverfatione celi,
abiue ulteriori mora ad executionem procedere poftfemus, benignius a-
gendo, decrevimus infrafcripto modo procedere.

4. Habita itaque fuper his cum venerabilibus fratribus noftris S. R. E.
Cardinalibus deliberatione matura, & de illorum confilio & affenfu,
praefatum Henricum Regem, ejusque complices, fautores, adherentes,
confultores & feguaces, ac quoscumque alios in pramiflis. eum eorum ali-
quo quod modo culpabiles, tam laicos quam Clericos, etiam regulares
cujufcunque dignitatis, ftatus, gradus, ordinis, conditionis, praeminen-
tia, & excellentia exiftent, (quorum nemina & cognomina, perinde
at praelentibus inferentur, pro fuficienter expressi haberi volumus)
per viHerem mifericordiae Dei noftri hortamur, & requirimus in Domino,
quatenus Henricus Rex ad praedictis erroribus profus abfitinat, & confi-
tuciones, feu leges praedictas, ficut de faete eae fecit, revocet, caffet, &
annuller, & coftione fubditorum fuorum ad eae fervandas, nec non
carceratione, captura, & punctione illorum, qui ipfis constitutionibus
feu legibus adhaere, aur eae fervare noluerint, & ab aliis erroribus pra-
dictis penitus, & omnino abfitinat, & fi quos pramiflorum occafione
captivos habeat, relaxet.

5. Complices vero, fautores, adherentes, confultores, & feguaces
dicti Henrici Regis in pramiflis, & circa ea iphí Henrico Regi fuper his
de cetero non adfiitant, nec adhaereant, vel faveant, nec ei confilium,
auxilium, vel favorem, defuper praefent.

6. Alias fi Henricus Rex, ac fautores, adherentes, confultores, &
seguaces, hortationibus & requifitionibus hujufmodi non annuertin
cum effe eft, Henricum Regem, fautores, adherentes, confultores &
seguaces, ac alios culpabiles praedictos, auctoritate Apostolica, ac ex cer-
ta noftra fciencia, & de Apostolicae poteflatis plenitudine, tenere pra-
fentium, in virtute fanctae obedientia, ac sub majoris Excommunicationis
lata fententia, a qua etiam praetexto cujufcunque privilegi, vel facul-
tatis, etiam in foma confessionalis, cum quibuscumque effecifuis clau-
fulis nobis & Sede praedicta quomodolibet confeffis, & etiam iteratis
vicibus innovatis, ab alio quam a Romano Pontifice, praeterquam in mor-
tis Articulo confituti, inca tamen, quod fi aliquaem absolvì contingat, qui
postmodum convaluerit, nihil poft convalefcentiam, monitioni & mandati-
ros noftris hujufmodi pareret cum effe, in eandem Excommunicationis
fententiam reinfundat, absolvì non poftfint.

7. Necnon rebellionis, & quoad Henricum Regem, etiam perditio-
nis Regni, & Dominiorum praelentorum, & tanti quod eum, quam
quod alios monitos fuprafictos fupra & infrafcriptis penitis, quas fi dictis
monitioni & mandatis, ut praefertum, non paruerint, eos, & eorum fin-
gulos, ipfo facto reperientur incurrire volumus, per praefentem monemus;
eseque & eorum culpetid hujufmodi praecipiendo mandamus, quatenus Hen-
ricus Rex per fe, vel procuratoarem legitimum & fufficienti mandato suf-
fultum,
fultum, infra nonaginta, complicis vero, fautores, adherentis, confiltores, & lequaces, ac alii in prxtmissis quemodolibet culpabiles ipractici, Sacrales & Ecclesialaeci etiam regulares, perfonaliter infra lexaginta dies comparant coram nobis, ad fse luper prxmissis legitime executandum & defendendum; alias videndum & audiendum contra eos & eorum singulos, etiam nominatim, quos fiec monemus, quatenus expetia, ad omnes & singulos, actus, etiam sententiam definitivam, declaratoriam, condemnatoriam, & privatoriam, ac mandatum executivum procedi. Quod si Henricus Rex, & alii moniti practicte intra dictos terminos eis ut prxfertur, respective prxfixos non comparuerint, & pradicte Excommunicatione tentantem per tres dies, post lapsum dictorum terminorum animo, quod absit, suffunerint indurato, centuras iphas aggravamus, & succeffe reaggravamus, Henricum; ipsum, privationis Regni & Dominiorum praedicorum, & tam cum quam alios monitos praedicte; & eorum singulos, omnes & singulas alias penas prxdictas incurrile, ab omnibus; Chrifi fidibus, cum eorum bonis perpetuo diffidatos esse. Et si interim ab humanis decedat, Ecclesiastic debeat carere fepultura, auroritate & pofesfatis plenitudine praedicte declinamus, & declaramus, eolque anathematis, maleditiones, & damnationis extem microne perecutimus.

8. Necon quæ praetatus Henricus Rex quemodolibet, & ex quavis causa tenet, habet, aut poiffidet, Quandiu Henricus Rex, & alii moniti pradtici, & eorum singuli in alios per dictum Henricum Regem non tentis, habitis, aut possellis permanuerint, & triduo post eorum inde recefsum, & alia quaeque, ad quæ Henricum Regem, & alios monitos prdticos, post lapsum dictorum terminorum declinare contigerit, Dominia, civitates, terras, castra, villas, oppida, Metropolitanalque, & alias Cathedrales, ceteris; & inferiores Ecclesias, necon Monasteria, Prioratus, Domos, Conventus, & loca religiosa, vel pia cujusunque, etiam S. Benedict. Cluniacen. Ciftercien. Premontfraten. ac Pradicatorum, Minorum, Eremitarum, S. Augusti, Carmelitarum, & aliorum Ordinum, ac Congregationium, & Militarum quarumcumque in iphis Dominis, Civitatis, terris, castris, villis, oppidis, & locis exsistentia, Ecclesiastico supponimus Interdicto, ina ut illo durante in iis etiam praxeo cujusque Apostolici induiti, Ecclesiis, Monasteriiis, Prioratibus, Domibus, Conventibus, locis, ordinibus, aut personis, etiam queaque; dignitate fulgentibus concedi, praeterquam in castibus & jure permifsis, ac etiam in illis alios quam clauius ianuis, & Excommunicationis & interdictiis excluis, nequanto Mia, aut alia divina officia celebrari.

9. Et Henrici Regis, complicique, fautorum, adhaerentium, consulitorum, sequacium, & culpabilium pradictorum ilii, puerarum, ut iec in hoc calu par eft, participes fint, omnes & singulos ejudem Henrici Regis ex dicta Anna, ac singulorum aliorum pradictorum filios natos, & nafcituris, aliquoque defcendentes, usque in eum gradum, ad quem jura penas in castibus hujusmodi extendunt (nemine excepto, nulla; minoris ataxis, aut sexus, vel ignorantia, vel alterius cuiusvis causa habita racione) dignitaribus, & honoriibus in quibus quemodolibet confirmiti exitur, seu quibus gaudent, utuntur, potiumur, aut mniniti finit, nec non privilegis, concessionibus, gratis, indulgentiis, immunitatibus, remissionibus, libertatibus, & indultis, ac dominis, civitatibus, castris, terris, villis, oppidis, & locis, etiam Commendatis, vel in Gubernium conceflis,
concessis, & quæ in feudam, emphyteusim, vel alias à Romanis, vel aliiis Ecclesiis, Monasteriis, & locis Ecclesiasticis, ac secularibus Principibus, Dominiis, Forentaribus, etiam Regibus & Imperatoribus, aut aliiis privatis, vel publicis perönis quomodoliber haberent, tenent, aut pollident, cartifis; omnibus bonis, mobilibus & immobilibus, juribus & actionibus, eos quomodoliber comptentibus privatos, diteraque bona feudalia, vel emphyteutica, & alia quacunque ab alius quomodoliber obtenta, ad directos dominos, ict ut de illis libere disponeire possint, respectiu devoluut, & eos qui Ecclesiastici fuerint, etiam religiosis exi- fluent, Ecclesiis etiam Cathedrallis, & Metropolitannis, necnon Monasteriis & Prioratibus, praepofitoris, praepofituris, dignitaribus, perfonalibus, Officis, Canoniciaribus & Praebendis, aliis, beneficis Ecclesiasticis, perc eos quomodoliber obtentis privatos, & ad illa ac alia in posterum obtrinenda inhabinble effe, similitur decernimus & declaramus; eis, nec respectiu privatos ad illa, & alia quaecunque; similis, ac dignitatis, honesta, administrations, & officia, iura, ac feudâ in posterum obtinenda, autenticâ & feientia, ac plenitudine similibus inhabilantam.

10. Ipstitut, Henrici Regis, ac Regni omnium; aliorum dominiorum, civilaturn, terrarum, cafforum, villarum, fortalitorum, arcium, oppidorum & locorum fuorum, etiam de facto obtrertorum Magiftratur, judicibus, Cauffellanois, Caffodes & Officiale quoque, necnon Communitates, Universitates, Collegia, Feudatarios, vallallos, subditos, cives, inclos, & habitaturos etiam forenés, dicto Regi de facto obediente, tam facculares, quam si qui rationis aliquos temporalitatis ipsum Henricum Regem in superiorem recognoent, etiam Ecclesiasticos, ad præfato rege, feu eius compitionibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, confultibus, & sequacibus fupradictis depuratis, a juramento fidelitatis, iure vassallitico, & omni erga Regem, & alios prædictos subjeclione absolvo- mus, ac penitus liberamus. His nihilominus sub Exc overrunis pens mandantes, ut ab ejusdem Henrici Regis, fuorum quarum officialium, judicium, & magiftratum quornuncung; obedientia penitus & omnino recedat, nec illos in superiores recognoent, neque illorum mandatis opremperent.

11. Et ut aliis exnum exemplo perterriti dictant ab hujusmodi excessibus abstinere, eudlum auctoritatem, fcientiam, & plenitudine, volumus, ac decernimus, quod Henricus Rex & complices, fautoribus, adhærentibus, consulatibus, sequacibus, & aliis in praemissis culpabilibus, potquam alias parnas prædictas, ut praefatut, respectiu incurrerint, necnon præfari defcatentes, ex runc infames existat, & ad rettitionem non admittantur; rettamenta, & codicillos, aut alia dispositions, etiam inter vivos concedere, & fæcere non possint, & ad aliis suceptionem ex rettamento, vel ab interfato, necnon ad jurifdictionem, seu judiciandui potestatem, & ad Notariatum Officium, omnem; actus litigiosos quoque, ict ut corum processus, live instrumenta arq; aliis actus quiuenque, nullius fin roboris vel momentum, inhabinble existat, & nulli ipfi, fed ipfi aliis super quoques debito & negorio, tam civili, quam criminali, de jure respondere teneantur.

12. Et nihilominus omnes, & singulos Chrifti fideles, sub Excornunicationis, & aliiis infradictis penis, moramus, ut quorit, Excornunicatos, aggravatos, interdictos, privatos, maledictos, & dannatos prædictos evinent, & quantum in eis est, & ab aliis evirari faciant.
Book III. of Records. 171.

faciant, nec cum eisdem, seu præfati Regis Civitatum, Dominorum, Terrarum, Caftorum, Comitatum, Villarum, Fortalitiorum, Oppidorum, & locorum prædictorum civibus, incolis, vel habitationibus aut subdisis & vaflallis, emendo, vendendo, permutando, aut quamcumque mercuriis, seu negotiorum exercendo, commercio, seu aliquam conversionem, seu communione habente, aut vinam, granum, fil, feu alia viiti,

alia, arma, pannos, mercis vel quibus aliis mercantis, vel res per mare in eorum navibus, triremibus, aut alii navigis, sive per terram cum multis, vel alii animalibus, deferre aut conducere, feu deferri aut conducti facere, vel delata per illos recipere, publice vel occulte, aut alter facientibus auxilium, confilio, favorem publice vel occulte directe vel indirecte, quovis queatis colore, per se, vel alium, seu alios quoque modo præfare praemittat. Quod si fecerint, ultra Excommunicationis praedicta, etiam nullitatis conträum quos inirent, nec non prædicionis mercium, viitulium, & honorum omnia delatorum, quæ capientium sunt, prænas similiturii ciplo incurrant.

Cæterum quia convenire non videtur, ut cum his qui Ecclesiæ contemnuunt, dum praëfertim eorum pertinacia ipsæ corrigibilitatis non habentur, hi qui divis in obsequiis vacat, conveniunt, quod etiam illos tuto facere non posse dubitandum est, omnium & singularum Metropolitarum & àtarius Cathedralium, cæterarum; inferiorum Ecclesiæ, & Monasteriorum, domorum & locorum Religionorum, & piorum quorumcumque, etiam S. Auguffini, S. Benedicti, Cluniacens. Cifericen. Præmoiftraten. ac Predicatore, Minorum, Carmelitarum, aliorumque quorumcumq; ordinum, & Militiæ, etiam Hospitialis Hierofoly-
mittant, Prælatis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Præceptoribus, Præpositis, Mi-
niftris, Comitiis, Guardianis, Conventibus, Monachis & Canonicis, necon Parochialium Ecclesiæ Parochiorum, aliusque quibusque; personæ Ecclesiæ in Regno & Dominiis praedictis commorantibus, sub Excommunicationis ac privationis Administrationum & regimini Monasteriorum, dignitatum, perfonatuum, administrationum, ac officiorum, Canonizarumque, & Præbendarum, Parochialium Ecclesiæ, & aliorum beneficiorum Ecclesiæ, &iorum quorumcumq; quodmodobib qualif-
catorum, per eos quomodobib obtentorum, penins mandamus, quare

infra quinu; dies, post omnes & singulos terminos prædictos elapsos, de ipsis Regno, & Dominiis, dimissis tamen aliquibus Presbyteris in Ecclesiæ quorum curam habuerint, pro administro baptismate par-

vulis, & in penitenfia decedentibus, ac alius Sacramentis Ecclesiæs, quæ tempore Interdicti miniftrari permittuntur, excant & discedant, ne-

que ad Regnum, & Dominiæ praedicta revertantur; donec movant, & Excommunicati, aggravati, reaggravati, privati, melancheli, & damnati praedictis monitionibus, & mandatis nofris huifmodi obteneaverint, meruerint & cenflis huifmodi absolutionis beneficium obtinere, feu Inter-
dictum in Regno, & Dominiis praedictis, fuerit sublatum.

Præterea: si præmissis non obfiantibus, Henricus Rex, Complices, fautores, adharentes, confultores, & sequaces praedicti in eorum periti-
nacía perseveraverint, nec conscientia stimulus eos ad cor reducere, in eorum forte potentia, & armis confidentes, omnes & singulos Duces, Marchiones, Comites, & alios quoque; tam Seulares, quam Ecclesiæs etiam forefens, de facto dícto Henrico Regi obedientes, sub ejus-
dem Excommunicationis, ac perditionis honorum fuorum (quae, ut infra dicitur, similiter capientium sunt) penitus, requinimum & monemus,
quantum omní mora, & exécutione postpòsita, cos, & cœrorum fingulos, actíorum milités & stipendíarios, tam equeítres quam pedeítres, ali- oque quoélcumque, qui eis cum armís favoríent, de Regnó & Dominís prædícitis, etiam vi armorum, si opús fuerit, expellant: ac quod Henricus Réx, & ejus complíces, fautorés, adhærentes, confúltores, & fe- quaces, mandatís notrí non obremperantes prædící, de Civítatibus, Terris, Cafrís, Villís, Oppidís, Fórtalitiís, aut alís locís Regnì & Do- mini prædícitorum, fì non intromítrant, procurent: eis fub omníbus & fingulis præcis prædícís inhibentes, ne in favorem Henrici, ejúfque com- plicum, fautorum, adhærentum, confúltorum, & fequacíum ãlórum; monítoríum prædícitorum, mandatís notrí non obremperantíum, arma cujuslibet generis offénsiva, vel defénsiva, Machinas quoq; béllica, feu tormenta (artíllarias nuncupáta) fímmant aut teneant, feu illis urantr, aut armatós alíquos práticar consúitam famíliam parent, aut ab Henricó Rége, compílicibus, fautoríbus, adhærentibus, confúltoribus, & fequá- cubis, vel alís in Regís ipfíus favorem parato, quomodoque, quávis occasiós vel caufa, per fè vel aliúm feu aliós, publice vel occulte, dirécte vel indirecte teneant, vel receptant, aut dúcto Henrico Régi, fèllíus compílicibus, fautoríbus, adhærentibus, confúltoribus, & fequacíbus prædícís, confílium, auxílium, vel quomodoque caufa caufa, vel quávis quaestió colóre fíve ingenio, publice vel occulte, dirécte vel in- directe, tætice vel expreffí, per fè vel aliúm feu aliós præmissí, vel ali- quo præmissorum præfent, fùus præfér in fáciant quoquequómodo.

15. Præterea ad díctum Henricum Regem facilius ad famitatem, & præfæta Sedií obedientiam reducendum, omnes & fingulos Christianó Príncipes, quaçunq; etiam Imperiali & Regali dignitatem fulgentes, per vícera miíéricordíà Dei noíthi (cuíus caufa agítur) hortamur & in Domínó requírimus, eis nihilominus, qui Imperatóre & Rége inferiorés fuercint, quos propter excelléntiam dignitatis á censúris excipímus, sub Excommunicaíonís penam mandantes, ne Henrico Régi ejufq; compílicibus, fautoríbus, adhærentibus, confúltoribus, & fequá- cubis, vel eorüm aliucí, per fè vel aliúm feu aliós, publice vel occulte, dirécte vel indi- recte, tætice vel expreffí, etiam fub præterexu confedérationum aut ob- ligationum quocumque etiam juramento, aut quávis alia fingírue rébo- ratarum, & fapdií gemináturum, á quibús quidem obligationibus & ju- ramentis omníbus, nos cos & cœrorum fingílos effidem auértèrent & fciéntia ac plenitúdo per præfentés abolívimus, ipfáque confedérationes & obligationes tam fácias, quam in póterum faciendas, quas tamen (in quantum Henricus Réx & complíces, fautorés, adhærentes, confúltores, & fequaces prædicí circa præmissá, vel eorüm aliqüod fè dirécte vel in- directe juívare poílent) fub eadem poena fíeri prohibéntus, nullius ro- boris vel momenti, nulláque, irritás, cañías, ínanes, ac pró infécitís ha- bendas fere decernimus & declaramus, confílium, auxílium, vel favo- rem quomodólibet præfent, quinimum fì quí illis, aut eorüm aliucí ad præfens quomodo libet affíßtant, ab ipfí omníno & cum affecíu recédant. Quod fì non fecerint poíquam præfentes popularí publice & executioni demand- date fuerint, & dícti termini lapí fuerint, omnes & fingílos civitáter, ter- rás, oppida, cañtra, villas, & alia loca eis fuibíctá, fímini Ecclesiastico In- terdícito füpponimus, volentes ipísum Interdícitum donce ipí Principes á Confílio, auxílio, & favore Henricó Régi & compílicibus, fautoríbus, ad- hærentibus, confúltoribus & fequacíbus prædícís præfando dëttícérin, perdurare.

16. Insuper
16. Insuper tam Principes prædictos, quæm quoqueum; alios, etiam ad stipendia quoruncumque Christi fidelium militantes, & alias quæcumque persona, tam per mare, quam per terras, armigeros habentes, similitur hortamur & requirimus, & nihilominus eis in virtute sanctæ obedientiae mandantes, quatenus contra Henricum Regem, complices, factores, adherentes, confultores, & fequeces prædictos, dum in erroribus prædictis, ac adversus Sede prædictam, rebellione perniciorint, armis infulgent, & eorum singulos perfequantur, ac ad unitatem Ecclesiae; & obedientiam dícete Sedis redire cogant & compellant; & tam eos quam ipforum subditos & vaflallos, ac civitatum, terrarum, castrorum, oppidorum, villarum, & locorum fuorum incolas, & habitatores, alio&que omnes & singulas personas supradictas mandatis nostris, ut præfertur, non obtemperantes, & eorum præfatum Henricum Regem, postquam cenfuras, & penas prædictas incurrerit, in Dominum quomodolibet, etiam de fæcio cognoverint, vel ei quovis modo obtemperare præfumpturint, aut qui cum, & eorum, complices, factores, adherentes, confultores, fequeces ac alios non obtemperantes prædictos, ex Regno & Dominis prædictis, ut præfertur, expellere noluerint, ubique; eos invenerint, eorumque bona, mobilia & immobilia, mercantias, pecunias, navigia, cre&ta, res, & animalia, etiam extra territorium diœti Henrici Regis ubiler præ-fentia, capitane.

17. Nos enim eis bona, mercantias, pecunias, navigia, re, & animalia prædicta sic capta, in propriis eorum ulet convertendi, eisdem au-toritate, scientia, & potestatis plenitudine, plenariam licentiam, facultatem & authoritatem concedimus, illa omnia ad eisdem capientes plenarie pertinere, & spectare, & personas ex Regno & Dominis prædictis originem trahentes, & in illis domicilium habentes, aut quomodolibet habitantes, mandaris nostris prædictis non obtemperantes, ubique; eos capi contigerit, capientium færoris fieri decorrentes: præsentefque literas quoad hoc ad omnem alios eumfu nuntiis; dignitatis, gradus, status, ordinis, vel conditionis fuerint, qui ipsi Henrico Regi, vel eis complicitibus, fautoribus, adherentibus, confultoribus, & fequecis, aut alis monite-nibus, & mandaris nostris huicmodo quoad commercium non obtemperantes, vel eorum aliqui vietualia, arma, vel pecunias subministrare, aut cum eis commercium habere, & auxilium, consilium, vel favorem, per se vel alium, fæu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, quovis modo contra tenorem præfentium præfære præsumerint, exten-dentes.

18. Et ut premiifæ facilius is quos convenunt innotescant, universis & singulis Patriarchis, Archiepifcopis, Epifcopis, & Patriarchalium Metropitan, & aliarum Cathedralium, & Collegiatarum Ecclesiæ Prælati, Capitulis, aliefs; personis Ecclefiaflicas, Sacriaribus ac quorumvis ordinum Regularibus, necnon omnibus & singulis, etiam mendicantis ordinum Præfessoribus, exemptis & non exemptis, ubilibet con-fistitur, per eisdem præfentes sub Excommunicationis & privationis Ecclesiæ, Monasteriorum, & aliorum Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, graduum quœque & officiorum, necnon privilegiorum, & indultorum quoruncumque; etiam à Sede prædicta quomodolibet emanatorum penis iplo fæcio incurrendis, præcipimus & mandamus, quatenus ipsi ac eorum singuli, fi, & potquam vigore præfentium defuper requifiri fuerint, infra tres dies immediate sequentes, præfatum Henricum Regem, omnes; alios
alia & singulos, qui praedictas cenfuras & penas incurrerint, in eorum Ecclesiis, Dominiciis & aliis festivis dictus, dum major inibi populi multitudine ad divina conventa, cum Crucis vexillo, pulsatis campanis, & accenfis, ac demum extinctis, & in terram propechis, & conclusaris candelis, & aliis in simulibus fervari solitis ceremoniis fervatis, Excommuni- catos publice nunciunt, & ab aliis nuntiari, ac ab omnibus arctius secati & mandent, neenem sub praedictis cenfuris & penis, praedentes litteras, vel earum tranquiptum, lub forma infracripta confectum, in alia terminium trium dictum, potquam, et præfertim, requiritus fuerint, in Ecclesiis, Monasteriiis, Conventibus, & aliis eorum locis, publicari & affigi faciant.

19. Volentes, omnes & singulos cujufcumen; statu, gradus, conditiones, praeminentia, dignitatis, aut excellentiae fuerint, qui quo minus praedentes litteras vel earum tranquiapt, copia, feu exemplaria, in suis citatisibus, terris, caflris, oppidis, vibus, & locis legi & affigi, ac publicari potfunt, per fl, vel altum, feu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte impederint, eadem cenfuras & penas, ipfo facto incurrere. Et cum iura & dolus nemini debeant patrocinari, ne quifquam ex his, qui aliqui regimini & administrationis deputati sunt, infra terminus fui regimini feu administrationis praedictas fententias, cenfuras & penas suflinat, qualis potf dictum tempus fententias, cenfuris & penis praedictis amplius ligatus non exiftat, quernunque qui dum in regimine, & administratione exitens, monitioni & mandato notiris, quoad praemilla vel aliquid eorum obrempere noluerit, etiam depofito regimine, & administratione hujiufmodi, nisi paruerit, citdem cenfuris & penis subjacere decrenunus.

20. Et ne Henricus Rex ejuf; complices, & fautores, adherentes, consultores, & fequaces, aliis; quos præmilla concernunt, ignornantiam earundem praefentum literarum, & in eis contentor um pretendere valeat, litteras ipfas (in quibus omnes & singulos, tam juris, quam fæti, etiam folennitatem, & proceffionem, curationum; omiffarum defectus, etiam si tales fine, de quibus specialis, & expressa mentio facienda effet, proper notorietatem fæti, auctoritate, fcientia, & poefiarii plentudine, simulibus, & suppeditem) in BasilIce Principis Apollotorum, & Cancellarie Apollolica de urbe, & in partibus in Collegiato B. Maria Burgen. Torn- cen. & Parochialis de Dunike, & oppidorum Morinenfis dioceffis, Eccle- arum valvis affigi, & publicari mandamus: Decentiores quod earundem literarum publicatio fìca fæta, Henricum Regem, eftuf; complices, fautores, adherentes, consultores, & fequaces, omnem, aliis, & singulos quos literas ipfas quomodolibet concernunt, perinde eos ardent, ac fì literas ipfas personaliter leâte, & intimae fuiffent, cum non fit verificat, quod ea, quæ tam patenter fuunt, debeant apud eos inoignita remanere.

21. Ceterum quia difficile foret praedentes litteras ad finquale loca, ad quæ necellarium effet deferri, finquale volumus & dicit auctoritate decrenunus, quod earum tranquiptum manu publici Norarii confec- chis, vel in alma urbe impreffis, ac fìgilo aliquos perfons in dignitate Ecclefiatica confititute munitis, ubi; cadem fides adhibeatur, qua originalibus adhibereur, ef fentent exhibere vel offere.

22. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat bane paginam nostræ monitionis, aggravationis, reaggravationis, declarationis, percellionis, supper- sitionis, inhaltuationis, abolitionis, liberationis, requisitionis, inhibitionis,
tionis, hortationis, exceptionis, prohibitionis, concessionis, extensio-
nis, suppletionis, mandatorum, voluntatis, & decretorum, infringeré,
vel ei autui rememorario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare, praxis-
perit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apo-
tolorum ejus fte noverit incurrurum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Maricum, Anno Incarnationis Do-
mini 1535. 3 Kal. sept. Pont. nostri Anno 1.

Sequitur suspensionis executionis dictae Bullae, & tandem ejus
revocatio, & Exeucio.

Paulus Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, ad perpetuam
re memoriam.

Cum Redemptor nobis ideo illun qui ipsum negaverat, Petrum
vix. Univerfi Ecclesie praefcere voluerit, ut in tua culpa different
aliis esse miferendum, non immenso Romanus Pontifex qui ipsius Petri
in dignitate Successor existit, debet ciam in Officio exercendae mifericor-
diae ipsius esse Successor. Sed cum in eum dirigitur mifericordia, qui et
hoc fit inolentior, & obstinatus, aliis; fcecum tractit in perditionem,
debet ipse Romanus Pontifex, poltopolita in eum mifericordia, ommem
severitatem adidibere, quo membrum illud putridum ita à corpore fepa-
retur, ut reliqua membra absit; metu contagionis falsa remanerant, prefer-
tim cum pluribus curis adhibitis, & multo tempore in hoc confumpto
morbum quotidie magis invalefere, ipsa experientia comprobat.

1. Aliis cum nobis relatum suis, quod Henricus Anglus Rex, pra-
tea qua Matrimoniun de facto, & contra prohibitionem Ecclesiis re-
merarie contractum concernebant, quasdam leges, feu generales confi-
tutiones subditos suis ad harem, & fictuma rahtent estiderant, & bone
memoriae Joann. tit. Sancti Vitalis Presbyterum Comes Rogen-
publice damnari & capite puniti, ac aliquos quamplures Prolatos, necnon
alias personas Ecclesiast Haref & Schismatis hujus nonli adhucere nolebat,
carceribus mercapri fecerat; Nos, licet illi qui talia nobis retulerant ra-
les effent, ut nullo modo de veritate fiuorum dictorum ambigendum eff-
et, cupientes tamen respectu ipsius Henrici Regis, quem antequam in
his inaniias incidere, peculiari quid un charitate prosequenur. prad-
dicata falla reperiiri, de eis informationem ulteriorem habere procuravi-
mus, & inventenum clamorem ad nos dictorum verum esse, ne nostrro
O ficio dessefimus, contra eum procedere decrevimus, justa formam
quarundam literarum nostrarum, quorum tenor sequitur. Et est ta-
lis, &c.

Omittitur infercio, quia bulla ipsa est quae precedit.

2. Dum autem poiea ad dictarum literarum executionem devenien-
dum est, cum nobis per nonnullos principes, & alias ins-
 signes personas perfluentur, ut ab executione hujusmodi per aliquan-
tum
cum temporis superfederemus, ipse nobis data, quod interim ipse Henricus Rex ad cor, unditur & repisipseret; nos quo, ut hominum natura fert, facile credamus quod defiderabanmus, dicitam executionem suspenderimus, ipserantem (ut ipse nobis data erat) ex ipsa fulpensione, correctio- nem & repisipseriam, non autem pertinaciam & obstinationem, ac majorem delirationem, ut relater esset edocuit, preventuram.

3. Cum igitur repisipsercia & Correctio hujusmodi quam tribus fere annis expectavinus, non rem publica sequuura non sit, fed ipse Henricus Rex quondam magis e in sua feritate, ac temeniter confirmans. In nova etiam fecera pronoepit, quippe cum non contentus vivorum Praetato- rum & laederorum crudelissima trucidatione, etiam in mortuos, & eos quidem quos in fandorum numerum relatos Univerfalis Ecclefiis pluribus fecusis venerata est, feritate exercere non expavit, Divi enim Thomae Cantuarien. Archipielen, cujus offa, qua in dietro Regno Anglie potifsimam, ob innumera ab omniporete Deo illie perpetrata miracula, simma cum veneratione in arca aurae in Civitate Cantuarien. fervabantur, postquam ipsum Deum Thomam, ad majorem Religionis cons- temptum, in judicium vocari, & tanquam contumacem damnari ac pro- ditorem declarari fecerat, exhumari, & comburi, ac cines in ventum ipari justit, omne plane cunctarum genus crudelitatem superans, cum in bello quidem hostes vifores favire in mortuorum cadavera foliiunt; adhac omnina ex differorum Regum erat Anglorum, & alio- rum. Principium liberalitate donaria, ipsi arce appensa, quia multa, & maximi pretii erant, libi utiparavi; nec putans ex hoc fatis injurie religi- gionis intulisse, Monasterium Divo illi Augustino, & & Chriftianam fidem Anglii accepurunt, in dietro civitate dicatum, omnibus Thefauris, qui etiam muli & magni erant, fpoliavi, & ficut se in bellum tran- mutavit, ita etiam belluras quasi locis suas honorare voluit, feras videli- cet in dietro Monasterio, expulsis Monachis, intromittendo, genus quidem feceris non modo Chrifti fidelibus, fed etiam Turcis inauditum & abominandum.

4. Cum itaq; morbus ille a nullo quarnminvis peritifummo medico alia cura fanari poftur, quam putridi membro abficiiffe, hoc valeret cura hujusmodi, a/bq; co, quod nos apud Deum caufam lave nostram efficie- mus, ulterior retardari, ad dietarum literarum (quas ad hoc ut Henri- cius Rex, gudque Complices, Fatores, adhaerentes, confultores, & fe- quaces, etiam fuper excelibus per eum novifinam, ut prefertur, perpetu- tratis, intra terminum eis, quoad alia, per alias nostras literas predi- ctae respective præfias, fe excufare, alias poenas ipfis literis contentas incurr- rant, extendimus & ampliamus) publicationem, & deinde, Deo ducav, ad executionem procedere omninoiftonimus. Et quia a fide dignis accepimus, quod si ipfani & prefentium literarum publicario Diel Rothevagen, vel Polonis Ambitien. Diece. Oppidis in Franciae, aut Civ- tate Sancti Andreae, feu in Oppidio Calliftrten. Sancti Andreae Dicte. in Scotia Regnis, vel in Thuanien. & Antiferien. Civitatibus, vel Dicte, Dominii Hibernis fiar, non folum tam facile, ut fi in locis in dicatt literis expreffifienter, fed facilius ipfani literarum tenor, ad Henrici, & alio- rum quos concernunt, preterim Anglorum, notitiam deveniret; Nos volentes in hoc opportune providere, moru, fcientia, & poterbatis ple- nitudine praeditis decernimus, quod publicatio literarum fuperius infer- tarum, quam inferiortem fuperius fata, ac ipfis Originalibus quoad valuitatem
validatem publicationis, seu executionis præsentium, sidem adhiberi volumus, in duas ex locis præsentibus literis expressis, alias juxta supra inferatur, & præsentium literarum tenore facta, etiam si in locis extra Romanum Curiam in dictis præinfectis literis specificaris hujusmodi publicatio non fiat, perinde Henricum Regem, & alias quos concernunt præfertim Anglos afficent, ac si Henrico Regi & aliis prædictis præfertim Anglis personaliter intimare sufficent.

5. Quodq; præsentium tranfumpitis, juxta modum in præinfectis literis expressum factis, tam in judicio quam extra, cedam sies adhibeatur, quæ Originalibus adhiberetur, si forent exhibite, vel ostenta.

6. Non obstantibus Constitutionibus & Ordinationibus Apostolicis, necnon omnibus illis, quæ in dictis literis volumus non obtare, carterif; contrariis quibuscunque.

7. Nulli ergo omnino liceat hanc paginam nostris Decreti, & voluntatis infringere, vel ei auflu temerario contrarie. Si quis autem hoc attentare praefumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum ejus te noverit incurrurum.


X. The Judgement of some Bishops concerning the King’s Supremacy.

An Original.

The words of St. John in his 20th Chap. Sunt misit me Pater, & egometto vos, &c. hath no respect to a King’s or a Prince Power, but only to shew how that the Ministers of the Word of God, chosen and sent for that intent, are the Messengers of Christ, to teach the Truth of his Gospel, and to loose and bind sin, &c. as Christ was the Messenger of his Father. The words also of St. Paul, in the 20th Chap. of the Acts; Attendite nobis & universo regni, in quos Spiritus Sanctus posuit Episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei, were spoken to the Bishops and Priests, to be diligent Pastors of the People, both to teach them diligently, and also to be circumspect that false Preachers should not seduce the People, as followeth immediately after in the same place. Other places of Scripture declare the highness and excellency of Christian Princes Authority and Power; the which a truth is most high, for he hath power and charge generally over all, as well Bishops, and Priests, as other. The Bishops and Priests have charge of Souls within their own Cures, power to minister Sacraments, and to teach the Word of God; to the which Word of God Christian Princes knowledge themselves subject; and in case the Bishops be negligent, it is the Christian Princes Office to see them do their duty.

T. Cantuariensis.

Joannes London.
Cathertus Dunelmensis.
Jo. Batwelen.
Thomas Elien.
Nicolaus Sarisburien.
Hugo Wygorn.
J. Roffeni.

Z. z. z. XI. In-
XI. Injunctions to the Clergy made by Cromwell.

IN the Name of God, Amen. BY the Authority and Comission of the excellent Prince Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England and of France, Defender of the Faith; Lord of Ireland; and in Earth Supream Head, under Christ, of the Church of England, I Thomas Lord Cromweli, Privy-Seal, and Vice-gerent to the King's said Highnes, for all his Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical within this Realm, do, for the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, encrease of Vertue, and discharge of the King's Majestye, give and exhibite unto you these Injunctions following, to be kept, observed, and fulfilled, upon the pains hereafter declared.

First; That ye shall truly observe and keep all and singular the King's Highnes's Injunctions, given unto you heretofore in my Name, by his Grace's Authority: not only upon the pains therein expressed, but also in your default after this second monition continued, upon further punishment to be straitly extended towards you by the King's Highnes's Arbitriment, or his Vice-gerent aforesaid.

Item; That ye shall provide on this side the Feaste of next coming, one Book of the whole Bible of the largest Volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said Church that ye have Cure of, whereas your Parifhioners may most commodiously retort to the same and read it; the charge of which Book shall be ratably born between you the Parson and the Parifhioners aforesaid, that is to say, the one half by you, and the other half by them.

Item; That you shall discourage no Man privily or apertly from the reading or hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressely provoke, stir, and exhort every Person to read the same, as that which is the very lively Word of God, that every Christian Man is bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if he look to be saved; admonishing them nevertheless to avoid all contention, altercation therein, and to use an honest sobriety in the inquisition of the true sense of the same, and refer the explication of the obscure places to Men of higher judgement in Scripture.

Item; That ye shall every Sunday and Holy day through the Year, openly and plainly recite to your Parifhioners, twice or thrice together, or other, if need require, one particle or sentence of the Pater Noster, or Creed, in English, to the intent they may learn the same by Heart; and so from day to day, to give them one little lesson or sentence of the same, till they have learned the whole Pater Noster and Creed, in English, by rote. And as they be taught every sentence of the same by rote, ye shall expound and declare the understanding of the same unto them, exhorting all Parents and Houholders to teach their Children and Servants the same, as they are bound in Conscience to do. And that done, ye shall declare unto them the Ten Commandments, one by one.
one, every Sunday and Holy-day, till they be likewise perfect in the
fame.

Item; That ye shall in Confessions every Lent examine every Person
that cometh to Confession unto you, whether they can recite the Ar-
ticles of our Faith, and the 

Pater Nober in English, and hear them say the same particularly; wherein if they be not perfect, ye shall declare to the fame, That every Christian Person ought to know the fame be-
fore they shoulde receive the blessed Sacrament of the Altar; and monifi
them to learn the same more perfectly by the next year following, or
else, like-as they ought not to preftime to come to God's Board without
perfect knowledge of the fame, and if they do, it is to the great peril
of their fouls; to ye shall declare unto them, that ye look for other
Injunctions from the King's Highnes by that time, to haye and repel all
fuch from God's Board as fhall be found ignorant in the Premifles;
whereof ye do thus admonifi them, to the intent they fhould both ef-
chew the peril of their Souls, and also the worldly rebuke that they
might incur after by the fame.

Item; That ye shall make, or cause to be made, in the said Church,
and every other Cure ye have, one Sermon every quarter of the year at
leaf, wherein ye shall purely and fincerely declare the very Gospel
of Christ, and in the fame exhort your Hearers to the Works of Char-
ty, Mercy, and Faith, especially prescribed and commanded in Scrip-
ture, and not to repole their frailty or affiance in any other Works de-
ived by Mens fantasies besides Scripture; as in wandring to Pilgrimages,
offering of Money, Candles, or Tapers, to Images, or Reliques; or
kifing or licking the fame over, faying over a number of Beads, not
underftanded or minded on, or in fuch-like superftition; for the do-
ing whereof, ye not only have no promife of reward in Scripture, but
contrariwife great threats and maledictions of God, as things tending
to Idolatry and Superftition, which of all other Offences God Almighty
doeth most deteft and abhor, for that the fame diminifheth moft his honour
and glory.

Item; That fuch feigned Images as ye know in any of your Cures to
be fo abused with Pilgrimages or Offerings of any thing made thereunto,
ye fhall, for avoiding of that moft deteftable offence of Idolatry, forth-
with take down, and without delay; and fhall suffer from henceforth
no Candles, Tapers, or Images of Wax to be set afore any Image or
Picture, but only the Light that commonly goeth a-crofs the Church by
the Rood-loft, the Light before the Sacrament of the Altar, and the
Light about the Sepulchre; which for the adorning of the Church, and
Divine Service, ye fhall suffer to remain; still admonifhing your Parish-
ioners, that Images serve for none other purpofe, but as to be Books of
unlearned Men, that ken no Letters, whereby they might be otherwise
admonifhed of the lives and converfation of them that the faid Images
do reprefent; which Images if they abuse, for any other intent than for
fuch remembrances, they commit Idolatry in the fame, to the great dan-
ger of their Souls: And therefore the King's Highnes graciously ten-
dring the weal of his Subjects Souls, hath in part already, and more will
Z z z 2

here.
hereafter, travail for the abolishing of such Images as might be an occasion of so great an offence to God, and so great a danger to the Souls of his loving Subjects.

Item; That in all such Benefices, or Cures, as ye have, wherupon ye be not your self Refident, ye shall appoint such Curates in your stead, as can both by their habity, and also promptly execute thefe Injunctions, and do their duty, otherwise that ye are bounden in every behalf accordingly, and may profit them, no les with good Examples of living, than with declaration of the Word of God, or else their lack and defaults shall be imputed unto you, who shall strictly answer for the fame if they do otherwise.

Item; That ye shall admit no Man to preach within any your Benefices or Cures, but such as shall appear unto you to be sufficiently licened thereunto by the King's Highness, or his Grace's Authority, by the Arch-Bifhop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of this Dioces; and such as shall be so licened, ye shall gladly receive to declare the Word of God, without any resistence or contradiction.

Item; If ye have heretofore declared to your Parishioners any thing to the exolling or seting forth of Pilgrimages, feigned Reliques, or Images, or any such Superfitions, that you shall now openly afore the fame recant and reprove the fame, shewing them (as the truth is) that ye did the fame upon no ground of Scripture, but as one led and seduced by a common Error and Abuse crept into the Church, through the sufferance and araverse of such as felt profit by the fame.

Item; If ye do or shall know any Man within your Parifh, or elsewhere, that is a Letter of the Word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, or of the execution of thefe Injunctions; or a fauourer of the Bishop of Rome's pretended power, now by the Laws of this Realm justly rejected and exiripted; ye shall detect and present the fame to the King's Highness, or his honourable Council, or to his Vicegerent aforesaid, or the Justice of Peace next adjoining.

Item; That you, and every Parson, Vicar, or Curate within this Dioces, shall for every Church keep one Book or Register, wherein he shall write the day and year of every Wedding, Christening, and Burying, made within your Parish for your time, and to every Man succeeding you likewise; and also there insert every Persons Name that shall be to wedded, christened, and buried; and for the safe keeping of the fame Book, the Parifh shall be bound to provide, of their common charges, one sure Coffer with two Locks and Keys, whereof the one to remain with you, and the other with the Wardens of every such Parish wherein the said Book shall be laid up; which Book ye shall every Sunday take forth, and in the presence of the said Wardens, or one of them, write and record in the fame, all the Weddings, Christenings, and Buryings, made the whole Week afore; and that done, to lay up the Book in the said Coffer, as afore: And for every time that the same shall be omitted, the Party that shall be in the fault thereof, shall forfeit to the said Church
Church 3 s. 4 d. to be employed on the reparation of the said Church.

Item: That ye shall every quarter of a year read these and the other former Injunctions, given unto you by the Authority of the King's Highness, openly and deliberately before all your Parishioners, to the intent that both you may be the better admonished of your duty, and your said Parishioners the more incited to enquire the same for their part.

Item: Forasmuch as by a Law established, every Man is bound to pay the Tithes; no Man shall, by colour of duty, omitted by their Curates, detain their Tithes, and so redouble one wrong with another, or be his own Judge, but shall truly pay the same, as hath been accustomed, to their Parsons and Curates, without any restraint or diminution; and such lack or default as they can justly find in their Parsons or Curates to call for reformation thereof at their Ordinaries, and other Superiors hands, who, upon complaint, and due proof thereof, shall reform the same accordingly.

Item: That no Person shall from henceforth alter or change the order and manner of any Fasting-day that is commanded and indicted by the Church, nor of any Prayer, or of Divine Service, otherwise than is specified in the said Injunctions, until such time as the same shall be so ordered and transported by the King's Highness's Authority; The Eves of such Saints, whose Holy-days are abrogated be only excepted, which shall be declared henceforth to be no Fasting-days; excepted also the commemoration of Thomas Becket, some-time Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, which shall be clean omitted, and in the stead thereof, the Ferial Service used.

Item: That the knolling of the Avies after Service, and certain other times, which hath been brought in and begun by the pretence of the Bishop of Rome's pardon, henceforth be left and omitted, left the People do hereafter trust to have pardon for the saying of their Avies, between the said knolling, as they have done in times past.

Item: Where in times past Men have used in divers places in their Processions, to sing Ora pro nobis to so many Saints, that they had no time to sing the good Suffrages following, as Parce nobis Domine, and Libera nos Domine, it must be taught and preached, that better it were to omit Ora pro nobis, and to sing the other Suffrages.

All which and singular Injunctions I minister unto you and your Successors, by the King's Highness Authority to me committed in this part, which I charge and command you by the same Authority to observe and keep upon pain of Deprivation, Sequestration of your Fruits, or such other coercion as to the King's Highness, or his Vice-gerent for the time being shall seem convenient.

These are also in the Bp. of London's Register, Fol. 29, 30. with Bonner's Mandate to his Arch-Deacons for observing them, 30 Sept. 1541.
Anno Regn. 32.

XII. Injunctions
XII. Injunctions given by Thomas Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, to the Parsons, Vicars, and other Curats in his Visitation, kept (fede vacante) within the Dioces of Hereford, Anno Domini 1538.

I. First; That ye, and every one of you, shall, with all your diligence and faithful obedience, observe, and cause to be observed, all and singular the King’s Highness Injunctions, by his Graces Commissaries given in such places as they in times past have visited.

II. Item; That ye, and every one of you shall have, by the first day of August next coming, as well a whole Bible in Latin and English, or at the least a New Testament of both the same Language, as the Copies of the King’s Highness Injunctions.

III. Item; That ye shall every day study one Chapter of the said Bible, or New Testament, conferring the Latin and English together, and to begin at the first part of the Book, and so to continue until the end of the same.

IV. Item; That ye, or none of you, shall discourage any Lay-Man from the reading of the Bible in English or Latin, but encourage them to that, admonishing them that they so read it, for reformation of their own Life, and knowledge of their Duty; and that they be not bold or presumptuous in judging of Matters afore they have perfect knowledge.

V. Item; That ye, both in your Preaching and secret Confession, and all other works and doings, shall excite and move your Parishioners unto such Works as are commanded expressly of God, for which God shall demand of them a strict reckoning; and all other Works which Men do of their own Will or Devotion, to teach your Parishioners that they are not to be so highly esteemed as the other; and that for the not doing of them God will not ask any account.

VI. Item; That ye, nor none of you, suffer no Friar, or Religious Man, to have any Cure or Service within your Churches or Cures, except they be lawfully dispensed withal, or licensed by the Ordinary.

VII. Item; That ye, and every one of you, do not admit any young Man or Woman to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, which never received it before, until that he or she openly in the Church, after Mass, or evening Song, upon the Holy-day, do recite, in the vulgar Tongue, the Pater Noster, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments.

VIII. Item; That ye, and every one of you, shall two times in a quarter declare to your Parishioners the Band of Matrimony, and what great danger it is to all Men that traffic their Bodies but with such Persons as they lawfully may by the Law of God. And to exhort in the said Time
Times your Parishioners, that they make no privity Contracts, as they will avoid the extrem pain of the Laws used within the King’s Realm, by his Graces Authority.

XIII. A Letter of Cromwell’s to the Bishop of Landaff, directing him how to proceed in the Reformation. An Original.

A For my right hearty Commendations to your Lordship, ye shall herewith receive the King's Highness Letters addressed unto you, to put you in remembrance of his Highness travels, and your duty touching order to be taken for Preaching, to the intent the People may be taught the Truth, and yet not charged at the beginning with over-many Novelties; the publication whereof, unless the same be tempered and qualified with much wisdom, do rather breed Contention, Division, and contrariety in Opinion in the unlearned Multitude, than either edifie, or remove from them, and out of their hearts, such abuses as by the corrupt and unflavoury teaching of the Bishop of Rome and his Disciples have crept in the same. The effect of which Letters albeit I doubt not, but as well for the honesty of the Matter, as for your own discharge, ye will so consider and put in execution, as shall be to his Graces satisfaction in that behalf: Yet forasmuch as it hath pleased his Majesty to appoint and constitute me in the room and place of his Supreme and Principal Ministry, in all Matters that may touch any thing his Clergy, or their doings, I thought it also my part, for the exoner-ation of my Duty towards his Highness, and the rather to answer to his Graces Expectation, Opinion, and Truth conceived in me, and in that amongst other committed to my fidelity, to desire and pray you, in such substantial sort and manner, to travel in the execution of the Contents of his Graces said Letters; namely, for avoiding of Contrariety in preaching, of the pronunciation of Novelties, without wise and discreet qualification, and the repress of the tending of those, that either privately, or openly, directly or indirectly, would advance the pretended Authority of the Bishop of Rome; as I be not for my discharge enforced to complain further, and to declare what I have now written unto you for that purpose, and so to charge you with your own fault, and to devise such remedy for the same, as shall appertain: desiring your Lordship to accept my meaning herein, tending only to an honest, friendly, and Christian Reformation, for avoidance of further inconvenience, and to think none unkindness, tho’ in this Matter, wherein it is almost more than time to speake. I write frankly, compelled and enforced hereunto, both in respect of my private Duty, and otherwise, for my discharge; forasmuch as it pleaseth his Majesty to use me in the lieu of a Counsellour, whose Office is as an Eye to the Prince, to foresee, and in time to provide remedy for such Abuses, Enormities, and Inconveniences, as might else with a little sufferance engender more evil in Publick Weal, than could be after recovered, with much labour, study, diligence,
licence, and travails. And thus most heartily fare you well. From the Rolls, the 6th of January.

Your Lordship's Friend,

Thomas Cromwell.

XIV. The Commission by which Bonner held his BisHoprick of the King.

Licentia Regia concessa Domino Episcopo ad exercendam Jurisdictionem Episcopalem.
Book III. of Records

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tuendum, beneficiaq; Ecclesiastica quacunq; ad tuam collationem five dispositionem spectabant & pertinentia perhonis idoneis conferendum, atq; approbandum testamenta & ultimas voluntates quoruncung tue Dioecesos, bona, jura, five credita non ultra summan centum librarium in bonis suis vita & mortis fuarum temporibus habend. necnon administrationes quoruncung; subditorum nostrorum tue Dio. ab intellato decedend. quorum bona, jura, five credita non ultra summan prae- dictam vita & mortis fuarum temporibus fce extendent, quatenus hujufmodi testatorum approbatio atq; administrationis commissio five confessio per praedaecfores tuos aut corum alicujus respectiv Commiffarios retroactis temporibus fiebat ac fieri & committi potuir, & non alter committendum, Calculationq; ratioentium & alia in ea parte expedienda, caufa, lites & negotia coram te aut tuis deputatis pendend. indeci. necnon alias five alia,quaequeq; five quaequeq; ad forum Ecclesiasticum perinentia ad te aut tuos deputatos five deputand. per viam querelae aut appellationis five ex officio devolvend. five deducend. que extra legum nostrarum & statutorum Regni nostri officio, coram te aut tuis Deputatis aggregati, aut ad tuum five alicujus Commiffariorum per te vigore hujus Commiffionis nostre deputatorum cognitionem devolvit aut deduci valent & poterint, examinandum. & decidend. Ad visitandum infrae super Capitulum Eccl. tue Cathedral. London. civitatencq; London. necnon omnia & singula Monasteria, Abbatis & Prioratus, Collegia & alia loca piu, tam Religiofa quam Hospitale, quaequenq; clerumq; & populum dict. Dioc. London. quatenus Ecclesia, Monasterii, Abbattia, per te five Praedaecfores tuos London. Episcopos visitatijus quasmodi temporabilis retroactis exercer exercer potuir, ac per te five per eodem de legibus & statuis ac juris Regni nostri exerceri potuir & potest, & non alter: Necnon ad inquieren. dumentum per te, vel alium feu alios ad id per te deputandum five deputandos, tam ex officio mero mixto quam promo te super quoruncung; excessibus, criminibus feu deliciis quibusqueq; ad forum Ecclesiasticum spectabantibus infra Dioc. London. ac dlinquentes five crimininosos, juxta comperta per te in ea parte per Licita Juris remedii pro modo culpa, prout natura & qualitas delitti poposserit, coercedendum & puercundum, ceteraq; omnia & singula in Praemissis feu aliqua praemiforum, aut circa ea necessaria feu qua modolibet opportuna, ac alia quaequenq; Autoritatem & Jurisdictionem Episcopalem quovisfomin interced. & concernend. praeter & ultra eaque tibi ex Sacris Litteris divinibus commifi, cibet dignificantur, vice, nomine, & Autoritate nostri exequendum, Tibi, de cuius fana doctrina, consciente puritate, vitaeq; & morum integritate, ac in rebus gerendis sive & industria plurimum confidimus, vices nostras cum potestate alium vel alios, Commifarium vel Commifarios, ad praemifea feu corum aliqua furrogaendi & subjiciendi, eodemq; ad placentum reciprocand. tenore praecens commissim, ac liberam facultatem conce- dim; Teq; licentiam per praeentes ad nostris beneplaciti duntaxat duraturas, cum, cuiuslibet congrue & Ecclesiasticae coercionis potestate quaequaeq; inhibirione in te datam praecens emanata in aliquo non obfante Tuam Conscientiam coram Deo striictiffime operantes; &c ut fummo omnium judicis aliquando rationem reddere, & coram nobis tuo cum peculio corporali respondere intendis: te admonentes ut interim tuum officium juxta Evangelii normam pie & sancte exercere studeas, & ne quem ullo tempor quam vel ad facos ordinis promoveas, vel ad A a a a curam
XV. The King's Letters Patents for printing the Bible in English.

Henry the Eighth, &c. To all and singular Printers and Sellers of Books within this our Realm, and all other Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, these our Letters hearing or seeing, Greeting. We let you wit, That being desirous to have our People at all times convenient, give themselves to the attaining the knowledge of God's Word, whereby they will the better honour him, and observe and keep his Commandments; and also do their Duties better to us, being their Prince and Soveraign Lord: And considering that this our Zeal and Desire cannot by any mean take so good effect, as by the granting to them the free and liberal use of the Bible in our own natural English Tongue: So unless it be foreseen that the fame pass at the beginning by one Translation to be perused and considered; The frailty of Men is such, that the diversity thereof may breed and bring forth manifold Inconveniencies; as when wilful and heady Folk shall confer upon the diversity of the said Translations. We have therefore appointed our right trulity and well-beloved Counsellor, the Lord Cromwell, Keeper of our Privy-Seal, to take for us, and in our Name, special care and charge, that no manner of Person, or Persons, within this our Realm, shall undertake, attempt, or set in hand to print any Bible in the English Tongue of any manner of Volume, during the space of five years next ensuing after the Date hereof, but only all such as shall be deputed, assigned, and admitted by the said Lord Cromwell.

The 13 Novemb. Tricesimo primo Regni.
XVI. The Attainder of Thomas Cromwell.

Item quedam alia peticio, formam cujusdam actus attinentur in se continens, exhibita est sue Regis Majestatis in Parlamento prædiço, cujus tenor sequitur in hæc verba.

IN their most humble-wife flowing to your most Royal Majesty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and all your most loving and obedient Subjects, the Commons in this your most high Court of Parliament assembled; That where your most Royal Majesty, our Natural Sovereign Lord, is justly, and lawfully, really entitled to be our sole Supreme Head and Governor, of this your Realm of England, and of the Dominions of the same; to whom, and to none other under God, the Kingly Direction, Order, and Governance of your most loving and obedient Subjects, and People of this your Realm, only appertaineth and belongeth. And the which your most loving and obedient Subjects, your Highness prudently and quietly, without any manner of disturbance by a long time most graciously hath preferred, sustained, and defended: And your Highness, for the Quietness, Wealth, and Tranquility of your said humble and obedient Subjects, hath made, and ordained, divers and many most godly, vertuous, and wholesome Laws; and for due execution of the same, hath not defiled to travel in your own most Royal Person, to support and maintain, as well the Laws of Almighty God, as the Laws by your Highness made and ordained, by due and condign Execution of the same Laws upon the Transgressors offending contrary to the same: And your Majesty hath always most vertuously studied and laboured, by all ways, and all means, to and for the setting forth thereof, in such wise as it might be most to the Honour, Glory, and Pleasure of Almighty God; and for the common accord and wealth of this your Realm, and other your Dominions: And for the true execution of the same, hath elected, chosen, and made divers, as well of your Nobles as others, to be of your most Honourable Counsil, as to the Honour of a Noble Prince appertaineth. And where your Majesty hath had a special trust and confidence in your said most trusty Counsellors, that the same your Counsellors, and every of them, had minded and intended, and finally purposed to have followed and pursued your most Godly and Princely Purpose, as of truth the more number hath most faithfully done; Yet notwithstanding Thomas Cromwell, now Earl of Essex, whom your Majesty took and received into your trusty Service, the same Thomas then being a Man of very base and low degree, and for singular Favour, Trust and Confidence, which your Majesty bare and had in him, did not only erect and advance the same Thomas unto the state of an Earl, and inriched him with manifold Gifts, as well of Goods, as of Lands and Offices, but also him, the said Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, did erect and make one of your most trusty Counsellors, as well concerning your Grace's Supremum Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, as your most high secret Affairs Temporal. Nevertheless your Majesty now of late hath found, and tried, by a large number of Witnesses, being your faithful Subjects, and Personages of great Honour,
Worship, and Discretion, the said Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, contrary to the singular truth and confidence which your Majesty had in him, to be the most false and corrupt Traitor, Deceiver, and Circumventor against your most Royal Person, and the Imperial Crown of this your Realm, that hath been known, seen, or heard of in all the time of your most noble Reign: Insomuch that it is manifestly proved and declared, by the Depositions of the Witnesses aforesaid, That the same Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, usurping upon your Kingly Estate, Power, Authority, and Office, without your Grace's Commandment or Assent, hath taken upon him to set at liberty divers Persons, being convicted and attainted of Misprision of High Treason; and divers other being apprehended, and in Prison, for Suspection of High Treason; and over that, divers and many times, at sundry places in this your Realm, for manifold Sums of Money to him given, most traitorously hath taken upon him, by several Writings, to give and grant, as well unto Aliens, as to your Subjects, a great number of Licents for conveying and carrying of Mony, Corn, Grain, Beans, Beer, Leather, Tallow, Bells, Mettals, Horses, and other Commodities of this your Realm, contrary to your Highness's most Godly and Gracious Proclamations made for the Common-Wealth of your People of this your Realm in that behalf, and in derogation of your Crown and Dignity. And the same Thomas Cromwell, elated, and full of pride, contrary to his most bounden Duty, of his own Authority and Power, not regarding your Majesty Royal; And further, taking upon him your Power, Sovereign Lord, in that behalf, divers and many times most traitorously hath constituted, deputed, and assigned, many singular Persons of your Subjects to be Commissioners in many your great, urgent, and weighty Causes and Affairs, executed and done in this your Realm, without the assent, knowledge, or consent of your Highness. And further also, being a Person of as poor and low degree, as few be within this your Realm; pretending to have so great a Stroak about you, our, and his natural Sovereign Liege Lord, that he letted not to say publicly, and declare, That he was sure of you; which is detestable, and to be abhorred amongst all good Subjects in any Christian Realm, that any Subject should enterprize or take upon him so to speak of his Sovereign Liege Lord and King. And also of his own Authority and Power, without your Highness's consent, hath made, and granted, as well to Strangers as to your own Subjects, divers and many Pass-ports, to pass over the Seas, with Horses, and great Sums of Money, without any search. And over that, most Gracious Sovereign Lord, amongst divers other his Treasons, Deceits, and Falshoods, the said Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, being a detestable Heretick, and being in himself utterly disposed to sett and low common Sedition and Variance among your true and loving Subjects, hath secretly set forth and dispersed into all Shires, and other Territories of this your Realm, and other your Dominions, great numbers of false Erroneous Books, whereof many were printed and made beyond the Seas, and divers other within this Realm, comprizing and declaring, among many other Evils and Errors, manifest Matters to induce and lead your Subjects to difference, and refusal of the true and sincere Faith and Belief, which Christian Religion bindeth all Christian People to have, in the most Holy and Blessed Sacrament.
Sacrament of the Altar, and other Articles of Christian Religion, most graciously declared by your Majesty, by Authority of Parliament: And certain Matters comprised in some of the said Books, hath caused to be translated into our Maternal and English Tongue: And upon report made unto him by the Translator thereof, that the Matter so translated hath expressly been against the said most Blessed and Holy Sacrament; Yet the same Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, after he had read the same Translation, most heretically hath affirmed the same material Heresie so translated, to be good; and further hath said, that he found no fault therein; and over that, hath openly and obstinately held Opinion, and said, That it was as lawful for every Christian Man to be a Minister of the said Sacrament, as well as a Priest. And where also your most Royal Majesty, being a Prince of Vertue, Learning, and Justice, of singular Confidence and Trust, did constitute and make the same Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, your Highness's Vicegerent within this your Realm of England; and by the same, gave unto him Authority and Power, not only to redress and reform all, and all manner of Errors, and Erroneous Opinions, infurging and growing among your loving and obedient Subjects of this your Realm, and of the Dominions of the same, but also to order and direct all Ecclesiastical and Spiritual Causes within your said Realm and Dominions; the said Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, not regarding his Duty to Almighty God, and to your Highness, under the Seal of your Vicegerent, hath, without your Grace's assent or knowledge, licensed and authorized divers Persons, detected and suspected of Heresies, openly to teach and preach amongst your most loving and obedient Subjects, within this your Realm of England. And under the pretence and colour of the said great Authorities and Cures, which your Majesty hath committed unto him in the Premisses, hath not only, of his corrupt and damnable Will and Mind, actually, at some time, by his own Deed and Commandment, and at many other Times by his Letters expressly written to divers worshipful Persons, being Sheriffs, in sundry Shires of this your Realm, falsely suggesting thereby your Grace's Pleasure so to have been, caused to be set at large many base Heretics, some being there indicted, and some other being thereof apprehended, and in Ward: and commonly, upon complaints made by credible Persons unto the said Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, of great and most detestable Heresies committed and grown in many places of this your Realm, with declaration of the specialties of the same Heresies, and the Names of the Offenders therein, the same Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, by his crafty and subtle means and inventions, hath not only defended the same Heretics from Punishment and Reformation; but being a futor, maintainer, and supporter of Heretics, divers times hath terribly rebuked divers of the said credible Persons being their Accusers, and some others of them hath persecuted and vexed by Imprisonment and otherwise. So that thereby many of your Grace's true and loving Subjects have been in much dread and fear, to detect or accuse such detestable known Heretics; the particularities and specialties of which said abominable Heresies, Errors, and Offences, committed and done by the said Thomas Cromwell, being over- tedious, long, and of too great number here to be expressed, declared, or written. And to the intent to have those damnable
damnable Errors and Herefies, to be inculcated, impressed, and infixed in the Hearts of your Subjects, as well contrary to God’s Laws, as to your Laws and Ordinances. Most Gracious Sovereign Lord, the fame Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, hath allured and drawn unto him by Retainers, many of your Subjects fundierly inhabiting in every of your said Shires and Territories, as well erroneously perfwading and declaring to them the Contents of the false erroneous Books, above-written, to be good, true, and best standing with the most Holy Word and Pleasure of God; as other his false and heretical Opinions and Errors; whereby, and by his Confederacies therein, he hath caufed many of your faithful Subjects to be greatly infefted with Herefies, and other Errors, contraty to the right Laws and Pleasure of Almighty God. And the fame Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, by the false and traitorous means above-written, supposing himself to be fully able, by force and strength, to maintain and defend his said abominable Treatons, Herefies, and Errors, not regarding his most bounden Duty to Almighty God, and his Laws, nor the natural Duty of Allegiance to your Majesty, in the last day of March in the 30 year of your most gracious Reign, in the Parith of St. Peter the Poor, within your City of London, upon demonstration and declaration then and there made unto him, that there were certain new Preachers, as Robert Barnes Clerk, and other, wherof part were committet to the Tower of London, for preaching and teaching of Lead. Learning against your Highness’s Proclamations; the fame Thomas affirmiting the fame: Preaching to be good, most detestably, arrogantly, erroneously, wilfully, maliciously, and traitorously, expressly against your Laws and Statutes, then and there did not let to declare, and say, these most traitorous and detestable words enfuing, amongst other words of like matter and effect; that is to say, That if the King would turn from it, yet I would not turn; And if the King did turn, and all his People, I would fight in the Field in mine own Person, with my Sword in my hand, against him and all others; and then, and there, most traitorously pulled out his Dagger, and held it on high, saying these words, Or else this Dagger thrust me to the heart, if I would not die in that Quarrel against all: And I trust, if I live one year or two, it shall not lie in the King’s Power to refist or lett it if he would. And further, then and there swearing by a great Oath, traitorously affirmed the same his traitorous faying and pronunciation of words, saying, I will do so indeed, extending up his Arm, as though he had had a Sword in his Hand; to the most perilous, grievous, and wicked Example of all other your loving, faithful and obedient Subjects in this your Realm, and to the peril of your most Royal Person. And moreover, our most gracious Sovereign Lord, the said Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, hath acquired and obtained into his possession, by Oppreffion, Bribery, Extort, Power, and false Promises made by him, to your Subjects of your Realm, innumerable Sums of Mony and Treasure; and being so enriched, hath had your Nobles of your Realm in great disdain, derision, and detestation, as by express words by him most opprobriously spoken hath appeared. And being put in remembrance of others, of his estate, which your Highness hath called him unto, offending in like Treatons, the last day of January, in the 31 year of your most noble Reign, at the Parith of St. Martins in the Field, in the County of Middlesex, most arrogantly, willingly,
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willingly, maliciously, and traiterously, said, published, and declared,
That if the Lords would handle him so, that he would give them such a
Break-fast as never was made in England, and that the proud-est of them
should know ; to the great peril and danger, as well of your Majesty, as
of your Heirs and Successors: For the which his most detestable and
abominable Hereties and Treasons, and many other his like Offences
and Treasons over-long here to be rehearsed and declared. Be it En-
acted, Ordained, andestablished by your Majesty, with the Attent of
the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this present
Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That the said
Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, for his abominable and detestable Her-
eties and Treasons, by him most abominably, heretically, and traite-
rously practised, committed, and done, as well against Almighty God,
as against your Majesty, and this your said Realm, shall be, and stand,
by Authority of this present Parliament, convicted and attainted of He-
refie and High Treason, and be adjudged an abominable and detestable
Heretic and Traitor; and shall have and suffer such pains of Death,
losses, and forfeitures of Goods, Debts, and Chattels, as in cases of
Heretick and High Treafon, or as in cases of either of them, at the plea-
ture of your most Royal Majesty. And that the same Thomas Cromwell,
Earl of Essex, shall, by Authority above said, lose, and forfeit to your
Highness, and to your Heirs and Successors, all such his Castles, Lord-
ships, Mannors, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverfions,
Remainders, Services, Polfeffions, Offices, Rights, Conditions, and all
other his Hereditaments, of what names, natures, or qualities soever
they be, which he the said Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, or any
other to his use had, or ought to have had, of any Estate of Inherit-
tance, in Fee-Simple or Fee-Tail, in Reverfion or Polfeffion, at the
said last day of March, in the said thirtieth Year of your most Gracious
Reign, or any time sith or after, as in Cases of High Treafon. And
that all the said Castles, Lordhips, Mannors, Lands, Messuages, Ten-
ements, Rents, Reverfions, Remainders, Services, Polfeffions, Offices,
and all other the Premises forfeited, as is above said, shall be deemed,
invested, and adjudged, in the Lawful, real, and actual polfeffion of your
Highness, your Heirs, and Successors for ever in the same, and in such
estate, manner, and form, as if the said Castles, Lordhips, Mannors,
Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverfions, Remainders, Servi-
ces, Polfeffions, Offices, and other the Premises, with their Appurte-
nances, and every of them, were specially or particularly founded, by
Office or Offices, Inquisition or Inquisitions, to be taken by any Ef-
cheator, or Efcheators, or any other Commissioner or Commissioners,
by virtue of any Comission or Commissions to them or any of them,
to be directed in any County or Countties, Shire or Shires, within this
your Realm, of England, where the said Castles, and other the Premises,
or any of them, been, or do ly, and returned into any of your Maje-
ties Courts. Saving to all and singular, Person and Persons, Bodies po-
litick and corporate, their Heirs and Successors, and their Succes-
sors and Assigns of every of them, other than the said Thomas Cromwell,
Earl of Essex; and his Heirs, and all and every other Person and Per-
sons, claiming by the same Thomas Cromwell, and to his use, all such
Right, Title, Entrie, Polfeffion, Interest, Reverfions, Remainders,
Leafe,
Leafes, Leaves, Conditions, Fees, Offices, Rents, Annuities, Commons, and all other Commodities, Profits, and Hereditaments whatsoever they or any of them might, should, or ought to have had, if this Act had never been had or made. Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that this Act of Attainder, ne any Offence, ne other thing therein contained, extend not unto the Deanery of Wells, in the County of Somerset; nor to any Mannors, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments thereunto belonging; nor be in any wise prejudicial or hurtful unto the Bishop of Bath and Wells, nor to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of St. Andrew of Wells, nor to any of them, nor to any of their Successors; but that the said Bishop, Dean, and Chapters, and their Successors, and every of them, shall and may have, hold, use, occupy, and enjoy, all and singular their Titles, Rights, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, and Services, and all and singular other their Hereditaments, Commodities, and Profits, of what nature, kind, or quality, or condition soever they be, in as ample and large manner and form, as tho this Act of Attainder, or any Offence therein mentioned, had never been had, committed, nor made; and that from hence-forth the Dean, and his Successors, Deans of the said Cathedral Church that hereafter shall be perfected, elected, and admitted to the same, Shall, by the Authority aforesaid, be Dean of the said Cathedral Church, fully and wholly incorporated with the Chapter of the same, in as ample, large, and like manner and form, to all intents and purposes, as the Deans before this time hath been and used to be, with the said Chapter of the said Cathedral Church of Wells. And that the same Dean and Chapter, and their Successors, shall have, occupy, and enjoy, all and singular their such Popliesions, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, and Services, and all and singular their Hereditaments, of what nature, kind, name or names they be called or known. And shall be adjudged and deemed in actual and real possession and feizin of, and in the same Premises, to all intents and purposes, according to their old Corporation, as tho this Act of Attainder, or any thing, clause, or matter therein contained had never been had, committed, nor made. This said Act of Attainder, or any other Act, Provifion, or any thing heretofore had or made to the contrary notwithstanding. Cui quidem petitioni cum provisone prædict. perleét. & intellect. per dictum Dominum Regem ex Authoritate & consensu Parliamenti prædicti sic Respon- fim est.

'Sest faiat come il est deifo.

XVII.
Mott Merciful King, and most Gracious Sovereign Lord, may it please the same to be advertised, That the last time it pleased your benigne Goodness to send unto me the Right Honourable Lord Chancellor, the Right Honourable Duke of Norfolk, and the Lord Admiral, to examine, and also to declare unto me divers things from your Majesty; among the which, one special thing they moved, and thereupon they charged me, as I would answer before God at the dreadful day of Judgment, and also upon the extremest danger and damnation of my Soul and Conscience, to say what I knew in the Marriage, and concerning the Marriage, between your Highness and the Queen. To the which I answered as I knew, declaring unto them the Particulars, as nigh as I then could call to remembrance. Which when they had heard, they, in your Majesty's Name, and upon like charge as they had given me before, commanded me to write to your Highness the Truth, as much as I knew in that Matter; which now I do, and the very truth, as God shall have me, to the uttermost of my knowledge. First; After your Majesty heard of the Lady Ann of Cleves arrival at Dover, and that her Journey was appointed towards Greenwich, and that she should be at Rochester on New-years-day; Even at night, your Highness declared to me, that you would privately visit her at Rochester, upon New-years-day, adding these words, To nourish love, which accordingly your Grace did upon New-years-day, as is above-said. And the next day, being Friday, your Grace returned to Greenwich, where I spake with your Grace, and demanded of your Majesty, How ye liked the Lady Ann: your Highness answered, as I thought, heavily, and not pleasantly, Nothing so well as she was spoken of; saying further, That if your Highness had known as much before as ye then knew, she should not have come within this Realm; saying as by the way of lamentation, What Remedy? Unto the which I answered and said, I know none but was very sorry therefore; and so God knoweth I was, for I thought it a hard beginning. The next day after the receipt of the said Lady, and her entry made unto Greenwich, and after your Highness had brought her to her Chamber, I then waited upon your Highness into your Privy-Chamber; and being there, your Grace called me unto you, saying to me these words, or the like, My Lord, is it not as I told you? say what they will, she is nothing so fair as she hath been reported; howbeit she is well and seemly. Whereunto I answered and said, By my Faith, Sir, ye say truth; adding thereunto, that I thought she had a Queenly manner; and nevertheless was sorry that your Grace was no better content: And thereupon your Grace commanded me to call together your Council, which were these by name; The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk.
Suffolk, my Lord Admiral, and my Lord of Durfune, and my self, to commune of these Matters, and to know what Commissions the Agents of Cleves had brought, as well touching the performance of the Covenants sent before from hence to Dr. Wotton, to have been concluded in Cleves, as also in the declaration how the Matters stood for the Covenants of Marriage, between the Duke of Lorrain’s Son, and the said Lady Ann. Whereupon Olesjeger and Hoggston were called, and the Matters proposed; whereby it plainly appeared that they were much astonished and abashed, and defired that they might make answer in the next morning, which was Sunday: And upon the Sunday in the morning your said Counsellors and they met together early, and there oft-foons was proposed unto them, as well touching the Commission for the performance of the Treaty and Articles sent to Mr. Wotton, as also touching the Contracts and Covenants of Marriage between the Duke of Lorrain’s Son, and the Lady Ann, and what terms they stood in. To which things so proposed, they answered as Men much perplexed, That as touching Commission, they had none to treat concerning the Articles sent to Mr. Wotton. And as to the Contract and Covenants of Marriage they could say nothing, but that a Revocation was made, and that they were but Spoufals. And finally, after much reasoning, they offered themselves to remain Prisoners, until such time as they should have sent unto them from Cleves the first Articles ratified under the Duke their Matters Sign and Seal, and also the Copy of the Revocation made between the Duke of Lorrain’s Son and the Lady Ann. Upon the which Anfwers, I was sent to your Highness by my Lords of your Council, to declare to your Highness their Answer; and came to you, by the Privy Way, into your Privy Chamber, and declared unto the same all the Circumstances, wherewith your Grace was very much displeased, saying, I am not well handled; infomuch that I might well perceive that your Highness was fully determined not to have gone through with the Marriage at that time, saying unto me these words, or the like in effect; That if it were not that she is come so far unto my Realm, and the great Preparations that my States and People have made for her, and for fear of making a ruffle in the World; that is, to mean to drive her Brother into the hands of the Emperor and the French King’s hands, being now together, I would never have married her. So that I might well perceive your Grace was neither content with the Person, nor yet with the Proceedings of the Agents; And at afer-dinner, the said Sunday, your Grace sent for all your said Counsellors in, repeating how your Highness was handled, as well touching the said Articles, as also the said Matter of the Duke of Lorrain’s Son. It might, and I doubt not, did appear unto them how loth your Highness was to have married at that time. And thereupon, and upon the Considerations aforesaid, your Grace thought that it should be well done that she should make a Protestation before your said Counsellors and Notaries to be present, that she was free from all Contracts, which was done accordingly. And thereupon I repaired to your Highness, declared how she had made her Protestation. Whereunto your Grace answered in effect these words, or much like; Is there now other Remedy, but that I must needs, against my Will, put my Neck in the Yoke; and so departed, leaving your Highness in a Study or penitence. And yet your Grace determined the next morning
And and 195 My would which for, repairing of and Whereunto and repaired Your Which Usfy and And Your and And and furly your fhould to made the ing, her fate\textsuperscript{\textdagger} time Maid never be have Grace day, Grace called your Lord, called your jefty Whereupon Grace laid morning to go through; and in the morning, which was Monday, your Majefty preparing your felf towards the Ceremonies; There was one Question, Who should lead to the Church? And it was appointed that the Earl of Effex decafed, and an Earl that came with her, should lead her to the Church. And thereupon one came to your Highnefs, and faid to you, That the Earl of Effex was not come; whereupon your Grace appointed me to be one that fhould lead her: And fo I went into her Chamber, to the intent to have done your Commandment; and shortly after I came into her Chamber, the Earl of Effex was come: Whereupon I repaired back again into your Graces Privy Chamber, and fhewed your Highnefs how he was come; and thereupon your Majefty advanced towards the Gallery out of your Privy Chamber; and your Grace being in and about the midst of your Chamber of Prefence, called me unto you, faying thefe words, or the like in fentence; My Lord, if it were not to fatisfye the World, and my Realm, I would not do that I muft do this day for none earthly thing; and therewith one brought your Grace Word that fhe was coming; and thereupon your Grace re-
paired into the Gallery towards the Clofet, and there paused for her coming, being nothing content that fhe fo long tarried, as I judged then. And fo confequently the came, and your Grace afterwards proceeded to the Ceremonies; and they being finifhed, travelled the day as apper-
tained, and the night after the culton. And in the morning, on Tues-
day, I repairing to your Majefty into your Privy-Chamber, finding your Grace not fo pleafant as I trusted to have done, I was fo bold to ask your Grace how you liked the Queen? Whereunto your Grace foberly an-
swered, faying, That I was not all Men, furely, as ye know, I liked her be-
fore not well, but now I like her much worse; for, quoth your Highnefs, I have felt her Belly, and her Breasts, and thereby, as I can judge, she should be no Maid; which stroke me fo to the Heart when I felt them, that I had neither will nor courage to proceed any farther in other Matters; faying, I have left her as good a Maid as I found her: Which me thought then ye spake displeafantly, which made me very forry to hear; Your Highnefs also after Candlemas, and before Showfie, once or twice faid, That ye were in the fame cafe with her as ye were afore, and that your Heart could never content to meddle with her carnally. Notwithstanding your High-
nefs alledged that ye for the moft part used to lay nightly, or every sec-
ond night by her, and yet your Majefty ever faid, That fhe was as good a Maid for you, as ever her Mother bare her, for any thing ye had misfired to her. Your Highnefs fhewed to me alfo in Lent laft pafling, at fuch time as your Grace had fome communication with her of my Lady Mary, how that fhe began to wax ftubborn and wilful, ever lamenting your fate, and ever verifying that ye never had any carnal knowledge with her: And alfo after Easter, your Grace likewise, at divers times, and in the Whilfeen-week, in your Grace's Privy-Chamber at Greenwich, exceedingly lamented your fate, and that your greatest grief was, That ye should furely never have any more Children for the comfort of this Realm, if ye should fo continue; allying me, that before God ye thought fhe was never your lawful Wife. At which time your Grace knoweth what answer I made; which was, that I would for my part do my utmost to comfort and deliver your Grace of your Afflictions; and how forry I was both to fee and hear your Grace, God knoweth. Your Grace divers times

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sithen
fithen Whitbytide, ever alleading one thing, and also saying, That ye had as much to do to move the consent of your Heart and Mind as ever did Man, and that you took God to witness; but ever, you said, the Obstacle could never out of your Mind. And, Gracious Prince, after that you had first seen her at Rochester, I never thought in my heart that ye were or would be contented with that Marriage. And Sir, I know now in what case I stand, in which is only the Mercy of God and your Grace; if I have not, to the uttermost of my remembrance, said the Truth, and the whole Truth in this Matter, God never help me. I am sure there is, as I think, no Man in this your Realme that knew more in this than I did, your Highness only excepted. And I am sure, my Lord Admiral calling to his remembrance, can shew your Highness, and be my Witness what I said unto him after your Grace came from Rochester, yea, and after your Grace’s Marriage: And also now of late, sithence Whitbytide, and I doubt not but many and divers of my Lords of your Council, both before your Marriage and sithence, have right-well perceived that your Majesty hath not been well pleased with your Marriage. And as I shall answer to God, I never thought your Grace content, after you had once seen her at Rochester. And this is all that I know, most gracious and most merciful Sovereign Lord, beseeching Almighty God, who ever hath in all your Causes counsell’d, preferred, opened, maintained, relieved, and defended your Highness; So he will now vouchsafe to counsel you, preserve you, maintain you, remedy you, relieve and defend you, as may be most to your Honour, with Prosperity, Health, and Comfort of your Hearts desire. For the which, and for the long Life, and prosperous Reign of your most Royal Majesty, I shall, during my Life, and whiles I am here, pray to Almighty God, that he of his most abundant Goodness will help, aid, and comfort you, after your continuance of Heuer’s Years: that that most noble Imp, the Princes Grace, your most dear Son, may succeed you to Reign long, prosperously, and feliciously to God’s pleasure: beseeching most humbly your Grace to pardon this my rude writing, and to consider that I a most woful Prisoner, ready to take the Death, when it shall please God and your Majesty; and yet the frail flesh inciteeth me continually to call to your Grace for Mercy and Grace for mine Offences; and thus Christ fave, preserve, and keep you.

Written at the Tower this Wednesday, the last of June, with the heavy Heart, and trembling hand, of your Highness’s most heavy and most miserable Prisoner, and poor Slave,

_Thomas Cromwell._

Most Gracious Prince, I cry for Mercy, Mercy, Mercy.

XVII. The
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of Records.  

XVIII. The King's own Declaration concerning it.  
An Original.

First I depose and declare, That this hereafter written is meerly the Cotton Libri verity intended, upon none finifter affection, nor yet upon none Olib C. 10, hatred nor displeasure, and herein I take God to witness. Now to the Matter I say and affirm 3 That when the first communication was had with me for the Marriage of the Lady Ann of Cleves, I was glad to hearken to it, trusting to have some assured Friend by it; I much doubting that time, both the Emperor, France, and the Bishop of Rome; and also because I heard so much, both of her excellent Beauty and vertuous Conditions. But when I saw her at Rochefort, the first time that ever I saw her, it rejoiced my heart that I had kept me free from making any Pact or Bond before with her till I saw her my self; for then I assured you I liked her so ill, and so far contrary to that she was praised, that I was woe that ever she came into England; and deliberated with myself, that if it were possible to find means to break off, I would never enter Yoke with her. Of which misliking, both the great Matter, the Admiral that now is, and the Master of the Horfes, can and will here record. Then after my Repair to Greenwich, the next day after I think, and doubt not, but that the Lord of Essex well examined, can, and will, or hath declared what I then said to him in that cafe; not doubting, but since he is a Person which knoweth himself condemned to die by Act of Parliament, will not damn his Soul, but truly declare the Truth, not only at the time spoken by me, but also continually till the day of Marriage; and also many times after, whereby my lack of content, I doubt not, both or shall well appear; And also lack enough of the Will and Power to consummate the same; wherein both he, my Phyficians, the Lord Privy Seal that now is, Hennage and Denny can, and I doubt not will testify according to truth, which is, That I never for love to the Woman consented to marry; nor yet if the brought Maiden-head with her, took any from her by true Carnal Copulation. This is my brief, true, and perfect Declaration.

XIX. The Judgment of the Convocation for annulling of the Marriage with Ann of Cleve.
Henricus Octavus Dei Gratia Angliae, &c. Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, &c. ecce teris Regni nostri Angliae Episcopis, Decanis, Archidiaconis, & universo Clero, dicitur. Egerunt apud nos Regni nostri proces & populus, ut cum nuper quodam emergerint, quae ut illi putant ad nos Regniq; nostri sucessionem pertinere, inter qua præcepta est, caufa & conditionis Matrimonii quod cum illi Illustri & Nobili Femia Domina Anna Clevenfe propter externam quidem conjungi speciem, perplexum aliqui etiam multis ac varios modos ambiguam videtur; Nos ad ejudem Matrimonii diquisitionem ita procedere dignamentur ut opinionem restram qui in Ecclesia nostra Anglicana scientiam Verbi Dei & Doctrinam profitemini exquiramus, volibiq; discussiendum Autoritatem ita demandamus, ut si animis Vestris fuerit peruaenum Matrimonium cum prefata Domina Anna minime considerete aut cohaerere debere; nos ad Matrimonium contrahend. cum alia liberos cile, Vestro, Patrum ac reliquae deinde Ecclesie suffragio pronuncietur & confirmetur. Nos autem qui Vestrum in reliquis Ecclesie hujus Anglicanae negotiis gravioribusque Ecclesiatricam Occonomiam & Religionem spectant judicium amplecti seolemus, ut veritatis explicande testimonium omnino necessarium rationem habeamus quod hujusmodi syncellati & circumstantias vos exponi & communicare curare, ut quod vos per Dei Leges licite decreturis ita denunt totius Ecclesie nostra Autoritatibus innixi licite facere & jacere audeamus. Vos itaque Convocari & in Synodum Univerfalem nostra Autoritate convenire volentes, vos conjunctim & divisim committimus atque mandamus, ut inspecus hujus negotii veritate, ac solum Deum praecessis habentes, quod verum, quod justum, quod honestum, quod factum est, id nobis decemini Concilium scripto anno nunciatur, & de communis constitu licite definitatis: Nempe hoc unum a vos nostro iure potestiam, ut tanquam fida & proba Ecclesie membra causa huic Ecclesialice, quae maxima est, in justitia & veritate adeoff ulteriori, &cam maturum juxta Commissionem obibis in hoc parte factum abolere & expedire. In cujus rei Testimonialis has Literas nostrias fieri secum Patentes, Teste mepio apud Westmon. exto diei Julii, Anno Regni nostri tricesimo secundo. Nos tenorem & effectum Vestrae Commissionis per omnia sequentes, postquam matura deliberatione perpendimus & consideravitn obseques Matrimonii praetendi inter Vestram Majestatem Illustriissimam & Nobilem feminam Dominam Annam Clevenfem circumstantias, nobis multis modis expolitas, cognitae & perspicaces, tandem ad definitionem & determinationem sequentes, cum communi omnium constatujustorum; animorum nostrorum judicio ac recto scientiae dictamine protulimus, proceffimus, in hunc modum & (quod tenor Vestrae Commissionis exigit) Vestrae Nobilissimae Majestate in hoc praetendi scripto referre, duximus, & significamus prout sequitur.

Primum itaque commiserimus & consideravitn Matrimonium inter Majestatem Vestram & Nobilim feminam Dominam Annam Clevenfem praetendi pracontracto quodam fponaliorum, fivae Matrimonii, inter dictam Dominam Annam & Marchionem Lotharingiae conclusae ambiguam, plane impeditum & perplexum reddi; Animadverterimus enim quod quamvis Vesta Majestas in prima hujus Matrimonii praetendi tractacione
Book III.  
of Records.

tractatione pracontractus predicti, & de quo tum serno multus habe-
natur, disputationem & declarationem ante solemnizandum cum dicta
Domina Anna Matrimonium tanta infantia exegerit, ut pro conditione
contra hendi deinde Matrimonii sui ete merito eximillari postulit, qua con-
ditione defacta nihil ageretur; atq; hoc cum ita se haberent tamen necq;
ante solemnizacionem illa de pracontractu ambiguitas expedita & decla-
rata est; cum id ipsum tum temporibus Majestatis Veltra denuo exposceret &
efflagiaret, cui clara jam & expedita effe omnia falsa renunciabantur,
necq; poeia quicquam efficax ut promiffium ab Oratoribus fuerat, hoc
transmissum est, quo fecurpulus ille ex pracontractu natus eximercetur,
tolleretur aut amoveretur, adeo quidem ut pratenfium Matrimonium
inter Majestatem Veltram & Dominam Annam predictam non modo ex
conditionis defacta corruerit, fed fi nulla: condicio hujusmodi omnino
officet, certe quidem Matrimonium hujusmodi pratenfium ex sola pra-
contractus hujusmodi causa non explicata in suffusione manerit, in eum
etiam caffum nullius vigoris omnino ac valores pronunciandum, quo pra-
contractum illum verbo de predicta factum sui ete conficerit, id quod
multis de caulis ete verifimilis & merito suffictem haberi potest.

Consideravimus pratenfia ex his quae allegata affirmata & probata no-
bis fuerunt, quod pratenfium Matrimonium inter Majestatem Veltram &
Dominam Annam predictam internum, purum, perfectum & integrum
conuenit non habuit: Imo contra quemadmodum inter ipfa trac-tationis
initia, cum de hoc Matrimonio ageretur, plurimus illecebrarum ficus
adhibitus est, & magnus laudationum acceuit supra fidem cumulatus, ut
hic perduceetur & obtrudeetur ignora, ita solemnizationis actus qui
inflatab a Majestate Veltra anime reluctante & diftentiente exortus est,
caulis maximis & gravissimis urgentibus & promenibus quae animum
invitum & alienum perpeller merito pofeerit.

Consideravimus etiam carnalem Copulam inter Majestatem Veltram &
predictam Dominam Annam minime fecutam esse, nec cum ea jueto
impedimento intercedente confecqui deinde pole. Quae omnia ex his
quas audivimus probationibus vera & certa effe exifimiamus. PolTreMo
illud quos Consideramus, quod & nobis ab aliiis propofitum etiam nos
verum effe ftemur, agnoscamus & approbamus viz. ut fi Majestas Ve-
tra (modo ne fiat divinum juftioni prajauidium) in libertate con-
trahendi Matrimonii cum alia effe declaretur, maxime totius Regni benefici-
cio id futurum: Cum quidem Regni foelicitas omnis & confervatio, tum
in Regia Veltra perfona ad Dei honore & divinarum legum executione
nem conservandam conficit, tum in vitandis etiam finistris omnibus opi-
nionibus & feandalis quae de Majestatis Veltrae progenie poffat natam no-
bis ex pratenfio Matrimonio sobolem suborirentur, fi pracontractus ille
de quo diximus, & cujus declaratio nulla fecuta est, predicte Domine
Annae objecuerit. His itaque de caulis & considerationibus alifeis; multis
non necifariis quae exprimantur, cum separatiim singulis, tum conjun-
tim omnibus confideratis & perpenfis, Nos Archipipolci & Epifopi,
cum Deo; Archiepifoci & reliquis hujius Regni Clero nunc congrego-
cato, circumfiantias feci eiuq; veritatem ut antedictum effe confideran-
tes, tum vero quid Ecclefia in hujusmodi qualibus & polluti facere & feps
numero antehac fecerit, pendentes, tenore pratenfium declaramus &
defimimus, Majestatem Veltram predicto Matrimonio pratenfo, utpote
mullo & invadis; non alligari, fed alio defuper judicio non expectatione
Ecclefiae
Eccle\iae sue Autoritate fretant po\ls arbitrio suo ad contrahend. &
contummand. Matrimonium cum quavis femina, divino jure obiectum
contrahere non prohibita, procedere, pra
tenso illo cum Domina Anna
praelita Matrimonio non obstant.

Similiter Dominam Annam prae
titam non obstante Matrimonio pra
tensi cum Majestate Vetra, quod nullo pacto obtiiare debere De
cernimus, po\ls arbitrio suo cum quavis alia persona divino jure non prohi-
bita Matrimonium contrahere. Hac Nos Clerum & doctrum Eccle\iae
Anglicane partem repraesentantes, tum vera, ju\sa, honesta, & san\ca esse
Afirmamus, tum eidem qui perfectissime, integerrime, & efficacissime ad
omnem intentionem, propositum & effectum a nobis exigii potest, Con-
sentimus & Assentimur prae pra
tentis. In quorum omnium & singulo-
rum testimonium hae scripta manuum nostrarum subscriptione, commu-
nimus, utrius\; etiam Archiepiscopi sigillo apposito. Dat. Westmon
nomo die mensis Julii, Anno Dom. 1540.

XX. Ann of Cleve's Letter to her Brother

Brother,

Because I had rather ye knew the Truth by mine Advertisement,
than for want thereof ye should be deceived by vain Reports, I
write these present Letters unto you, by which ye shall understand, That
being advertised how the Nobles and Commons of this Realm desired
the King's Highness here to commit the examination of the Matter
of Marriage, between me and his Majesty, to the determination of the
Clergy: I did the more willingly content thereunto, and since the
determination made, have also allowed, approved, and agreed unto the
same, wherein I have more respect, as becometh me, to Truth and
good Pleasure, than any worldly Affection that might move me to the
contrary. I account God pleased with that is done, and know my self
to have suffered no wrong or injury; but being my Body preserved in
the integrity which I brought into this Realm, and I truly discharged
from all band of Content, I find the King's Highness, whom I cannot
justly have as my Husband, to be nevertheless as a most kind, loving,
and friendly Father and Brother, and to use me as honourably, and with
as much humanity and liberality as you, I my self, or any of our Kin
or Allies could with or desire; wherein I am, for my own part, so
well content and satisfied, that I much desire my Mother, You, and
other mine Allies so to understand it, accept, and take it; and so to
use your self towards this Noble and Vertuous Prince, as he may have
cauce to continue his friendship towards you, which on his behalf shall
nothing be impaired or altered for this Matter; for so hath it pleased his
Highness to signify unto me, that like as he will thew me always a most
fatherly and brotherly kindness, and has so provided for me; so will he
remain with you, and other, according to such terms as have passed in the
same knot of Amity which between you hath been concluded, this Mat-
ter notwithstanding, in such wise as neither I, ye you, or any of our
Friends shall have just cause of missetentment. Thus much I have
thoughte
XXI. The Resolutions of several Bishops and Divines, of some Questions concerning the Sacraments; by which it will appear with what maturity and care they proceeded in the Reformation, taken from the Originals, under their own hands. Only in copying them, I judged it might be more acceptable to the Reader to see every Man's Answer set down after every Question; and therefore they are published in this method.

The first Question.

What a Sacrament is by the Scripture?

Answers.

The Scripture sheweth not what a Sacrament is, nevertheless where in the Latin Text we have Sacramentum, there in the Greek we have Mystērion; and so by the Scripture, Sacramentum may be called Mystērion, id est, res occulta sive arcana.

To the first; In Scripture we neither find Definition nor Description York, of a Sacrament.

Without prejudice to the Truth, and saving always more better London, Judgment, Cum facetate etiam melius deliberandi in hac parte.

To the first Question; I think that the Scriptures do use this word Sacrament, in divers places, according to the Matter it treateth upon, Tobie 12. Rev. 1. Wijd. 2. 6. 12. Dan. 2. Ephes. 1. 3. 5. Col. 1. 1 Tim. 10. Rev. 17. as also it doth divers other words: Yet, what a Sacrament is by definition, or description of Scripture, I cannot find it explicated openly. Likewise as I cannot find the definition or description of the Trinity, nor yet such-like things. Marry, what other Men can find, being daily and of long season exercized in Scripture, I cannot tell, referring therefore this thing to their better knowledge.

I think that where this word Sacramentum is found in the Scripture, Rochester, in the Latin Translacion, there in the Greek is found this word mysērion, that is to say, a Mystēry, or a secret Thing.

What the word Sacrament betokeneth, or what is the definition, de- Carlile.cription, or notification thereof, I have found no such plainly set out by Scripture. But this I find, that it should appear by the same Scripture, that the Latin word Sacramentum, and the Greek word Mystērion, be...
be in manner always used for one thing; as much as to say as, Absconditum, Occultatum, vel in occulto.

Dr. Thomas Robertson. Ad Quæstiones.

Ad primam Respondeo, vocem Sacramenti, mihi in Sacris Literis non reperiri in hac significatione, nisi quatenus ad Matrimonium applicatur a Paulo, ubi tamen Graece habetur Mysteriun: & proinde ex meris Scripturis expresse definiri non poteit.

Dr. Cox. I find not in Scripture, the definition of a Sacrament, nor what a Sacrament is.

Dr. Day. I find no definition in Scripture of this word Sacramentum; howbeit wherefoever it is found in Scripture, the same is in the Greek Mysteriurn, which signifieth a secret, or hid Thing.

Dr. Oglethorpe. Non habetur in Scripturis, quid Sacramentum proprie sit, nisi quod subinde Mysteriurn dictur: varia enim, & in Scripturis, & in Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus reperitur ejus nominis significatio; ideoque definiri non potest.

Dr. Redmayn. I find no definition of this word Sacrament in the Scripture; nor likewise of this word Gratia, or Lex, with innumerable more; and yet what they signify, it is known; so the signification of this word Sacrament is plain, it is nothing else but a secret hid Thing, or any Mystery.

Dr. Edgworth. Like as Angelus, Colum, Terra, be spoken of in Scripture, yet none of them defined; so altho Sacramentum be spoken of in Scripture, yet it hath no definition there, but is taken divers ways, and in divers significations.

Dr. Symons. This word Sacrament in Scripture is not defined.

Dr. Tresilian. I say this word Sacrament, taken in his common signification, betokeneth a Mystery, and hid, or a secret thing: But if ye understand it, in his proper signification, as we use to apply it only to the seven Sacraments, the Scripture sheweth not what a Sacrament is. And yet left any Man might be offended, thinking, that because the Scripture sheweth not what a Sacrament is, therefore the same is a light thing, or little to be esteemed: Here may be remembered, that there are some weighty and godly things, being also of our Belief, which the Scripture sheweth not expressly what they are. As for Example: We believe the Son is consubstantial to the Father: Item, that the Father is unbegotten, yet the Scripture sheweth not what is consubstantial, nor what is unbegotten, neither maketh any mention of the words. Likewise it is true, Baptism is a Sacrament, Penance is a Sacrament, &c. yet the Scripture sheweth not what a Sacrament is.

* Edwardus*
Edwardus Leyghton.

Responsions unto the Questions.

To the first Question, I say 5 That in Holy Scripture I never found, and I think there is no Man that will find a definition or description of this word Sacramentum; which is as much to say in English, as, a Mystery, a secret, or a hid thing.

I do read no definition of the word Sacramentum in Scripture; but Dr. Coren, sometimes it is used in Scripture, to signify a thing secret or hid.

In primo articulo conveniunt omnes, non fatis constare ex Scriptura, Sacramentum. Pleriq; tamen dicunt Gratia appellari, Mystertum, (i. e.) a secret, or a hid Thing.

In the Answer unto the first Question, They do all agree, that it is Agreement, not evident by Scripture, what a Sacrament is, but Mysteriorum, that is, a secret, or a hid thing.

2. Question.

What a Sacrament is by the Ancient Authors?

Answers.

The Ancient Doctors call a Sacrament, Sacrae rei Signum, viz. visibile Canterbury, Verbum, Symbolum, atque pabilo qua summus conscribi.

To the second; Of St. Augustin's words, this Description following of a Sacrament may be gathered; Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiae, visibilis forma. And this thing, that is such visible form or sign of invisible Grace in Sacraments, we find in Scripture, although we do not the word Sacrament, saving only in the Sacrament of Matrimony.

To the second; I find in Authors this Declaration, Sacramentum est Sacrae rei signum. Also, Invisibilis Gratiae visibilis Forma. Also, Visibilis Forma invisibilis Gratiae imaginem gerens & causa existens. And of the verity and goodness of this Description or Declaration, I refer me to the Divines, better acquainted with this Matter than I am.

I think that this word Sacrament, as it is taken of the Old Authors, hath divers and sundry significations, for sometime it is extended to all holy Signs, sometimes to all Mysteries, sometimes to all Allegories, &c.

Thomas Waldenstiis, who writeth a solemn Work de Sacramentis, causeth me to say, that this word, Sacramentum in Communis, is defined by the Ancient Authors; who after that he had shewed how that Wychiff, and before him Berengarius had said, that Augustinus definit Sacramentum thus; Sacramentum est Sacrum Signum; and Signum in this wise, Cccc 2 Signum.
Sacramentum a vetustioribus, quemadmodum fert Hugo de S. Victore, & Thomas Aquinas, nondum reperiri definitum, nisi quod Auguflinus interdum vocet Sacramenta, Sacra signa aut signacula, interdum similitudines earum rerum, quarum sunt Sacramenta. Et Rabanus, Sacramentum dicitur, quob sub tegumento rerum corporaliui, virtus Divina secretius salutem corundem Sacramentorum operatur, unde & a secretis virtutibus vel Sacris, Sacramenta dicuntur.

The Ancient Authors commonly say, That a Sacrament is, Sacra rei Signum, or Sacrafentium Signaculam; but they do not utterly and properly define what it is.

The Ancient Doctors take this word, Sacramentum, diversely, and apply it to many things.

Ex Auguflino & aliis colligitur, Sacramentum pofse dici, Sacra rei Signum, vel, invisibilis gratia visible Forma, quanquam hæc posterior definitio non conveniet omnibus Sacramentis, sicut tantum septem illis fieri; sed nec his quoque ex æquo, cum non æquali conferat gratiam.

Generally it is taken to signify every secret Mystery, and Sacramenta be called, Sacrae verum signa, or, Sacra signacula: And as this word Sacrament particularly is attributed to the chief Sacraments of the Church, this definition of a Sacrament may be gathered of St. August. Invisibilis Gratie visibilis Forma. And also that a Sacrament, is a mystical or secret Work which confifteth ex Verbo & elemento. And Cyprian faith, Verborum folemmitas & facri invocatio nominis, & signa instituted Apoiftolicis Sacredotum Ministeris Attributa, visible celebrant Sacramentum, rem vero ipsum Spiritus Sanctius format & efficit.

By the Ancient Authors, Sacramentum hath many significations, sometimes it is called a Secret Counfel. Tob. 12. Sacramenta Regis abevendere bonum eft. Nebuchadnezzar’s Dream was called Sacramentum, Dan. 2. The Mystery of Chrifts Incarnation, and of our Redemption, is called, Ephef. 2. and 1 Tim. 3. So that every secret Thing having some privy fenf or signification, is called Sacramentum, generally extending the Vocabale: Notwithstanding in one significalion, Sacramentum, accordeth properly to them that be commonly called the Seven Sacra- ments; and hath this definition taken of St. August. and others. Invisibilia gratia visibilis Forma, ut ipsius imaginem gerat & quodammodo causas exifiat.

The Ancient Authors of Divinity use this word Sacrament in divers significations, for they call it Mysteriorum, and so the Scripture useth it
it in many places, as I Tim. 3. Tobie 11. Wisd. 2. Dan. 2. Eph. 1. & 3. The word Sacrament is also used for a Figure or a Sign of the Old Testament, signifying Christ, as the Paschal Lamb, and the Brass Serpent, and divers other holy Signs. It is also taken of the Holy Authors, to be an Holy Sign, which maketh to the sanctification of the Soul, given of God against Sin for our Salvation, as it may be gathered of them; for this word Sacrament is called by them, Sacrum Signum; but I have not read any express definition common to all Sacraments.

This word Sacrament, in the Ancient Authors, is oft-times used in this general signification, and so (as is before-said) it is a Mystery, or secret Thing; and sometimes the same word is used as applicable only unto the Seven Sacraments; and is thus described, A visible Form of an invisible Grace: and thus also, a thing by the which, under the covering of visible Things, the godly Power doth work our health.

To the second, I say; That Hugo de Sancto Victor, is one of the most Ancient Authors that I ever could perceive, took upon him to define or describe a Sacrament: Howbeit, I suppose, that this common description which the Schoolmen use, after the Master of the Sentences, viz. Sacramentum est invisibilis Gratia visibilis aequo sensibilibus Forma, may be gathered of St. Austin, and divers other Ancient Authors words in many places of their Works.

I do find no definition plainly set forth in Old Authors; notwithstanding this definition, Invisible Gratia visibilis Forma, may be gathered out of St. Augustin.

In secundo Articulo convenient omnes, Sacramentum esse sacrae rei signum. Trefham, Oglethorpus, & Edgworth, dicunt hanc definitionem, Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiae visibilis Forma, his septem convenire. Thurlebeus ait, non convenire omnibus septem, & aequo pluribus posse attribui atque septem.

In the second they put many descriptions of a Sacrament, as the sign of a holy Thing, a visible Word, &c. But upon this one definition, a Sacrament is a visible Form of invisible Grace; they do not all agree: for Doctors, Edgworth, Trefham, and Oglethorp say, That it is applicable only and properly unto the word Sacrament, as it signifies the Seven Sacraments usually received. My Lord Elect of Westminster faith, That it agreeth not unto all the Seven, nor yet more specially unto the Seven, than unto any other.

3. Question:
3. Question.

How many Sacraments there be by the Scripture?

Answers.

Canterbury. The Scripture sheweth not how many Sacraments there be, but *Incarnatio Christi* and *Matrimonium*, be called in the Scripture *Mysteria*, and therefore we may call them by the Scripture *Sacramenta*. But one *Sacramentum* the Scripture maketh mention of, which is hard to be revealed fully, as would to God it were, and that is *Mysterium Iniquitatis*, or *Mysterium Meretricis magna & Befite*.

York. To the third; In Scripture we find no precise number of Sacraments.

London. To the third; I find not set forth the express number, with express declaration of this many and no more; nor yet of these expressly by Scripture which we use, especially under the name of Sacraments, falling only of Matrimony.

Rochester. I think that in the Scripture be innumerable Sacraments, for all Mysteries, all Ceremonies, all the Facès of Christ, the whole Story of the Jews, and the Revelations of the Apocalypse, may be called Sacraments.

Carlisle. The certain number of Sacraments, or Mysteries, contained within Scripture, cannot be well expressed or assigned; for Scripture containeth more than infully may be rehearsed.

Dr. Robertson. De his septem, quæ usitate vocamus Sacramenta, nullum inventio nomine Sacramenti appellari, nisi Matrimonium. Matrimonium esse Sacramentum, probat Eckius, Homi. 73. & conferre gratiam, ibid.

Dr. Cox. There be divers Sacraments by the Scripture, as in Tobie 12. *Sacramentum Regis*, the King's Secret. Allo Nebuchadnezzar's Dream, Dan. 2., is called, *Sacramentum* *Incarnatio Christi*, *Sacramentum* *Ephef. 3. Matrimonium*, *Sacramentum*.

Dr. Day. Taking for Sacraments any thing, that this word, *Sacramentum*, doth signify, there be in Scripture a great number of Sacraments more than seven.

Dr. Oglethorpe. Non habetur determinatus Sacramentorum numerus in Scripturis, sint enim innumera fere illæ, quæ passim vocantur Sacramenta; cum omnis allegoria, omnes Mysterium, dicatur Sacramentum. Quin & somnia, ac secreta, subinde Sacramenta vocantur. Tobie 2. Sacramentum Regis abscondere bonum eft; & Dan. 2. Imploremus misericordias Dei Coeli super Sacramentum isto, & somnio. Paulus etiam Epift. 2. vocat Mysterium Incarnationis Christi Sacramentum; Et in Apoc. 1. vocat Sacramentum septem Stellarum. Ac hoc præcipue observandum venit, nulsum
nullum septem Sacramentis receptis, hoc nomine appellari, prœter folu[m Matrimonium.

As many as there be Mysteries, which be innumerable; but by Scripture, I think, the seven which be named Sacraments, may principally bear the name.

Speaking of Sacraments generally, they be innumerable spoken of in Scripture; but properly to speak of Sacraments, there be but seven that may be so called, of which Matrimony is expressly called Sacramentum, Ephes. 5: and as I think, in the germane and proper signification of a Sacrament; so that the indivisible knot of the Man and his Wife in one Body, by the Sacrament of Matrimony, is the Matter of this Sacrament; upon which, as on the literal verity the Apostle foundeth this allegorical saying, Ego autem dico in Christo & in Ecclesia; for the mystical sense prefuppeth a verity in the Letter on which that is taken. Six more there be to which the definition doth agree, as manifestly doth appear by the Scriptures, with the exposition of the Ancient Authors.

In the Scripture there is no certain number of Sacraments.

I find no more of the seven, called expressly Sacraments, but only Matrimony, but extending the name of Sacrament in his most general acceptance; there are in Scripture a great number of Sacraments, whereof the Apostle saith, Si noverint Mysteria omnia, &c.

To the third; I say, that I find not in Scripture any of these seven which we commonly call Sacraments, called Sacramentum, but only Matrimonium. But I find divers and many other things called Sacraments in Scripture, as in the 12 of Tobie, Sacramentum Regis abstondere bonum est. Item Apoc. 17. Dicamus tibi Sacramentum. Item, 1 Tim. 3, Magnum est pietatis Sacramentum, &c.

I cannot tell how many Sacraments be, by Scripture, for they be above one hundred.

In tertio convenient satis: non esse certum numerum Sacramentorum per Con, Scripturas. Redmaynus addit. But by Scripture I think the seven which be named Sacraments, may principally bear the Name. Idem fentit Edgeworth, & septem tantum. Matrimonium in Scripturis haberii sub nomine Sacramenti pleriq. dicunt.

In the third they do agree, That there is no certain number of Sacraments by Scripture, but even as many as there be Mysteries; and none of these seven called Sacraments, but only Matrimony in Scripture.
4. Question.

How many Sacraments there be by the Ancient Authors?

Answers.

By the Ancient Authors there be many Sacraments more than seven; for all the Figures which signify Christ to come, or testify that he is come, be called Sacraments, as all the Figures of the Old Law, and in the New Law; Eucharistia, Baptismus, Pascha, Dies Dominicus, lottio Pedum, signum Crucis, Christus, Matrimonium, Ordo, Sabbatum, Impositio manuum, Oleum, Consecratio Olii, Lac, Mel, Aqua, Vinnum, Salt, Ignis, Citrus, adapertio Aurium, vestis candida, and all the Parables of Christ, with the Prophecies of the Apocalypse, and such others, be called by the Doctors, Sacramenta.

York. To the fourth; There is no precise number of Sacraments mentioned by the Ancient Authors, taking the word Sacrament, in his most general signification.

London. To the fourth; I find that St. Augustine speaketh, de Baptismo, de Eucharistia, de Matrimonio, de Ordinatione clericorum, de Sacramento Chrismatis & Unctionis. Also I find in the said St. Augustine, that in the Old Law there were many Sacraments, and in the New Law few.

Rochester. I think that in the Doctors be found many more Sacraments than seven, viz. Panis Catechumenorum, signum Crucis, Oleum, Lac, Mel, &c.

Carlisle. That Scripture containeth, by the same Holy Ghost which is Author thereof, the Holy Doctors, and Ancient Fathers expoundeth; So that where in Scripture the number of Sacraments is uncertain, it cannot be among them certain.

Dr. Apud Augustinum lego Sacramentum Nuptiarum, Sacramentum Baptismi, Sacramentum Eucharistiae, quod & altaris five panis vocat; Sacramentum Ordinationis; Sacramentum Chrismatis, quod datur per manus impositionem Baptizatis; Sacramentum Unctionis.

Dr. Cox. I find in the Ancient Authors, that Baptism is called Sacramentum, Eucharistia Sacramentum, Matrimonium Sacramentum, Ordo Sacramentum, Christus Sacramentum, Impositio Manuum per Baptismum Sacramentum, Dilectio Sacramentum, Lottio pedum Sacramentum, Oleum, Mel, Lac, Sacramenta; and many others.

Dr. Day. There be a great sort of Sacraments found in the Doctors, after the acception above-said, more than seven.

Dr. Apud Scriptores Ecclesiasticos reperiuntur multo plura Sacramenta.
Taking this word Sacrament univerally for Mysteries, or all secret Tokens, there be more Sacraments than can be reckoned; but the seven by old Authors may specially obtain the name. Lotio pedum is spoken of in old Authors, as a special Sacrament used then in the Church, and as it appeareth, having a great ground in the Scripture; and I think it better to renew that again, and so to have eight Sacraments, rather than to diminish the number of the seven now used.

Even like as to the next Question before.

The ancient Authors acknowledge many more than seven; for they call in their Writings, all Rites and Ceremonies, Sacraments.

Generally, as many as Mysteries, specially seven, and no more of like nature to them; for although I find not express mention where Penance is called a Sacrament, yet I think it may be deduced and proved by Cyprian, in his Sermon de Passione Christi, in these words; Desis quinque sunt Sacramentorum Miniftri, per operationem auctoritatis in figura Crucis omnibus Sacramentis largitum effecdum; & cuncta peragit ubi quod omnibus nominibus enimct a Sacramentorum vicaris invocatum: At licet indigni sint qui accipient, Sacramentorum tamen reverentia & propriorem ad Deum parat accessum, ut ubi redierint ad cor constat ablationis dominum, & read effe&um munera nobis, nec alius quierit aut repeti neceffe est salutiferum Sacramentum; in these words, redit effe&um munera nobis; and, nec alius repeti neceffe est salutiferum Sacramentum, must needs be understood Penance, and also that Penance is a Sacrament: For as our first access to God is by the Sacrament Baptifm, which Cyprian there following called Ablationem primam; so if we fall by deadly sin, we cannot repeter God again, but by Penance; which repeating (i.e.) Penance, Cyprian calleth, Salutiferum Sacramentum.

To the fourth, I say: That I find in ancifter Authors, every one of these seven, which we call commonly Sacraments, called Sacramen tum; as in Afflin every one of them is called Sacramentum but only Penance, which Cyprian calleth Sacramentum. Also I find in the ancifter Authors divers other things (besides the seven) called Sacraments, as Lotio Pedum in Cyprian, &c.

More Sacraments be found in old Authors than Seven.

In quarto conveniunt, plura esse Sacramenta quam septem apud Authores; Con. Redman addit: But the seven by old Authors, may specially obtain the name. Idem patat Edgeworth, and Treffam. Lotio Pedum, he thinsketh were better to be renewed, and so made eight Sacraments, than the number of the seven to be diminished. Treffamus citat Cyprianum in Serm. de Passione Christi pro penitentia, quod dicitur Sacramentum, cum aliis fere omnes mysticam appellari inuent Sacramentum apud Authores, & hic locus aperte agit de Baptismo, quod vocat domum ablationis, & Sacramentum Salutiferum.
5. Question.

Whether this word Sacrament, be and ought to be attributed to the seven only? And whether the seven Sacraments be found in any of the old Authors?

Answers.

Canterbury. I know no cause why this word Sacrament should be attributed to the seven only; for the old Authors never preferred any certain number of Sacraments, nor in all their Books I never read these two words joined together, viz. septem Sacramenta.

York. To the fifth, I answer; That this word Sacrament, in our Language, commonly hath been attributed to the seven, usually called Sacraments, not for that yet, that the word Sacrament cannot be applied to any more, but for that the seven have been specially of very long and ancient season received, continued and taken for things of such sort.

London. To the fifth, I answer; That this word Sacrament, in our Language, commonly hath been attributed to the seven, usually called Sacraments, not for that yet, that the word Sacrament cannot be applied to any more, but for that the seven have been specially of very long and ancient season received, continued and taken for things of such sort.

Carlisle. Certain it is, that this word Sacrament, neither is nor ought to be attributed to seven only, for both Scripture and ancient Authors otherwise applieht it, but yet nothing lcteth, but that this word Sacrament may most especially, and in a certain due preheminence, be applied to the seven Sacraments, of most ancient name and usage among Christian Men. And that the ancient Authors have so used and applied it, affirmeth the said Thomas Walden, convincing Wycliffe and Bercingarius, who enforced the contrary; from Cyprian, and also Augustine, with other holy Doctors, they may so well be gathered.

Dr. Robertson. Vocabulum, Sacramenti, in Sacris Literis, nulli Sacramentorum quod seiam tribuitur, nisi Matrimonio: a vetustis Scriptoribus tribuitur Ceremoniis & umbriis legis, Incarnationi Christi, figuris, allegoriis & ficti-
vitatibus: Apud Paulum legitur divinitatis, voluntatis divinae, & pietatis Sacramentum. Ceterum loquendo de Sacramentis his, quae sunt invisibilis gratiae collatae in Ecclesia Christi visibilia signa, opinor non plura quam septem inventis, hic: quos magis proprius quam reliquis, sub hac ratione, tribui nomen Sacramenti.

This word Sacrament is not, nor ought not to be attributed to these seven only. Tho' that we call seven Sacraments, be found in old Authors, although some of them be seldom found called by this name Sacrament.

This word, Sacramentum, neither is, nor ought to be so attributed unto these seven, but that it is, and may be attributed to many more things, and to the Ancicnt Doctors use it. The seven Sacraments be found in Ancient Doctors under the name of Sacrament, saying that I remember not that I have read in them Pennance called a Sacrament.

Nomen commune est multis alis rebus, quam septem illis usitatibus Sacramentis. Septem Sacramenta, scorsim & sparsim repertiuntur in veterum monumentis.

To the seven specially and principally, and in general to innumerable more. But I cannot tell whether in any Old Author might be found these two words, seven Sacraments, or this number limited; but every one of the seven Sacraments, one by one, be found in the Old Authors.

Sacramentum, in his proper signification, is and ought to be attributed to the seven only; and they be all seven found in the Authors.

This word, Sacrament, is not only to be attributed to the seven, but that the seven Sacraments especially conferreth Grace, the Old Authors especially accounteth them by the number of seven; and these seven are found in Authors and Scriptures, altho' they be not found by the name of seven.

I say, this word Sacrament is attributed to the seven; and that the seven Sacraments are found in the Ancient Authors.

To the fifth I say, first, (as before) that this word Sacramentum, is not applied or attributed in Holy Scripture to any of the seven, but only to Matrimony. But it is attributed in Scripture, and Ancient Authors to many other things besides these: Howbeit, taking this word, Sacramentum, for a sensible sign of the invisible Grace of God given unto Christian People, as the Schoolmen, and many late Writers take it; I think that the seven commonly called Sacraments, are to be called only and most properly Sacraments.

This word Sacrament, may well be attributed to the seven; and so Dr. Coren. it is found in Old Authors, saying that I do not read expressly in old Doctors, Pennance to be under the name of a Sacrament, unless it be in Chrysostome, in the Exposition ad Hebre. Homil. 20, sed 1, cap. 10, in principio.

Difent. In the fifth; The Bishops of Hereford and St. Davids, Dr. Day, Dr. Cox, say, That this word, Sacrament, in the Old Authors, is not attributed unto the seven only, and ought not to be attributed. The Bishop of Carlisle alleging Waldenfis. Doctors, Curren, Edgeworth, Symons, Trefham say, That it is and may be attributed, And Dr. Curren, and Mr. Symons, feem to vary against themselves each in their own Anfwers; for Dr. Curren faith, That this word Sacrament is attributed unto the seven in the old Doctors, and yet he cannot find that it is attributed unto Penance. Dr. Symons faith, That the Old Authors account them by the number of seven; and yet he faith, That they be not found there by the name of seven.

6. Question.

Whether the determinate number of seven Sacraments be a Doctrine, either of the Scripture, or of the old Authors, and so to be taught,

Answers.

Canterbury. The determinate number of seven Sacraments is no Doctrine of the Scripture, nor of the Old Authors.

York. To the sixth; The Scripture maketh no mention of the Sacraments determined to seven precisely; but the Scripture maketh mention of seven Sacraments, which be used in Christ's Church, and grounded partly in Scripture; and no more be in use of the said Church but seven so grounded; and some of the Ancient Doctors make mention of seven, and of no more than seven, as used in Christ's Church so grounded; wherefore a Doctrine may be had of seven Sacraments precisely used in Christ's Church, and grounded in Scripture.

London. To the sixth; I think it be a Doctrine set forth by the Ancient Fathers, one from another, taking their matter and ground out of Scripture, as they understood it; tho' Scripture, for all that, doth not give unto all the seven, the special names by which now they are called, nor yet openly call them by the name of Sacrament, except only (as is before-said) the Sacrament of Matrimony.

Rochester. Albeit the seven Sacraments be in effect found both in the Scripture, and in the Old Authors, and may therefore be so taught; yet I have not read this precise and determinate number of seven Sacra-
Sacraments, neither in the Scripture, nor in the ancient Writers.

By what is here before-said, I think it doth well appear, that both the Scripture of God, and holy Expositors of the same, would have the seven Sacraments both taught, and in due form exhibited to all Christian People, as it shall also better appear by what followeth.


This determinate number of seven Sacraments, is no Doctrine of Dr. Cox, Scripture, nor of the Old Authors, nor ought not to be taught as such a determinate number by Scripture and Old Authors.

Neither the Scripture, nor the Ancient Authors, do recite the determinate number of the seven Sacraments; but the Doctrine of the seven Sacraments is grounded in Scripture, and taught by the ancient Authors, albeit not altogether.

Septenarius Sacramentorum numerus, Doctrina eft recentium Theologorum; quam illi partim ex Scriptura, partim ex veterum scriptis, argueite in sacrum hunc (ut aiunt) numerum, coloerunt.

I think, as I find by old Authors, the ancient Church used all these seven Sacraments; and so I think it good to be taught.

The determinate number of seven Sacraments, is not taught in any one Proces of the Scripture, nor of any one of the old Authors of purpose speaking of them altogether, or in one Proces, as far as I can remember; albeit they all seven be there, and there spoken of in Scripture manifestly, and so have the old Authors left them in sundry places of their Writings; and so it ought to be taught.

Forasmuch as the Scripture teacheth these seven, and sheweth special Graces given by the same, the which are not so given by others, called Sacraments, the old Authors perceiving the special Graces, have accounted them in a certain number, and so have been used by Doctors to be called seven, and without inconvenience may so be taught.

I say, The determinate number of seven is not expressly mentioned in the Scripture, like as the determinate number of the seven Petitions of the Prayer is not expressly mentioned; and as I think the seven Petitions to have their ground in Scripture, even so do I think of the seven Sacraments, to be grounded in Scripture.
Dr. Leighton. To the sixth I say as before, That the old Authors call each of these seven, Sacraments; but be it, I cannot remember that ever I read the determinate, precise, and express number of seven Sacraments in any of the ancient Authors, nor in Scripture. Howbeit we may find in Scripture, and the old Authors, also mention made, and the Doctrine of each of these seven, commonly called Sacraments.

Dr. Corin. The determinate number of seven, is a Doctrine to be taught, for every one of them be contained in Scripture, tho' they have not the number of seven set forth there, no more than the Petitions of the Pastor Noster be called seven, nor the Articles of the Creed be called twelve.


Agreem. In the sixth, touching the determinate number of the seven Sacraments, the Bishop of Durefune, Hereford, St. Davids, and Rochester, the Elect of Westminister, Dr. Day, and Dr. Oglethorpe say, This prescribed number of Sacraments is not found in the old Authors. The Bishop of York, Drs. Curren, Trefham, and Symmons, say the contrary. Concerning the second part, Whether it be a Doctrine to be taught? The Bishops of Hereford, St. Davids, and Dr. Cox, Think it ought not to be so taught as such a determinate number by Scripture. The Bishops of York, London, Carlisle; Drs. Day, Curren, Trefham, Symmons, Crayford, Think it a Doctrine meet to be taught: And some of them say, That it is founded on Scripture.

7. Question.
What is found in Scripture of the Matter, Nature, Effect, and Vertue of such as we call the seven Sacraments; so as also the Name be not there, yet whether the thing be in Scripture or no, and in what wise spoken of.

Answers.
Canterbury. I find not in the Scripture, the Matter, Nature, and Effect of all these which we call the seven Sacraments, but only of certain of them, as of Baptism, in which we be regenerated and pardoned of our sin by the Blood of Christ: Of Eucharistia, in which we be conformed unto Christ, and made lively Members of his Body, nourished and
and fed to the Everlasting Life, if we receive it as we ought to do, and else it is to us rather Death than Life. Of Penance also I find in
the Scripture, whereby Sinners after Baptism returning wholly unto
God, be accepted again unto God's Favour and Mercy. But the Scripture
speaketh not of Penance, as we call it a Sacrament, confinfting in
three parts, Conftitution, Confession, and Satisfaction; but the Scripture
taketh Penance for a pure conversion of a Sinner in heart and mind
from his sins unto God, making no mention of private Confession of all
deathly sins to a Priest, nor of Eccle{fiaftical satisfaction to be enjoined by
him. Of Matrimony also I find very much in Scripture, and among
other things, that it is a Mean whereby God doth use the infirmity of
our Concupiscence to the setting forth of his Glory, and encrease of
the World, thereby sanctifying the Act of Carnal Conjunction between
the Man and the Wife to that use; yea, altho one Party be an Infidel:
and in this, Matrimony is also a Promise of Salvation, if the Parents bring
up their Children in the Faith, Love, and Fear of God. Of the Matter,
Nature, and Effect of the other three, that is to say, Confirmation,
Order, and extreme Union, I read nothing in the Scripture, as they be
taken for Sacraments.

To the seventh; Of Baptism, we find in Scripture the Justification by
the Word of Christ; we find also that the Matter of Baptism is Water,
the Effect and Virtue is Remission of Sins. Of Confirmation, we
find that the Apostles did confirm those that were baptized, by laying
their hands upon them, and that the Effect then was the coming of the
Holy Ghost into them, upon whom the Apostles laid their hands, in a
visible sign of the Gift of divers Languages, and therewith of ghostly
strength to confess Christ following upon the same. Of the Sacrament
of the Altar, we find the Institution by Christ, and the Matter thereof,
Bread and Wine, the Effect, Increase of Grace. Of the Sacrament of
Penance, we find the Institution in the Gospel, the Effect, Reconciliation
of the Sinner, and the union of him to the Mysterious Body of
Christ. Of the Sacrament of Matrimony, we find the Institution both
in the Old and New Testament, and the Effect thereof; Remedy against
Concupiscence and Discharge of sin, which otherwise should be in
the Office of Generation. Of the Sacrament of Order, we find,
that our Saviour gave to his Apostles power to baptize, to bind and
to looke Sinners, to remit sins, and to receive them, to teach and
preach his Word, and to consecrate his most precious Body and Blood,
which be the highest Offices of Order; and the effect thereof Grace,
we find in Scripture. Of extreme Union, we find in the Epistle of
the Holy Apostle St. James, and of the Effects of the fame.

To the seventh, I find, that St. Anfin is of this sentence, That where the Sacraments of the old Law did promise Grace and Comfort, the Sacraments of the New Law do give it indeed. And moreover he saith, That the Sacraments of the New Law are, factu faciliora, pauci{ora, salubri{ora, & fec{iora, more easier, more few{er, more wholesome, and more happy.

The
Dr. Robertson.

Materia Sacramentorum est Verbum & Elementum, virtus quam Deus per illa digne fumentibus conferat gratiam, juxta sua promissio-

Deus, per illa digne fumentibus conferat gratiam, juxta sua promissio-
nem, nimirum quod sint Sacra Signacula, non tantum signantia, sed etiam significativa. Unde opinor confitare hanc Sacramentorum vim esse in Sacris Litteris.

Dr. Cox.

I find in Scripture, of such things as we use to call Sacraments, First, Of Baptism manifester. Of Eucharistia manifester. Of Penance manifester. Of Matrimony manifester. Of Ordering, per manus Impositionem & Orationem manifester. It is also manifester, that the Apostles laid their hands upon them that were Chriftened. Of the Union of the Sick with Prayer manifester.

Dr. Day.

Albeit the seven Sacraments be not found in Scripture expressed by name, yet the thing it felf, that is, the Matter, Nature, Effect and Vertue of...
of them is found there. Of Baptism in divers places; of the most Holy Communion; of Matrimony; of Absolution; of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, how they were ordained per Manum Impositionem cum Oratione; Of laying the Apostles Hands on them that were Christened, which is a part of Confirmation; of Unction of them that were sick, with Prayer joined withal.

Natura, vis, effectus, ac uniuscujusque Sacramenti proprietas, scorsim in Scriptura repetitur, ut veteres eam interpretati sunt.

As it appeareth in the Articles which be drawn of the said seven Sacraments.

In Scripture we find of the Form of the Sacraments, as the words Sacrament; and the Matter; as the Element, Oil, Christ; and the Patient receiving the Sacrament; and of Grace and encrease of Vertue given by them, as the Effects.

The things are contained in Scripture, as Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharistia, Penitentia, Extrema Unction, Ordo, altho they have not there this name Sacramentum, as Matrimony hath; and every one of them hath his Matter, Nature, Effect and Vertue.

I think the Thing, the Matter, the Nature, the Effect, and Vertue of them all be in the Scripture, and all there instituted by God's Authority, for I think that no one Man, neither the whole Church hath power to institute a Sacrament, but that such Institution pertaineth only to God.

To the seventh, I say, That we may evidently find in Scripture, the substance of every one of the seven Sacraments, the Nature, Effect, and Vertue of the same; as of Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, Matrimony, and so forth of the rest.

Of the Matter, Nature, Vertue, and Effect, of such as we call Sacraments, Scripture maketh mention: Of Baptism manifestly; of the most Holy Communion manifestly; of Absolution manifestly; of Matrimony manifestly; of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, Scripture speaketh manifestly; for they were ordered, per Impositiones Manuum Presidentii cum Oratione & Jejunio.

Conveniunt prater Menevium septem Sacramentarum nobis Con; tradi in Scripturis, Eboracen. effectus singulorum enumerat, item Carliloum. Londinens. non respondet Questioni. Trehamus ait ideo Æ Scripturis tradi nobis Sacramenta, quoniam tota Ecclesia non habet Authoritatem Instituendi Sacramentam.

In the seventh they do agree, saving this, That the Bishop of St. Davids says, That the Nature, Effect, and Vertue of these seven Sacraments, only Baptism, the Sacrament of the Altar, Matrimony, Penance, are contained.
8. Question.

Whether Confirmation, cum Chrismate, of them that be Baptized, be found in Scripture?

Answers.

Canterbury. Of Confirmation with Chrism, without which it is counted no Sacrament, there is no mention in the Scripture.

York. To the eighth; We find Confirmation, cum Impostione Manuum in Scripture, as before; cum Chrismate we find not in the Scripture, but yet we find Chrismation with Oil used even from the time of the Apostles, and so taken as a Tradition Apostolick.

London. To the eighth; I find in Scripture, in many places, de Impostione Manuum, which I think (considering the usage commonly and so long used) to be Confirmation, and that with Chrism, to supply the visible appearance of the Holy Ghost, which Holy Ghost was so visibly seen in the Primitive Church; nevertheless for the perfect declaration of the verity hereof, I refer it to the judgment of Men of higher knowledge in this Faculty.

Rochester. Altho Confirmation be found in the Scripture, by Example, as I said before, yet there is nothing written de Chrismate.

Carlile. The Imposition of Hands, the Holy Doctors take for the same which we call Confirmation, done upon them which were christened before, whereof is written in the Acts. And as for Chrism, it should seem by Cyprian, both as touching the confection and usage thereof, that it hath a great ground to be derived out of Scripture, tho' it be not manifestly therein spoken of.

Dr. Robertson. Res & Effectus Confirmationis continentur in Scriptura, nempe, Impostio Manuum per Apostolos Baptizatis, per quam dabatur Spiritus Sanctus. De Chrismate nihil illic legitimus, quia per id tempus Spiritus Sanctus figno visibili defenderit in Baptizatos. Quod ubi fieri desideri, Ecclesia Chrismate signi externi loco uti coepit.

Dr. Cox. I find not in Scripture that the Apostles laying their Hands upon them that were baptized, did anoint them Chrismate.

Dr. Day. Confirmation cum Chrismate I read not in Scripture, but Impostionem Manuum super Baptizatos, I find there is, which ancient Authors call Confirmation; and Inunction with Chrism hath been used from the Primitive Church.
De Impofitione manuum cum Oratione, expressa mentione eft in Scripturis, quæ nunc uti tam nomine, a Doctoribus dicitur, Confirmaio. Sacram Chriftiae, Traditio eft Apostolica, ut ex veteribus loquer.

The Question is not simple, but as if it were asked, Whether Eucha¬ristia in infermentate, be in the Scripture, or, baptifmus cum fale. Impofition of the Aposles hands, in which was conferred the Holy Ghost for Confirmation of them who were baptized, is found in Scripture. Chriftis is a Tradition deduced from the Aposles, as may be gathered by Scripture, and by the Old Authors, and the Mystery thereof is not to be defpifed.

This Sacrament is one, unitate integritatis, as some others be: Therefore it hath two parts; of which one, that is, Impofition Manuum, is taken, Heb.6. & Ali.8. The other part, that is, Chriftiæ, is taken of the Tradition of the Fathers, and so used from the Primitive Church. vid. Cyp. Epif. lib. 1. Ep. 12.

Confirmation is found in Scripture, and Confirmation cum Chriftiæ, is gathered from the Old Authors.

I lay, Confirmation is found in Scripture, but this additament, cum Chriftiæ, is not of the Scripture, yet is it a very ancient Tradition, as appeareth by Cyp. de Unië Chrifiæ.

To the eighth Question, I lay, That Confirmation of them that be baptized, is found in Scripture, but cum Chriftiæ it is not found in Scripture, but it was used cum Chriftiæ in the Church soon after the Aposles Time, as it may evidently appear by the cited Authors.

The laying of the Bishops hands upon them that be chriftinen, which is a part of Confirmation, is plainly in Scripture; and the Unction with Chriftiæ, which is another part, hath been observed from the Primitive Church, and is called of St. Austin, Sacramentum Chriftiæ. Unction of the Sick with Oil, and the Prayer, is grounded expressly in Scripture.

Convenient omnes Confirmationem cum Chriftiæ non haberi in Con. Scripturis. Eboracensi Trefham, Coren, Day, Ogletorpe, Edgworth, Leighton, Simmons, Redman, Robinsonus, Confirmationem in Scripturis eife contendunt; et eorum Chriftiæ eile traditionem Apostolicam: addit Robertinus, & ubi fici deficerat miraculum Confeerandi Spiritus Sancti, Ecclesia Chriftiæ signi externi loco uti ceppit; Convenit illi Londine inferred.

Carliolenf. putat umum Chriftiæm ex Scripturis pcti posse; Putant omnes turn in hoc Articulo, tum superiori, Impofitionem Manuum eile Confirmationem.

In the eighth they do agree all, except it be the Bishop of Carlisle, Agreement. That Confirmation cum Chriftiæ is not found in Scripture, but only Confirmation cum Manuum Impofitione. And that also my Lord of St. Davidis

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denieth to be in Scripture, as we call it a Sacrament. My Lord of Carlisle faith, That Christ, as touching the profession and usage thereof, hath a ground to be derived out of Scripture. The other say, That it is but a Tradition.

9. Question.

Whether the Apostles lacking a higher Power, as in not having a Christian King among them, made Bishops by that necessity, or by Authority given by God?

Answers.

ALL Christian Princes have committed unto them immediately of God the whole Cure of all their Subjects, as well concerning the Administration of God's Word, for the Cure of Souls, as concerning the Ministration of things Political and Civil Governance: And in both these Ministrations, they must have sundry Ministers under them to supply that, which is appointed to their several Offices. The Civil Ministers under the King's Majesty, in this Realm of England, be those whom it shall please his Highness for the time to put in Authority under him: As for Example; The Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Great Master, Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Admiral, Majors, Sheriffs, &c. The Ministers of God's Word, under his Majesty, be the Bishops, Parfons, Vicars, and such other Priests as be appointed by his Highness to that Ministration: As for Example, The Bishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Winchester, the Parson of Winwick, &c. All the said Officers and Ministers, as well of that sort as the other, be appointed, aligned, and elected, and in every place, by the Laws and Orders of Kings and Princes. In the admission of many of these Officers, be divers comely Ceremonies and Solemnities used, which be not of necessity, but only for a good order and seemly fashion; for if such Offices and Ministrations were committed without such solemnity, they were nevertheless truly committed: And there is no more Promise of God, that Grace is given in the committing of the Ecclesiastical Office, than it is in the committing of the Civil Office. In the Apostles time, when there was no Christian Princes, by whose Authority Ministers of God's Word might be appointed, nor Sins by the Sword corrected, there was no Remedy then for the correction of Vice, or appointing of Ministers, but only the consent of Christian Multitudes among themselves, by an uniform consent, to follow the advice and persuasion of such Persons whom God had most endued with the Spirit of Counsel and Wisdom: And at that time, forasmuch as the Christian People had no Sword, nor Governour amongst them, they were constrained of necessity to take such Curats and Priests, as either they knew themselves to be meet thereunto, or else were commended unto them by others, that were so replete with the Spirit of God, with such knowledge in the profession of Christ, such Wisdom, such Conversation and Coun-


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fel, that they ought even of very Conscience to give credit unto them, and to accept such as by them were presented: and so sometimes the Apostles and others, unto whom God had given abundantly his Spirit, sent or appointed Ministers of God's Word; sometimes the People did chuse such as they thought meet thereunto: and when any were appointed or sent by the Apostles or others, the People of their own voluntary Will with thanks did accept them: nor for the Supremacy, Empire, or Dominion, that the Apostles had over them to command, as their Princes and Masters, but as good People ready to obey the Advice of good Counsellors, and to accept any thing that was necessary for their edification and benefit.

To the ninth: We find in Scripture, that the Apostles used the Power to make Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; which Power may be grounded upon these words: sincet misit me vivens Pater, sic ego mitto vos, &c. And we verily think, that they durst not have used so high Power, unless they had had Authority from Christ: but that their Power to ordain Bishops, Priests, or Deacons, by Imposition of Hands, requireth any other Authority, than Authority of God, we neither read in Scripture, nor out of Scripture.

To the ninth: I think the Apostles made Bishops by the Law of God, because, Acts 22. it is said, in quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit: Nevertheless, I think if Christian Princes had been then, they should have named by Right, and appointed the said Bishops to their Rooms and Places.

I think that the Apostles made Bishops by Authority given them from God.

That Christ made his Apostles, Priests, and Bishops, and that he gave them Power to make others like, it seemeth to be the very Trade of Scripture.

Opinor Apostolos Authoritate Divina creasisse Episcopos & Presbyteros, ubi Publicus Magistratus permittit.

Altho the Apostles had no authority to force any Man to be Priest, yet (they moved by the Holy Ghost) had authority of God to exhort and induce Men to set forth God's Honour, and so to make them Priests.

The Apostles made, that is to say, ordained Bishops by authority given them by God: Joh. 20. Sicut misit me vivens Pater, sic ego mitto vos. Item Joam. ult., & Acts. 20. and 1 Tim. 4. Paulus ordinavit Timothaeum & Titum, & prescrifit quales illi debeant ordinare. 1 Tim. 1. Tit. 1.

Apostoli autoritate & mandato Dei, ordinabant ac institubeant Episcopos, petita ac obtenta prius facultate a Princeipe ac Magistratru (ut Ogletorpe, opinor) qui tum præcebat.

Chrift
Dr. Redmayn.  
Christ gave his Apostles authority to make other Bishops and Ministers in his Church, as he had received authority of the Father to make them Bishops; but if any Christian Prince had then been, the Apostles had been, and ought to have been obedient Subjects, and would nothing have attempted, but under the permission and assent of their Earthly Governors; yet was it meet that they which were special and most Elected Servants of our Saviour Christ, and were sent by him to convert the World; and having most abundantly the Holy Ghost in them, should have special ordering of such Ministry as pertained to the planting and encreasing of the Faith; whereunto I doubt not, but a Christian Prince, of his godly Mind, would most lovingly have condescended. And it is to be considered, that in this Question, with other like, this word, making of a Bishop, or Priest, may be taken two ways: for understanding the Word, to ordain or Consecrate, so it is a thing which pertaineth to the Apostles and their Successors only; but if by this word (Making) be understood the appointing or naming to the Office; so, it pertaineth specially to the Supream Heads and Governors of the Church, which be Princes.

Dr. Edgeworth.  
The Apostles made Bishops and Priests by authority given them of God, and not for lack of any higher Power: Notwithstanding where there is a christened King or Prince, the Election, Deputation and Appointment of them, that shall be Priests or Bishops, belongeth to the King or Prince, so that he may forbid any Bishop within his Kingdom, that he give no Orders, for Considerations moving him, and may assign him a time when he shall give Orders, and to whom: Example of King David, 1 Chron. 24, dividing the Levites into 24 Orders, deputing over every Order one chief Bishop, prescribing an Ordinal and Rule how they should do their Duties, their Courtes; and what Sacrifices, Rites, and Ceremonies, they should use every day, as the day and time required. And his Son, King Solomon, diligently executed, and commanded the same Usages to be observed in the Temple, after he had erected and finished it, 2 Chron. 8.

Dr. Symons.  
The Apostles made Bishops and Priests, by authority given them of God.

Dr. Tresham.  
I say, That the Apostles had authority of God to make Bishops; yet if there had been a Christian King in any place where they made Bishops, they would, and ought, to have desired authority also of him, for the executing of such their godly Acts, which no Christian King would have denied.

Dr. Loughton.  
To the ninth, I say, That the Apostles (as I suppose) made Bishops by authority given unto them of Christ: Howbeit I think they would and should, have required the Christian Princes consent and license there-to, if there had been any Christian Kings or Princes.

Dr. Coen.  
The Apostles made Bishops and Priests by authority given them of God: Notwithstanding if there had been a Christian King at that time, it
t had been their Duties, to have had his Licence and Permission to do the same.


In the ninth, touching the Authority of the Apostles in making Agreement, Priests, the Bishop of York, the Elect of Westminster, Dr. Edgeworth, say, That the Apostles made Priests by their own Power, given them by God, that they had no need of any other Power. The Bishop of St. Davids faith, That because they lacked a Christian Prince, by that necessity they ordained other Bishops. Dr. Leighton, Curren, Trefham, and Redman, suppose, That they ought to have asked license of their Christian Governors, if then there had been any.

10. Question.

Whether Bishops or Priests were first? and if the Priests were first, then the Priest made the Bishop.

Answer.

The Bishops and Priests were at one time, and were no two things, Cantabrigienses, but both one Office in the beginning of Christ's Religion.

To the tenth; We think that the Apostles were Priests before they were Bishops; and that the Divine Power which made them Priests, made them also Bishops; and altho their Ordination was not by all such Course as the Church now useth, yet that they had both Visible and Invisible Sanctionation, we may gather of the Gospel, where it is written, Sicut misit me Pater vivens, & ego mittio eos: & cum breve dixit, in se superavit in eos & dixit, accipite Spiritum Sanctum: Quorum remiseritis, &c. And we may well think, that then they were made Bishops, when they had not only a Flock, but also Shepherds appointed to them to look, and a Governance committed to them by the Holy Ghost to oversee both for the name of a Bishop, is not properly a name of Order, but a name of Office, signifying an Overseer. And altho the inferior Shepherds have also Cure to oversee their Flock, yet forsoomuch as the Bishops
Bishops Charge is also to oversee the Shepherds, the name of Overseer is given to the Bishops, and not to the other; and as they be in degree higher, so in their Consecration we find difference even from the Primitive Church.

London. To the tenth; I think the Bishops were first, and yet I think it is not of importance, whether the Priest then made the Bishop, or else the Bishop the Priest; considering (after the Sentence of St. Jerome) that in the beginning of the Church there was none (or if it were, very small) difference between a Bishop and a Priest, especially touching the signification.

Rochester. I find in Scripture, That Christ being both a Priest and a Bishop, ordained his Apostles, who were both Priests and Bishops; and the same Apostles did afterwards ordain Bishops, and commanded them to ordain others.

Carlile. Christ made his Apostles Exorcists, as it appeareth in the 10. Mat. Deacons, Priests, and Bishops, as partly there, and after, in the 20 of St. John, Quorum Remiscretis, &c. and where he saith, Hoc facte in mean commemorationem. In the Acts, Ceterorum nemo audebat se conjugere illis. So that they were all these together; and so being according to the Ordinance of Christ, who had made after them 72 other Priests, as it appeareth in the 10th of St. Luke: They made and ordained also others the seven principal Deacons, as it is shewed in the 6th of the Acts; where it is said, That they praying laid their hands upon them. In the 13 of the Acts, certain there named at the commandment of the Holy Ghost, fevered Saul and Barabas to that God had taken them, Fastig, Praying, and laying their hands upon them; the which Saul, Ananias the Disciple had baptized, laying his hand upon him, that he might be replenished with the Holy Ghost. And Paul so made, ordained Timothy and Titus, willing them to do likewise as he had done, and appointed to be done from City to City. James was ordained the Bishop of Jerusalem, by Peter, John, and James. So that Example otherwise we read not.

Dr. Incertus sum utri suere priores, at si Apostoli in prima prefectione Ordinat crant, apparat Episcopos suisse priores, nemen Apostolos, nam postea delignavit Christus alios septuaginta duo. Nec opinor absurdum esse, ut Sacerdos Episcopum Confecret; si Episcopus haberii non potest.

Dr. Cox. Although by Scripture (as St. Jerome faith) Priests and Bishops be one, and therefore the one not before the other: Yet Bishops, as they be now, were after Priests, and therefore made of Priests.

Dr. Day. The Apostles were both Bishops and Priests, and they made Bishops, and Priests, as Titus and Timothius made Priests. Episcopatem ejus accepit alter, A c t. 1. Presbyteros qui in vobis sunt, ob necro & ego Compresbyter, 1 Pet. 5. And in the beginning of the Church, as well that word Episcopus as Presbyter, was common and attributed both to Bishops and Priests.

Utrique
They be of like beginning, and at the beginning were both one, as St. Hierome and other old Authors shew by the Scripture, wherefore one made another indifferently.

Christ our Chief-Priest and Bishop, made his Apostles Priests and Bishops all at once; and they did likewise make others, some Priests, and some Bishops: and that the Priests in the Primitive Church made Bishops, I think no inconvenience; (as Jerome faith) in an Epift. ad Evagrium. Even like as Souldiers should chuse one among themselves to be their Captain: So did Priests chuse one of themselves to be their Bishop, for consideration of his learning, gravity, and good living, &c. and also for to avoid Schisms among themselves by them, that some might not draw the people one way, and others another way, if they lacked one Head among them.

Christ was and is the great High Bishop, and made all his Apostles Bishops; and they made Bishops and Priests after him, and so hath it ever-more continued hitherto.

I say, Christ made the Apostles first Priests, and then Bishops, and they by this Authority made both Priests and Bishops; but where there had been a Christian Prince, they would have defined his Authority to the same.

To the Tenth.

The Apostles were made of Christ Bishops and Priests, both at the first; and after them, Septuaginta duo Discipuli, were made Priests.


In the tenth; Where it is asked, Whether Bishops or Priests were Agreem. first? The Bishop of St. Davids, my Lord Eleét of Westminster, Dr. Cox, Dr. Redmayn, say, That at the beginning they were all one. The Bishops of York,
York, London, Rochester, Carlisle; Drs. Day, Tresham, Symmons, Oglethorp, be in other contrary Opinions. The Bishop of York, and Doctor Tresham, think, That the Apostles first were Priests, and after were made Bishops, when the overseeing of other Priests was committed to them. My Lords of Durefure, London, Carlisle, Rochester, Dr. Symmons and Cratford, think, That the Apostles first were Bishops, and they after made other Bishops and Priests. Dr. Coren and Oglethorp, say, That the Apostles were made Bishops, and the 72 were after made Priests. Dr. Day thinks, That Bishops, as they be now-a-days called, were before Priests. My Lord of London, Drs. Edgeworth and Robertson, think it no inconvenience, if a Priest made a Bishop in that time.

11. Question.

Whether a Bishop hath Authority to make a Priest by the Scripture, or no? And whether any other but only a Bishop may make a Priest?

Answers.

Canterbury. A Bishop may make a Priest by the Scripture, and so may Princes and Governors also, and that by the Authority of God committed to them, and the People also by their Election; for as we read that Bishops have done it, so Christian Emperors and Princes usually have done it, and the People before Christian Princes were, commonly did Elect their Bishops and Priests.

York. To the eleventh; That a Bishop may make a Priest, may be deduced of Scripture, for so much as they have all Authority necessary for the ordering of Christ's Church, derived from the Apostles, who made Bishops and Priests, and not without Authority, as we have said before to the ninth Question; and that any other than Bishops or Priests may make a Priest, we neither find in Scripture nor out of Scripture.

London. To the eleventh, I think, That a Bishop duly appointed, hath Authority, by Scripture, to make a Bishop, and also a Priest: because Christ being a Bishop did so make himself; and because alive, his Apostles did the like.

Rochester. The Scripture sheweth by example, that a Bishop hath Authority to make a Priest; albeit no Bishop being subject to a Christian Prince, may either give Orders to Excommunicate, or use any manner of Jurisdiction, or any part of his Authority, without Commission from the King, who is Supream Head of that Church whereof he is a Member; but that any other Man may do it besides a Bishop, I find no example, either in Scripture, or in Doctors.

Carlisle. By what is said before, it appeareth, that a Bishop by Scripture may make Deacons and Priests, and that we have no example otherwise.
Bishops have Authority, as is aforesaid, of the Apostles, in the tenth Dr. Cox. 

Question, to make Priests, except in cases of great necessity.

Bishops have authority by Scripture, to ordain Bishops and Priests; Dr. Day.

Joh. 20. He judas rei gratia reliqui te Cret ex nt constitutas oppidatim Presbyteros,


To the first part, I Answcr, Yea; for so it appeareth Tit. 1. and

1 Tim. 5, with other places of Scripture. But whether any other but

only a Bishop may make a Priest, I have not read, but by singular privi-

ledg of God; as when Moses (whom divers Authors say was not a

Priest) made Aaron a Priest. Truth it is, that the Office of a Godly

Prince is to over see the Church, and the Ministers thereof; and to cause

them do their duty, and also to appoint them special Charges and Offices

in the Church, as may be most for the Glory of God, and edifying of the

People: and thus we read of the good Kings in the Old Testament,

David, Jos, Ezekias, Josias. But as for Making, that is to say, Ord-

aining and Confecrating of Priests, I think it specially belongeth to the

Office of a Bishop, as far as can be shewed by Scripture, or any Exa-

mple, as I suppose from the beginning.

A Bishop hath authority by Scripture to make a Priest, and that any

other ever made a Priest since Christ's time I read not. Albeit Moses Edgworth,

who was not anointed Priest, made Aaron Priest and Bishop, by a spe-

cial Commission or Revelation from God, without which he would ne-

ver so have done.

A Bishop placed by the Higher Powers, and admitted to minister, Dr.

may make a Priest; and I have not read of any other that ever made Symmons,

Priests.

I say, a Bishop hath authority by Scripture to make a Priest, and Dr.

other than a Bishop, hath not power therein, but only in case of ne-

cessity.

To the eleventh; I suppose that a Bishop hath authority of God, as Dr.

his Minifter, by Scripture to make a Priest; but he ought not to admit Leghion,

any Man to be Priest, and consecrate him, or to appoint him unto any

ministry in the Church, without the Princes Licent and Confect, in a

Christian Region. And that any other Man hath authority to make a

Priest by Scripture, I have not read, nor any example thereof.
Dr. Cover. A Bishop being licensed by his Prince and supreme Governor, hath authority to make a Priest by the Law of God. I do not read that any Priest hath been ordered by any other than a Bishop.


Agreg. In the eleventh: To the former part of the Question, the Bishop of St. Davids doth answer, That Bishops have no Authority to make Priests, without they be authorized of the Christian Prince. The others, all of them do say, That they be authorized of God. Yet some of them, as the Bishop of Rofcofter, Dr. Curren, Leighton, Robertfon, add, That they cannot use this Authority without their Christian Prince doth permit them. To the second part, the Answer of the Bishop of St. Davids is, That Laymen have other-whiles made Priests. So doth Dr. Edgworth and Redman say, That Moles, by a Priviledge given him of God, made Aaron his Brother Priests. Dr. Trefham, Crayford, and Cox say, That Laymen may make Priests in time of Necessity. The Bishops of York, Duresme, Rocefter, Carlfile, Eleet of Westminster, Dr. Curren, Leighton, Symmons, seem to deny this thing; for they say, They find not, nor read not any such example.

12. Question.

Whether in the New Testament be required any Consecration of a Bishop and Priest, or only appointing to the Office be sufficient?

Answers.

Canterbury. In the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a Bishop, or a Priest, needeth no Consecration by the Scripture, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient.

York. To the twelfth Question; The Apostles ordained Priests by Imposition of the Hand with Fasting and Prayer; and so following their steps, we must needs think, that all the foreaid things be neccearily to be used by their Successors: and therefore we do alfo think, that Appointment only without visible Consecration and Invocation for the assistance and power of the Holy Ghost, is neither convenient nor sufficient; for without
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without the said Invocation, it becometh no Man to appoint to our Lord Ministers, as of his own Authority: whereof we have example in the Acts of the Apostles; where we find, that when they were gathered to choose one in the place of Judas, they appointed two of the Disciples, and commended the Election to our Lord, that he would choose which of them it pleased him, laying and praying, Lord, thou knowest the heart of all Men, know whether of these two thou dost choose to succeed in the place of Judas. And to this purpose in the Acts we read, Dixit Spiritus Sanctus segregate nihii Barnabam, &c. And again, Quos pefuit Spiritus Sanctus regere Ecclesiam Dei. And it appeareth also that in the Old Testament, in the ordering of Priests, there was both Visible and Invisible Sanctification; and therefore in the New Testament, where the Priesthood is above comparison higher than in the Old, we may not think that only Appointment sufficient without Sanctification, either Visible or Invisible.

To the twelfth; I think Consecration of a Bishop and Priest be required, for that in the Old Law (being yet but a shadow and figure of the New) the Consecration was required, as appears Levit. 8. yet the truth of this I leave to those of higher Judgments.

The Scripture speaketh, de Impositione Manus & de Orattones: and of other manner of Consecrations, I find no mention in the New Testament expressly; but the Old Authors make mention also of Inunctions.

Upon this Text of Paul to Timothy 5, Noli negligerre gratiam quae in te Carlile, eff, quae data est tibi per Prophetae cum Impositione Manu Presbyterii: St. Anselm faith, This Grace to be the Gift of the Bishop's Office, to the which God of his meritor goodness had called and preferred him. The Prophecy (he faith) was the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, by which he knew what he had to do therein. The Imposition of the hands is that by which he was ordained and received that Office: And therefore (faith St. Paul) God is my Witness, that I have discharged my self, showing you as I ought to have done. Now look you well upon it whom that ye take to Orders, lest ye lose your self thereby. Let Bishops therefore, who (as faith St. Hierome) hath power to make Priests, consider well under what Law the order of Ecclesiastical Constitution is bounden; and let them not think those words of the Apostle to be bis, but rather the words of Christ himself.

Opinor requiri Consacrationem quandam, hoc est, impositionem manuum, Oratentem, Jejunium, &c. tamen nufquam hoc munere fungi Robertson, posle, nisi ubi Magistratus inviter, jubeat, aut permittat.

By Scripture there is no Consecration of Bishops and Priests required, Dr. Cox, but only the appointing to the Office of a Priest, cum Impositione Manuum.

Consecration of Bishops and Priests I read not in the New Testament, Dr. Day, but Ordination per Manuum Impositionem cum Orattones is read there, as in the places above; and the only appointment, as I think, is not sufficient.

Præter
Prayer vocationem.eum designationem externam, quae vel a Principe
fit, vel a populo per electionem & suffragia, requiritur Ordinatio alia
per manuum impositionem, idque per Verbum Dei.

Besides the appointing to the Office, it appeareth that in the Primi-
tive Church, the Apostles used certain Consecration of the Minisers
of the Church, by imposition of Hands and Prayer, Acts 6, and with Fa-
tling, Acts 14, &c. The Office of Priesthood is too dangerous to be
upon, when one is but appointed only: Therefore for the confirmation
of their Faith, who take in hand such charge, and for the obtaining of
further Grace requisite in the same, Consecration was ordained by the
Holy Ghost, and hath been always used from the beginning.

Deputation to the Office, is not sufficient to make a Priest or a Bi-
flop, as appeareth by David and Solomon, who deputed the 24 above-
mentioned to their Offices, yet they made none of them Priests, nor any
other.

The appointing to the Office per Manuum Impositionem, is in Scrip-
ture, and the Consecration of them hath of long time continued in the
Church.

There is a certain kind of Consecration required, which is Imposi-
tion of the Bishops hands with Prayer, and the appointing only is not
sufficient.

To the twelfth; I suppose that there is a Consecration required, as
by Imposition of Hands; for so we be taught by the example of the
Apostles.

In the New Testament is required to the making of a Bishop, Imposi-
tio Manuum cum Oratione, which I take for Consecration, and Appoint-
ment unto the Office is not sufficient; for King David, 1 Chron. 24. did
appoint 24 to be Bishops, who after were consecrated; so that both the
Appointment and the Consecration be requisite.

stolis, atque a Spiritu Sancto institutam ad conferendam gratiam
Dayus, Roffensi. Symmons, aiunt Sacerdotium conferri per manu-
um impositionem, idque Scripturis; Consecrationem vero diu re-
ceptam in Ecclesia: Coxxus Institutionem cum manuum impositio-
tione sufficere, necque per Scripturam requiri Consecrationem. Robert-
sonus addit supra alios nulquam hoc munere fungi posse quempiam,
nisi ubi Magistratus invitent, jubeat aut permittat.

In the twelfth Question, where it is asked, Whether in the New Te-
Stament be required any Consecration of a Bishop, or only appointing
to the Office be sufficient? The Bishop of St. David's faith, That only
the Appointing. Dr. Cox, That only Appointing, cum Manuum Impoisione,
is sufficient without Consecration. The Bishops of York, London, Durham, Carlisle, Drs. Day, Curren, Leighton, Trostack, Edgeworth, Oglethorpe, say, That Consecration is requisite. Dr. Redman, faith, That Consecration hath been received from the Apostles Time, and institute of the Holy Ghost to confer Grace. My Lord of Rochester, Dr. Day, and Symmons, say, That Priesthood is given per manum impositionem, and that by Scripture; and that Consecration hath of long time been received in the Church.

13. Question.

Whether (if it fortuned a Christian Prince Learned, to conquer certain Dominions of Infidels, having none but temporal learned Men with him) if it be defended by God's Law, that he and they should Preach and Teach the Word of God there, or no? And also make and constitute Priests, or no?

Answers.

It is not against God's Law, but contrary they ought indeed so to do; Canterbury, and there be Histories that witnesseth, that some Christian Princes, and other Laymen unconfecrate have done the same.

To the thirteenth; To the first part of this Question, touching York, Teaching and Preaching the Word of God in case of such need; we think that Laymen not ordered, not only may, but must preach Christ and his Faith to Infidels, as they shall see opportunity to do the same, and must endeavour themselves to win the Miserants to the Kingdom of God, if that they can; for as the Wise Man faith, God hath given charge to every Man of his Neighbour; and the Scripture of God chargeth every Man to do all the good that he can to all Men; And surely this is the highest Alms to draw Men from the Devil the Usurper, and bring them to God the very Owner. Wherefore in this case, every Man and Woman may be an Evangelist, and of this also we have example. But touching the second part, for case of Necessity: As we neither find Scripture, nor Example, that will bear, that any Man, being himself no Priest, may make, that is to say, may give the Order of Priesthood to another, and Authority therewith to minister in the said Order, and to use such Powers and Offices, as appertaineth to Priesthood grounded in the Gospel: So we find in such case of need, what hath been done in one of the Ancient Writers; altho this Authority to Ordain, after form afore-mentioned, be not to Laymen expressly prohibited in Scripture; yet such a prohibition is implied, in that there is no such Authority given to them, either in Scripture or otherways, for so much as no Man may use this or any other Authority which cometh from the Holy Ghost, unless he hath either Commission grounded in Scripture, or else Authority by Tradition, and ancient use of Christ's Church universally received over all.

To
To the thirteenth and fourteenth following: I think that necessity herein, might either be a sufficient Rule and Warrant to determine and order such Cases, considering that *tempore necessitatis nullus baptizat*, & *Lucem idem faci, & audit confessionem*: or else that God would inspire in the Prince's Heart, to provide the best and most handsome Remedy therein: And hard were it peradventure to find such great necessity, but either in the Train of the said Prince, or in the Regions adjoining thereunto, there might be had some Priests for the said purposes; or, finally, That the Prince himself, godly inspired in that behalf, might, for so good purposes and intents, set forth the Act indeed, referring yet this thing to the better judgment of others.

To the thirteenth and fourteenth following: I never read these cases, neither in Scripture, nor in the Doctors, and therefore I cannot answer unto them by Learning, but think this to be a good Answer for all such Questions, *viz. Necessitas non habet Legem*.

It is to be thought, that Christ may call, as it pleaseth him, inwardly, outwardly, or by both together: So that if no Priest might be had, it cannot be thought, but that a Christian Prince, with others learned, inwardly moved and called, might most charitably and godly prosecute that same their Calling in the most acceptable Work, which is to bring People from the Devil to God, from Infidelity to true Faith, by whatsoever means God shall inspire.

In hoc cafo exstvëm acceffendos Verbi & Sacramentorum Ministros, si qui forent vicini; quin si nulli invenirentur, Principem illum Christianum habere mus pro Apostolo, tanquam mislum a Deo, licet externo Sacramento non effet commendatus, quum Deus Sacramentis suis non fit alligatus.

To the thirteenth, and fourteenth following: It is not against God's Law, that the Prince, and his learned temporal Men, may Preach and Teach, and in these cases of extreme Necessity, make and institute Ministers.

In this case (as I think) the Prince and other temporal learned Men with him, may by God's Law, Teach and Preach the Word of God, and Baptize; and also (the same Necessity standing) elect and appoint Men to those Offices.

I think they might, in such case of Necessity; for in this case the Laymen made the whole Church there, and the Authority of preaching and ministring the Sacraments, is given immediately to the Church; and the
the Church may appoint Ministers, as is thought convenient. There 
be two Stories good to be considered for this Question, which be writ-
ten in his 16th Book of the History Ecclesiastick; the one of Frumentius, 
who preached in India, and was after made Priest and Bishop by Atha-
namus. And the other Story is of the King of the Iberians, of whom 
Rufiine the writer of the Story faith thus; Et nonnullus initiatum Sacris sit 
se gentis Apostolus. Yet nevertheless it is written there, That an Ambaf-
sade was sent to Constantin the Emperor, that he would send them Priests 
for the further establishment of the Faith there.

The Prince and his temporal learned Men, might and ought, in that 
necessity, to instruct the People in the Faith of Christ, and to baptize 
them, ut idem rex sit, & se gentis Apostolus, and these be sufficient for 
the Salvation of his Subjects. But as concerning other Sacraments, he 
ought to abide and look for a special Commisision from Almighty God, 
as Moses had, or else to send unto other Regions where Priests or Bis-
archs may be had, and else not to meddle. Examples in Ecclef. Hift. 
lib. io. cap. 1. de Frumentio, &. cap. 2. de Ancilla captiva que convertit 
genem Hierœrum ejus captive monitis ad Imperatorem Constantinius totius 
gentis legatio mittitur, res gefta exponitur, Sacerdotes mittere exorantur qui 
captum erga se Dei munus implerent, &c.

I think that in such a necessity, a learned Christian Prince, and also 
temporal Men learned, be bound to preach and minifier either Sacra-
ments, so that the same Ministers be orderly assigned by the High Power 
and the Congregati on.

I say, to the first part, That such a King, and his temporal learned 
Men, not only might, but were also bound to preach God’s Word in 
this case. And as to the second part, I say, That if there could no 
Bishop be had to Institute, the Prince might in that necessity do it.

To the thirteenth; I suppose the Affirmative thereof to be true; 
Quamvis poteftas clavium resi dent præci pue in Ecclesia.

In such a case, I do believe that God would illuminate the Prince; so 
that either he himself should be made a Bishop, by internal working of 
God (as Paul was) or some of his Subjects, or else God would send 
him Bishops from other parts. And as for preaching the Word of 
God, the Prince might do it himself, and other of his learned Subjects, 
altho they were no Priests.

In prima parte Questionis Conveniunt omnes etiam Laicos, tali rerum 
flatu, non solum posset sed debere docere. Meneventh, Thirlebeus, 
Leightonus, Coxus, Symmons, Trefham, Redmyra, Robertfons, etiam poteftatem Miniftandi Sacramenta, & Ordinati Mi-
nistros, concedunt ills. Eboracenfis hanc proflus poteftatem de-
negat. Coren credit Principem Divinitus illuminandum & con-
ferandum fore in Epicerump interne, aut aliquem ex suis, 
Pauli exemplo. Simile habet Herefordensis & Carliolensis.

O g g g Dayus
In the thirteenth; Concerning the first part, Whether Laymen may
Preach and Teach God's Word? They do all agree, in such a case, That
not only they may, but they ought to teach. But in the second part, touching
the Constituting of Priests of Laymen, my Lord of York, and Do-
c
tor Edgeworth, doth not agree with the other; they say, That Laymen
in no wise can make Priests, or have such Authority. The Bishops of Du-
reux, St. Davids, Westminster, Drs. Trefham, Cox, Leighton, Grayford,
Symmons, Redmayn, Robertson, say, That Laymen in such case have Au-
thority to minister the Sacraments, and to make Priests. My Lords of Lon-
don, Carlisle, and Hereford, and Dr. Coren, think, That God in such a
case would give the Prince Authority, call him inwardly, and illuminate him
or some of his, as he did St. Paul.


Whether it be forefended by God's Law, that (if it so fortune that
all the Bishops and Priests of a Region were dead, and that the
Word of God should remain there unpreached, and the Sacrament
of Baptism, and others unministr'd) that the King of that Region
should make Bishops and Priests to supply the same, or no?

Answers.

Canterbury. * It is not forbidden by God's Law.

York. To the fourteenth; In this case, as we have said in the next Article
afore, Teaching of the Word of God may be used by any that can and
would use it, to the Glory of God; and in this case also the Sacrament
of Baptism may be ministr'd by those that be no Priests; which things
altho we have not of Scripture, yet the universal Tradition and Pra-

cise of the Church, doth teach us: And peradventure contract of Ma-
trimony might also be made, the Solemnization thereof being only or-
dained by Law positive, and not by any ground, either of Scripture, or
of Tradition; altho for very urgent caufes, the said Solemnization
is to be observed when it may be observed; but that the Princes may
not Make, that is, may not Order Priests nor Bishops, not before Or-
dered to minister the other Sacraments, the ministry whereof in Scrip-
ture is committed only to the Apostles, and from them derived to their
Successors, even from the Primitive Church hitherto, and by none other
used, we have answered in the thirteenth Article.

London. Ut supra, Quaer. 13.

Rochester. Ut supra, Quaer. 13. * Not
Not only it is given of God to Supream Governours, Kings and Carlile. Princes immediate under them, to see, cause, and compel all their Subjects, Bishops, Priests, with all others, to do truly and uprightly their bounden Duties to God, and to them, each one according to his Calling: but also if it were so, that any-where such lacked to do and fulfil that God would have done, right-well they might, by the inward moving and calling of God, supply the same.

Huc Quæstioni idem Respondendum, quod priori, arbitror.

Dr. Robertson.

Dr. Cox.

To this case, as to the first, I answer; That if there could no Bishops be had to order new Priests there, by the princes action and appointment; then the Prince himself might ordain and constitute, with the consent of the Congregation, both Priests and Ministers, to Preach and Baptize, and to do other Functions in the Church.

Si ab aliis Regionibus Sacerdotes haberi non poterint, opinor ipsum Principem deputare posse etiam Laicos ad hoc Sacrum Officium; sed omnia prius tentanda essent, ut supra.

To this, I think, may be answered, as to the last Quæstion before; howbeit the surest way, I think, were to send for some Ministers of the Church dwelling in the next Regions, if they might be conveniently had.

Likewise as to the next Quæstion afore.

If the King be also a Bishop, as it is possible, he may appoint Bishops and Priests to minister to his People: but hitherto I have not read that ever any Christian King, made Bishop or Priest.

I make the same answer, as to the 13th Quæstion is made.

Dr. Edgeworth.

Dr. Symmons.

To the fourteenth; I suppose the Affirmative to be true, in case that there can no Bishops nor Priests be had forth of other Countries, conveniently.

In this case I make answer as before, That God will never suffer his Servants to lack that thing that is necessary; for there should, either from other parts, Priests and Bishops be called thither, or else God would call inwardly some of them that be in that Region to be Bishops and Priests.


respondet his duabus Questionibus, quam quod necessitas non habeat Legem.

Agree. In the fourteenth they agree for the most part as they did before, That Laymen in this case may teach and minister the Sacraments. My Lord of York, Dr. Symmons, and Oglethorp say, They can make no Priest, altho Symmons said they might minister all Sacraments, in the Question before. Yet my Lord of York, and Edgeworth, do grant, That they may Christen. The Bishops of London, Rochester, and Dr. Crayford, say, That in such a case, Necessitas non habeat Legem.

15. Question.

Whether a Man be bound by Authority of this Scripture, (Quorum Remisericits) and such-like, to confess his secret deadly Sins to a Priest, if he may have him, or no?

Answers.

Canterbury. A Man is not bound, by the Authority of this Scripture, Quorum Remisericits, and such-like, to confess his secret deadly Sins to a Priest, altho he may have him.

York. To the fifteenth; This Scripture is indifferent to secret and open Sins; nor the Authority given in the same is appointed or limited, either to the one, or to the other, but is given commonly to both: And therefore seeing that the Sinner is in no other place of Scripture discharged of the confession of his secret Sins, we think, that this place chargeth him to confess the secret Sins, as well as the open.

London. To the fifteenth; I think that as the Sinner is bound by this authority to confess his open Sins, so also is he bound to confess his secret Sins, because the special end is, to wit, Absolutionem a peccato eiusmod fecit se servum, is all one in both cases: And that all Sins as touching God are open, and in no wife secret or hid.

Rochester. I think that Confession of secret deadly sins is necessary for to attain absolution of them; but whether every Man that hath secretly committed deadly Sin, is bound by these words to ask Absolution of the Priest therefore, it is an hard Question, and of much controversy amongst learned Men, and I am not able to define betwixt them; but I think it is the surest way, to say, that a Man is bound to Confess, 

Carlile. I think that by the mind of most Ancient Authors, and most holy Expositors, this Text, Quorum Remisericits peccata, 

* Opinion
Opinor obligare, modo alter conscientiae illius satisfieri nequeat.  

Robertson.

I cannot find that a Man is bound by Scripture to confess his secret deadly Sins to a Priest, unless he be so troubled in his Conscience, that he cannot be quieted without godly Instruction.

The Matter being in controversy among learned Men, and very doubtful, yet I think rather the truth is, That by Authority of this Scripture, *Quorum Remissitis, &c.* and such-like, a Man is bound to confess his secret deadly Sins, which grieve his Conscience, to a Priest, if he may conveniently have him. Forasmuch as it is an ordinary way ordained by Christ in the Gospel, by Absolution to remit Sins; which Absolution I never read to be given, *sine Confessione provid.*

Confitenda sunt opinor, etiam peccata abdita ac secreta propter Absolutionem ac conscientiae tranquillitatem, & præcipue pro vita et desperatione, ad quem plurum adjiguntur multi in extremis, dum sibi ipsis de remissione peccatorum minimum blandiuntur, nullius (dum tani sunt) cenfuram subeuntes nisi propriam.

I think, that altho' in these words Confession of privy Sins, is not expressly commanded; yet it is insinuated and shewed in these words, as a necessary Medicine or Remedy, which all Men that fall into deadly sin ought, for the quieting of their Consciences seek, if they may conveniently have such a Priest as is meet to hear their Confession.

Where there be two ways to obtain remission of Sin, and to recover Grace, a Man is bound by the Law of Nature to take theurer way, or else he should seem to contemn his own Health, which is unnatural. Also because we be bound to love God above all things, we ought by the same Bond to labour for his Grace and Favour: So that because we be bound to love God, and to love our selves in an Order to God, we be bound to seek the best and surest Remedy to recover Grace for our selves. Contrition is one way; but because a Man cannot be well assured, whether his Contrition, Attrition, or Displeasure for his Sin be sufficient to satisfy or content Almighty God, and able or worthy to get his Grace: Therefore it is necessary to take that way that will not fail, and by which thou mayest be sure, and that is Absolution of the Priest, which by Christ's Promise will not deceive thee, so that thou put no stop or bar in the way; as, if thou do not then actually sin inwardly nor outwardly, but intend to receive that the Church intendeth to give thee by that Absolution, having the efficacity of Christ's Promise, *Quorum Remissitis, &c.* Now the Priest can give thee no Absolution from that Sin that he knoweth not: therefore thou art bound, for the causes aforesaid, to confess thy Sin.

This Scripture, as Ancient Doctors expound it, bindeth all Men to confess their secret deadly Sins.

Dr. Cox.

Dr. Day.

Dr. Ogleshorpe.

Dr. Redmayn.

Dr. Edgeworth.

Dr. Symmons.
Dr. Treffham. I say, That such Confession is a thing most consonant to the Law of God, and it is a wise point, and a wholesome thing so for to do, and God provoketh and allureth us thereto, in giving the Active Power to Priests to absolve in the words, Quorum Remiseritis. It is also a safer way for Salvation to confess, if we may have a Priest: Yet I think that Confession is not necessarily deduced of Scripture, nor commanded as a necessary Precept of Scripture, and yet it is much consonant to the Law of God, as a thing willed, not commanded.

Dr. Leighton. To the fifteenth ; I think that only such as have not the knowledge of the Scripture, whereby they may quiet their Consciences, be bound to confess their secret deadly sins unto a Priest: Howbeit no Man ought to contemn such Auricular Confession, for I suppose it to be a Tradition Apostolical, necessary for the unlearned Multitude.

Dr. Coren. A Man whose Conscience is grieved with mortal secret sins, is bound by these words, Quorum Remiseritis, &c. to confess his Sin to a Priest, if he may have him conveniently.

Con. Eboracens. Londinensis. Dayus, Oglethorpus, Coren, Redmayn, afferunt obligari. Coxus, Treffham, & Robertfonus dicunt non obligari, si aliter Conscientiae illorum fatis fieri queat ; Menevenf. nullo modo obligari. Carliolensis. & Symmonis aiunt, secundum veterum interpretationem, hac Scriptura quemvis obligari peccatores. Roffens. Herefordensis. & Thirleby non respondunt, sed dubitant. Leightonus solum indeftos obligari ad Confessionem. Edgworth tradit duplicem modum remissionis peccatorum, per Contritionem suave Attritionem, & per Absolutionem : & quia ne-mo potest certus esse, num attritio & dolor pro peccato sufficient ad satisfaciendum Deo & obtinendum gratiam, ideo tuitiffimam viam deligendam, scilicet, Absolutionem a Sacerdote, quae per promi-fionem Christi eft certa ; Absolvere non potest nisi cognoscat pec-cata ; Ergo peccata per Confessionem sunt illi revelanda.

In the eleventh ; Concerning Confession of our secret deadly Sins.

The Bishops of York, Duresme, London, Drs. Day, Coren, Oglethorp, Redmayn, Crayford, say, That Men be bound to confess them of their secret Sins. Drs. Cox, Treffham, Robertfon, say, They be not bound, if they may quiet their Consciences otherwise. The Bishop of St. Davids also faith, That this Text bindeth no Man. Dr. Leighton faith, That it bindeth only such as have not the knowledge of Scripture. The Bishop of Carlisle and Symmons say, That by ancient Doctors exposition, Men be bound, by this Text, to confess their deadly sins.

16. Question.
16. Question.

Whether a Bishop or a Priest may Excommunicate, and for what Crimes? And whether they only may Excommunicate by God's Law?

Answers.

A Bishop or a Priest by the Scripture, is neither commanded nor forbidden to Excommunicate, but where the Laws of any Region giveth him authority to Excommunicate, there they ought to use the same in such Crimes, as the Laws have such authority in; and where the Laws of the Region forbiddeth them, there they have no authority at all; and they that be no Priests may also Excommunicate, if the Law allow thereunto.

To the sixteenth: The power to Excommunicate, that is, to disfurn the Sinner from the communion of all Christian People, and so put them out of the Unity of the Mystical Body for the time, is only given to the Apostles, and their Successors in the Gospel, but for what Crimes, altho' in the Gospel doth not appear, saving only for disobedience against the Commandment of the Church, yet we find example of Excommunication used by the Apostles in other cases: As of the Fornicator by Paul, of Blasphemy by the same; and yet of other Crimes mentioned in the Epistle of the said Paul writing to the Corinthians. And again of them that were disobedient to his Doctrine, 2 Thess. 3. We find also charge given to us, by the Apostle St. John, that we shall not commune with them, nor so much as salute him with Ave, that would not receive his Doctrine. By which it may appear that Excommunication may be used for many great Crimes, and yet the Church at this day, doth not use it, but only for manifest disobedience. And this kind of Excommunication, whereby Man is put out of the Church, and disfurned from the Unity of Christ's Mystical Body, which Excommunication toucheth also the Soul, no Man may use, but they only, to whom it is given by Christ.

To the sixteenth: I think that a Bishop may Excommunicate, taking example of St. Paul with the Corinthian; and also of that he did to Alexander and Hymenes. And with the Lawyers it hath been a thing out of Question, That to Excommunicate solemnly, appertaineth to a Bishop, altho' otherwise, both inferior Prelates and other Officers, yea and Priests too in notorious Crimes, after divers Mens Opinions; may Excommunicate semblably, as all others that be appointed Governors and Rulers over any Multitude, or Spiritual Congregation.

I answer affirmatively to the first part, in open and manifest Crimes, meaning of such Priests and Bishops as be by the Church authorized to use that power. To the second part, I answer, That it is an hard Question, wherein I had rather hear other Men speak, than say my own Sentence,
Sentence; for I find not in Scripture, nor in the Old Doctors, that any Man hath given Sentence of Excommunication, save only Priests; but yet I think, that it is not against the Law of God, that a Layman should have Authority to do it.

Carlile. Divers Texts of Scripture seemeth, by the Interpretation of Ancient Authors, to shew, that a Bishop or a Priest may Excommunicate open deadly Sinners continuing in obstinacy with contempt. I have read in History also, that a Prince hath done the same.

Dr. Robertсон. Opinor Episcopum aut Prelbyterum Excommunicare potest, tanquam ministrum & os Ecclesiae, ab eadem mandatum habens. Utrum vero id juris nulli nisi Sacerdotibus in mandatis dari possit, non facio. Excommunicandum esse opinor pro hujusmodi criminius, qualia recensit Paulus, 1 Cor. 5. fi, is qui frater nominatur, eft fornicator, aut avarus, aut idolis serviens, aut maledicus, aut ebriosus, aut rapax, cum hujusmodi ne cibum simere, &c.

Dr. Cox. A Bishop or a Priest, as a publick Person appointed to that Office, may excommunicate for all publick Crimes: And yet it is not against God's Law, for others than Bishops or Priests to Excommunicate.

Dr. Day. A Bishop or a Priest may Excommunicate by God's Law, for manifest and open Crimes: Also others appointed by the Church, tho they be no Priests, may exercise the power of Excommunication.

Dr. Ogletorp. Non solum Episcopos Excommunicare potest, sed etiam tota Congregatio, idq; pro lethalibus criminius ac publicis, e quibus scandalum Ecclesiae provenire potest. Non tamen pro re pecuniaria uti olim follebant.

Dr. Redmayn. They may Excommunicate, as appeareth 1 Cor. 5. 1 Tim. 1. and that for open and great Crimes, whereby the Church is offended; and for such Crimes as the Prince and Governours determine, and thinketh expedient, Men to be Excommunicate for, as appeareth in normulis Constitutionibus Italiis. Whether any other may pronounce the Sentence but a Bishop or a Priest, I am uncertain.

Dr. Edgeworth. A Bishop, or a Priest only, may Excommunicate a notorious and grievous Sinner, or obstinate Person from the Communion of Christian People, because it pertaineth to the Jurisdiction which is given to Priests, Jo. 26. Quorum Remiseritis, &c. Et Quorum rectetis, &c. There is one manner of Excommunication spoken of, 1 Cor. 5. which private Persons may use. Si is qui frater nominatur inter vos eft fornicator, aut avarus, aut idolis serviens, &c. cum hujusmodi ne cibum quidem capiat. Excluding filthy Persons, covetous Persons, Bramlers and Quarrellers, out of their Company, and neither to eat nor drink with them.

Dr. Synnons. Whosoever hath a place under the Higher Power, and is assigned by the same to execute his Ministry given of God, he may Excommunicate for
for any Crime, as it shall be seen to the High Power, if the same Crime be publick.

A Bishop and Priest may Excommunicate by Scripture: as touching, Dr. for what Crimes; I say, for every open deadly Sin and disobedience. Trefham. And as touching, Whether only the Priest may Excommunicate? I say, not he only, but such as the Church authorizes so to do.

To the sixteenth, I say, That a Bishop or a Priest having Licence and Authority of the Prince of the Realm, may Excommunicate every obstinate and inobedient Person, for every notable and deadly Sin. And further, I say, That not only Bishops and Priests may Excommunicate, but any other Man appointed by the Church, or such as have Authority to appoint Men to that Office, may Excommunicate.

A Bishop or a Priest may Excommunicate an obstinate Person for publick Sins. Forso much as the Keys be given to the whole Church, the whole Congregation may Excommunicate; which Excommunication may be pronounced by such a one as the Congregation does appoint, altho he be neither Bishop nor Priest.


In the sixteenth, of Excommunication, they do not agree. The Agreement. Bishops of York, Durefme, and Dr. Edgworth say, That Lay-men have not the Authority to Excommunicate, but that it was given only unto the Apostles and their Successors. The Bishops of Hereford, St. Davids, Wolenfintur; Doctors, Day, Coren, Leighton, Cox, Symmons, say, That Laymen may Excommunicate, if they be appointed by the High Ruler. My Lord Elef of Wolenfintur, Dr. Trefham, and Dr. Oglethorp, say further, That the Power of Excommunication was given to the Church, and to such as the Church shall institute.
17. Question.

Whether Unction of the Sick with Oil, to remit Venial Sins, as it is now used, be spoken of in the Scripture, or in any Ancient Authors?

Answers.

Canterbury. Unction of the Sick with Oil, to remit Venial Sins, as it is now used, is not spoken of in the Scripture, nor in any Ancient Authors.

T. Cantuarion. This is mine Opinion and Sentence at this present, which I do not temerarily define, but do remit the judgment thereof wholly unto your Majesty.

York. To the seventeenth; Of Unction of the Sick with Oil, and that Sins thereby be remitted, St. James doth teach us; but of the Holy Prayers, and like Ceremonies used in the time of the Unction, we find no special mention in Scripture, albeit the said St. James maketh also mention of Prayer to be used in the Ministry of the same.

Edward Ebor.

London. To the seventeenth; I think that albeit it appeareth not clearly in Scripture, whether the usage in extream Unction now, be all one with that which was in the beginning of the Church: Yet of the Unction in time of Sicknes, and the Oil also with Prayers and Ceremonies, the same is set forth in the Epistle of St. James, which place commonly is allledged, and so hath been received, to prove the Sacrament of extream Unction.

Ita mihi Edmundo Londinensi Episcopo pro hoc tempore dicendum videtur, salvo judicio melius sententias, cui me prompte & humiliter subjicio.

Rochester. Inunction of them that be Sick with Oil, and praying for them for remission of Sins, is plainly spoken of in the Epistle of St. James, but after what form or fashion the said Inunction was then used, the Scripture telleth not.

Written on the back of the Paper,
The Bishop of Rochester's Book.

Carlile. Extream Unction is plainly set out by St. James, with the which maketh also that is written in the 6th of St. Mark, after the mind of right good ancient Doctors.

Robert Carlileon.
Book III. of Records.

De Unctione Infirmorum nihil reperio in Scripturis, prater id quod scribitur, Marc. 6. & Jacob. 5.

Thomas Robertson.

T. Cantuarien.

Unction of the Sick with Oil consecrate, as it is now used, is not spoken of in Scripture.

Richard Cox.

Unction of the Sick with praying for them is found in Scripture.

George Day.

Opiniones non Affectiones.

De Unctione Infirmorum cum oleo, adjetia Oratione, expressa mentio est in Scripturis, quamquam nunc addantur alii ritus, honestatis gratia (ut in aliis Sacramentis) de quibus in Scripturis nulla mentio.

Ovius Oglethorps.

Unction with Oil, adjoined with Prayer, and having promise of Remission of Sins, is spoken of in St. James, and Ancient Authors; as for the use which now is, if any thing be amis, it would be amended.

J. Redmayn.

It is spoken of, in Mark 6. and James 5. Augustine and other Ancient Authors speaketh of the same.

Edgworth.

The Unction of the Sick with Oil, to remit Sins, is in Scripture, and also in Ancient Authors.

Symon Matthews.

Unction with Oil is grounded in the Scripture, and expressly spoken of; but with this Additament (as it is now used) it is not specified in Scripture, for the Ceremonies now used in Unction, I think more Traditions of Man.

William Tresham.

To the seventeenth, I say, That Unction of the Sick with Oil and Prayer to remit Sins, is manifestly spoken of in St. James's Epistle, and Ancient Authors, but not with all the Rites and Ceremonies as be now commonly used.

T. Cantuarien. Per me Edwardus Leighton.

Unction with Oil to remit Sins is spoken of in Scripture.

Richard Coren.

Agreement. In the lat]; The Bishop of St. Davids, and Dr. Cox, say, That Unction of the Sick with Oil consecrate, as it is now used to remit Sin, is not spoken of in Scripture. My Lords of York, Durfœne, Carlisle, Drs. Coren, Edgworth, Redmayn, Symmons, Leighton, and Ogletorp, say, That it is found in Scripture.

XXII. Dr. Barnes's Renunciation of some Articles informed against him.

BE it known to all Men, that I Robert Barnes, Doctur of Divinity, have as well in Writing, as in Preaching, overflow'd my self, and been deceived, by trusting too much to mine own heady Sentence, and giving judgment in and touching the Articles hereafter ensuing; whereas being converted, and called before the Person of my most gracious Sovereign Lord King Henry the Eighth, of England and of France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and in Earth supreme Head, immediately under God of the Church of England; it pleased his Highness, of his great clemency and goodness, being assisted with sundry of his most discreet and learned Clergy, to enter such Disputation and Argument with me, upon the Points of my over-fight, as by the fame was fully and perfectly confuted by Scriptures, and enforced only for Truths fake, and for want of defence of Scriptures to serve for the maintenance of my part, to yield, confess, and knowledge my ignorance, and with my most humble submission, do promise for ever henceforth to abstain and beware of such rashness: And for my further declaration therein, not only to abide such order for my doings pass'd, as his Grace shall appoint and assign unto me, but also with my heart to advance and set forth the said Articles ensuing, which I knowledge and confess to be most Catholick, and Christian, and necessary to be received, observed, and followed of all good Christian People. Tho it so be, that Christ by the Will of his Father, is he only which hath suffered Passion and Death for redemption of all such as will and shall come unto him, by perfect Faith and Baptism; and that also he hath taken upon him gratis the burden of all their sins, which as afore will, hath, or shall come to him, paying sufficient Ransom for all their sins, and so is become their only Redeemer and Justifier; of the which number I trust and doubt not but that many of us now-adays be of: yet I in heart do confess, that after, by the foresaid Means we become right Christian Folks, yet then by not following our Master's Commandments and Laws, we do loose the
the benefits and fruition of the same, which in this case is irrecuperable, but by true Penance, the only Remedy left unto us by our Saviour for the same; wherefore I think it more than convenient and necessary, that whensoever Justification shall be preached of, that this Deed be joined with all the fore-part, to the intent that it may teach all true Christian People aright knowledge of their Justification.

By me Robert Barnes.

Also I confess with my heart, That Almighty God is in no wise Author, causer of Sin, or any Evil; and therefore whereas Scripture saith, Induravit Dominus Cor Pharaohis, &c. and such other Texts of like fence, they ought to understand them, quod Dominus permisit eam induaturi, and not otherwise which doth accord with many of the Ancient Interpreters also.

By me Robert Barnes.

Further I do confess with my heart, That whosoever I have offended my Neighbour, I must first reconcile myself unto him, e're I shall get remission of my sins, and in case he offend me, I must forgive him, e're that I can be forgiven; for this doth the Pater Nosfer, and other places of Scripture teach me.

By me Robert Barnes.

I do also confess with my heart, That good Works limited by Scripture, and done by a penitent and true reconciled Christian Man, be profitable and allowable unto him, as allowed of God for his benefit, and helping to his Salvation.

By me Robert Barnes.

Also do confess with my heart, That Laws and Ordinances made by Christian Rulers, ought to be obeyed by the Inferiors and Subjects, not only for fear, but also for Conscience, for who so breaketh them, breaketh God's Commandments.

By me Robert Barnes.

All and singular the which Articles before written, I the foresaid Robert Barnes do approve and confess to be most true and Catholic, and promise with my heart, by God's Grace, hereafter to maintain, preach, and set forth the same to the People, to the uttermost of my power, wit, and cunning.

By me Robert Barnes.

By me William Jerome.

By me Thomas Gerarde.
XXIII. The Foundation of the Bishoprick of Westminister.

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Ex omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem. Cum nuper Canobium quod-dam five Monasterium, quod (dum exitit) Monasterium Sancti Petri Westmon. vulgariter vocabatur, omnia & singula ejus Maneria, Dominia, Meutagia, Terra, Tenementa, Hareddamenta, Dotationes & Posfeffiones, certis de caufis specialibus & urgentibus, per Wilielmum ipsius nuper Canobii five Monasterii Abbatem, & ejufdem loci Conventum, nobis & hæredibus nostris in perpetuum jamdum data fuerunt & concessa, prout per ipsorum nuper Abbatis & Conventus cartam fìgillo fio communi five conventuali fìgillatam & in Cancell. nostram irrotulat manifefti liquet; quorum pretexu nos de ejufdem nuper Cano-bii five Monasterii situs, septu & pracinêtu, ac de omnibus & singulis praefid. nuper Abbatis & Conventus Manerius, Dominii & Meutagis, Terris, Tenementis, Hareddamentis, Dotationibus & Posfeffionibus, ad præfens pleno jure sefifi fumus in dominico nostro, ut de feodo. Nos utiq; fìc de ejufdem fefiri existen. divinaq; nos elementia insiprante nihil magis ex animo affectantes, quam ut vera religio veruf; Dei cultus inibi non modo aboleatur, sed in integram potius refuituat, & ad primiti-vam five genuine finceritatis normam reformetur, correftis enormitati-bus in quas monachorum vita & profeffo longo temporum lapûs deplo-rabiliter exorbitaverit, operam dedimus, quatenus humanam perfpicere potęi infinitas, ut impoflorum ibidem færorum eloquiorum documenta & nofræ salutefere Redemptiones Sacramenta pure adminiftrentur, bo-norum morum diciplina fìncree obfervetur, Juventus inliteris liberaliter inftituatur, feneétus viribus defecéis, eorum præfertim qui circa perfo-nam noftram, vel aliquin circa Regni noftri negotia publice bene & fideler nobis fervilleunt, rebus ad victim necelfariis condigne foveatur, & denyeq; eleemosinarum in pauperes Chrifti elargitiones, viarum pontium-que reparationes, & caetera omnis generis pietatis officia illinc exub-eranter in omnia vicina loca longe lateq; dimaneant, ad Dei omnipotentis gloriam, & ad fubditoriour noffrorum communem utilitatem felicitatemeque: Idecirco nos considerantes quod situs diéti nuper Monasterii Sancti Petri Westmon. in quo multa tum perhariflimi patris noftri, tum alio-num Incititour, quondam Regnum Anglie, praecara monumenta conduntur, fit locus aptus, conveniens & necelfarios inftituendi, erigendi, ordinandi & stabiliendi fede Epifcopalem, & quandam Ecclesiam Ca-thedram de uno Epifcopo, de uno Decano Prefbytero, & duode-cim Præbendaris Prefbyteris, ibidem, Omnipotentis Deo & in perpetu-um fervitionem, ipsum fìtum diéti nuper Monaf. Sancti Petri Westmon. ac locum & Ecclesiam ipsius in fede Epifcopalem ac in Ecclesiam Ca-thedral. creari, erigi, fundari & stabili cur decrævimus, prout per præfentes decrævimus, & cændem Ecclesiam Cathedram. de uno Epifcopo, de uno Decano Prefbytero, & duodecim Præbendaris Prefbyteris, te-nore præfentium, realiter & ad plenum creamus, erigimus, fundamus, ordinamus, facimus, conftituimus & stabilimus, perpetuis futuris tem-poribus duraturam, & fìc stabili cur in perpetuum inviolabiliter obser-viri volumus & jubemus per præfentem. Volumus itaq; & per præfentes Ordinamus quod Ecclesiam Cathedram praefid. fit, & deinceps in perpe-tuum
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tuum erit Ecclesia Cathedratis & Sedes Episcopalis, ac quod tota villa nostra Westmon. ex nunc & deinceps in perpetuum in Civitas, ipsam
Civitatem Westm. vocari & nominari volumus & decessimus, ac ipsam
Civitatem & totum Comit. nostrum Midd. prout per metas & limites
dignoscitur, & limitatur, tota Parochia de Fulham in codem Comit. de
Midd. tantummodo except. ab omni Jurisdictione, Autoritate & Dioc.
Episcopi London. & successorum uorum pro tempore existent. separa-
mus, dividimus, eximimus, exoneramus, & omnino per praefentes libe-
ramus: ac omnem Jurisdictionem Episcopalem infra eandem Civitatem
& Comit. Midd. exceptis praexceptis, Episcopo Westmon. a nobis per
has Literas nostras Patentes nominandum. & elendid. & succelforibus suis
Episcopis Westm. ac predict. Episcopat. Westm. adjungimus & uni-
mus, ac ex dictis Civitate & Com. Diocesem facimus & Ordinamus per
praefentes, illamq; Diocesem Westm. in perpetuum similiter vocari, ap-
pellari, nuncupari & nominari volumus & ordinamus. Et ut haec nostra
intention debitum & ubiorem sortiatur effectum, Nos de scientia, moribus,
probitate & virtute dilecti nostri Consiliarii Thomæ Thyrlebei Clerici,
Decani Capella nostræ plurimum confidentes, cundem Thomam Thyr-
leby ad Episcopatum dicit Sedis Westm. nominamus & eligimus, acipsum
Thomam Episcopum Westm. per praefentes eligimus, nominamus, faci-
mus, & creamus, & volumus; ac per praefentes Concedimus & Ordini-
mus, quod idem Episcopatus sit corpus corporatum in re & nomine,
ipsam; ex uno corpore declaramus & acceptamus, Ordinamus, facimus
& constituiimus in perpetuum, habeant; succelfionem perpetuum, ac
quod ipsel & succelfores sui per nomen & sub nomine Episcopi Westm.
nominabitur & vocabitur, nominabuntur & vocabuntur in perpetuum,
& quod ipsel & succelfores sui per idem nomen & sub eo nomine profec-
qui, clamare & placitare, ac placitari, defendere & defendi, respondere
& respondendi, in quibusque, Curis & locis legum nostrarum, ac hæred-
dum & succelfororum nostrorum, & alibi, in uuper omnibus & sanguinis
causis, actionibus, fictis, brevibus, demand. & querelis, realibus, per-
sonalibus & mixtis, tam temporalibus quam spiritualibus, ac in omnibus
alius rebus, causis & materiis quibusque, & per idem nomen Maneg-
ria, Domini, Terra, Tenementa, Rectories, Pensiones, Portiones, &
alia quæcumque, Hæreditamenta, Possessiones, proficua & emolumenta,
tam spiritualia sive Ecclesiastica, quam temporalia, ac aliæ quæcumque; per
Literas Patentes prefato Episcopo & Succelforibus suis, per nos feci
hæredes nostros debito modo fiendi. vel per quæcumque aliæ perfonam feu
quæcumque, aliæ perfonas fecundum leges nostras & hæredem & succelf-
fororum nostrorum dandi, feci concedend. capere, recipere, gaudere &
perquirere ac dare, alienare & dimittere possit & possit, valere & val-
ant, & generaliiter omnia alia & sanguina recipere, gaudere, & facere,
prout & eadem modo & forma quibus esteri Episcopi infra Regnum
nostro Angliae recipere aut facere possit, aut aliquis Episcopus infra
Regnum nostrum Angliae recipere aut facere possit, & non alias nec ullo
ali modo. Et ulterius volumus & ordinamus, quod Ecclesia Cathed-
ralis predicta fit, & deinceps in perpetuum erit Ecclesia Cathedralis &
Sedes Episcopalis dicti Thoma & succelforum uorum Episcoporum
Westm. ipsam Ecclefiam Cathedralem honoribus, dignitatiibus, & in-
signis Sedis Episcopalis per praefentes decoramus, eandemq; Sedem Epis-
copalem prefato Thoma & succelforibus suis, Episcopis Westm. damus

XXIV.
XXIV.

A Proclamation ordained by the King's Majesty, with the advice of his Honourable Council, for the Bible of the largest and greatest Volume to be had in every Church; devised the sixth day of May, the 33 year of the King's most gracious Reign.

W Hereby Injunctions heretofore set forth by the Authority of the King's Royal Majesty, Suprem Head of the Church of this his Realm of England, it was ordained, and commanded, amongst other things, That in all and singular Parish-Churches, there should be provided, by a certain day now expired, at the costs of the Curats and Parishioners, Bibles containing the Old and New Testament in the English Tongue, to be fixed and set up openly in every of the said Parish Churches; the which godly Commandment and Injunction, was to the only intent that every of the King's Majesty's loving Subjects, minding to read therein, might, by occasion thereof, not only consider and perceive the great and ineffable Omnipotent Power, Promise, Justice, Mercy and Goodness of Almighty God, but also to learn thereby to observe God's Commandments, and to obey their Sovereign Lord, and High Powers, and to exercise Godly Charity, and to use themselves according to their Vocations, in a pure and sincere Christian Life, without murmur or grudging: By the which Injunctions, the King's Royal Majesty intended that his loving Subjects should have and use the commodities of the reading of the said Bibles, for the purpose above rehearsed, humbly, meekly, reverently, and obediently, and not that any of them should read the said Bibles with high and loud Voices, in time of the Celebration of the Holy Mafs, and other Divine Services used in the Church; or that any his Lay-Subjects reading the same, should presume to take upon them any common Disputation, Argument, or Exposition of the Mysteries therein contained; but that every such Layman should, humbly, meekly, and reverently, read the same for his own instruction, edification, and amendment of his Life, according to God's Holy Word therein mentioned. And notwithstanding the King's said most godly and gracious Commandment and Injunction, in form as is aforesaid, his Royal Majesty is informed, that divers and many Towns and Parishes within this his Realm, have neglected their Duties in the accomplishment thereof; whereof his highness marvelleth not a little; and minding the execution of his said former most godly and gracious Injunctions, doth straitly charge and command, That the Curats and Parishioners of every Town and Parish within this his Realm of England, not having already Bibles provided within their Parish Churches, shall on this side the Feast of All-Saints next coming, buy and provide Bibles of the largest and greatest Volume, and cause the same to be set and fixed in every of the said Parish Churches, there to be used as is aforesaid, according to the said former Injunctions, upon pain that the Curats and Inhabitants of the Parishes and Towns, shall lose and forfeit to the King's Majesty, for every month that they shall lack and want the said Bibles, after the said Feast of All-Saints, 40 s. the one half of the same Forfeit to be to the King's Majesty, and the other half to him or
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or them which shall first find and present the same to the King's Majesty Council. And finally, the King's Royal Majesty doth declare and signify to all and singular his loving Subjects, that to the intent they may have the said Bibles of the greatest Volume, at equal and reasonable prices, his Highness, by the Advice of his Council, hath ordained and taxed, That the Sellers thereof shall not take for any of the said Bibles unbound, above the price of ten Shillings; and for every of the said Bibles well and sufficiently Bound, trimmed and clasped, not above twelve Shillings, upon pain the Seller to lose, for every Bible sold contrary to his Highness's Proclamation, four Shillings, the one Moiety thereof to the King's Majesty, and the other Moiety to the finder and presenter of the Defaulter, as is aforesaid. And his Highness strictly chargeth and commandeth, That all and singular Ordinaries, having Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction within this his Church and Realm of England, and Dominion of Wales, that they, and every of them, shall put their effectual endeavours, that the Curats and Parishioners shall obey and accomplish this his Majesty's Proclamation and Commandment, as they tender the advancement of the King's most gracious and godly Purpose in that behalf, and as they will answer to his Highness for the same.

God save the KING.

XXV. An Admonition and Advertisement given by the Bishop of London, to all Readers of this Bible in the English Tongue.

To the intent that a good and wholesome thing, godly and vertuously entered, for honest intents and purposes, set forth for many, be not hindered or malignèd at, for the abuse, default, and evil behaviour of a few, who for lack of discretion, and good advicement, commonly without respect of time, or other due Circumstances, proceed rashly and unadvisedly therein; and by reason thereof, rather hinder than set forward the thing that is good of it self: It shall therefore be very expedient, that who soever repaired hither to read this Book, or any suchlike, in any other place, he prepare himself chiefly and principally with all devotion, humility, and quietness, to be edified and made the better thereby: adjoining thereto his perfect and most bounden duty of obedience to the King's Majesty, our most gracious and dread Sovereign Lord, and Supream Head, especially in accomplishing his Graces most honourable Injunctions and Commandments, given and made in that behalf: And right expedient, yea necessary it shall be also, that leaving behind him vain Glory, Hypocrisy, and all other carnal and corrupt Affections, he bringing with him discretion, honest intent, charity, reverence, and quiet behaviour, to and for the edification of his own Soul, without the hindrance, lett, or disturbance of any other his Christian Brother; evermore foreseeing that no number of People be specially congregate therefore to make a multitude; and that no Expulsion be made thereupon otherwise than it is declared in the Book it self: and that especially regard be had, no reading thereof be used, allowed, and with
with noise in the time of any Divine Service, or Sermon; or that in the
time be used any Disputation, Contention, or any other misdemeanor;
or finally that any Man justly may reckon himself to be offended there-
by, or take occasion to grudge or malign thereat.

God save the KING.

XXVI. Injunctions given by Bonner, Bishop of London,
to his Clergie.

Injunctions made by the consent and authority of me Edmond Bonner
Bishop of London, in the Year of our Lord God 1542, and in the
34 Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord Henry the Eighth, by the
Grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of
Faith, and Suprem Head here in Earth, next under God, of the Church
of England and Ireland. All which and singular Injunctions, by the
Authority given to me of God, and by our said Sovereign Lord the
King's Majesty, I exhort, require, and also command, all and singular
Parsons, Vicars, Curats, and Chantry Priest, with other of the Clergie,
whateuer they be, of my Diocess and Jurisdiction of London, to ob-
serve, keep, and perform according, as it concerneth every of them,
in virtue of their Obedience, and also upon Pains expressed in all such
Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances of this Realm, as they may incur, and
be objected against them, now, or at any time hereafter, for breaking
and violating of the same, or any of them.

First; That you, and every of you, shall, with all diligence, and
faithful obedience, observe and keep, and cause to be observed and kept,
to the uttermost of your Powers, all and singular the Contents of the
King's Highnes most gracious and godly Ordinances and Injunctions
given and set forth by his Graces Authority; and that ye, and every of
you, for the better performance thereof, shall provide to have a Copy
of the same in writing, or imprinted, and so to declare them accord-
ingly.

Item; That every Parson, Vicar, and Curat, shall read over and di-
ligently study every day one Chapter of the Bible, and that with the
glofs ordinary, or some other Doctor or Expositor, approved and al-
lowed in this Church of England, proceeding from Chapter to Chapter,
from the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew, to the end of the New
Testament; and the same so diligently studied to keep still and retain in
memory, and to come to the rehearsal and recital thereof, at all such
time and times as they, or any of them, shall be commanded thereunto
by me, or any of my Officers or Deputies.

Item; That every of you do procure and provide of your own, a
Book called, The Institution of a Christian Man, otherwise called the
Bishops Book; and that ye, and every of you, do exercise your selves in
the same, according to such Precepts as hath been given heretofore or
hereafter to be given.
Item: That ye being absent from your Benefices, in cases lawfully permitted by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, do suffer no Priest to keep your Cure, unless he be first by you presented, and by me or my Officers thereunto abled and admitted. And for the more and better assurance and performance thereof to be had, by these Presents I warn and moniſh peremptorily, all and singular Beneficed Parſons having Benefices with Cure, within my Dioceſes and Jurifдиций, that they and every of them, shall either be perſonally reſident upon their Benefices and Cures, before the Faft of St. Michael the Arch-Angel now next ensuing, or eſte preſent, before the faid Faft, to me the faid Bifhop, my Vicar-General, or other my Officers depoſed in that behalf, ſuch Curats as upon examination made by me, or my faid Officers, may be found able and ſufficient to serve and discharge their Cures in their abſence; and alſo at the faid Faft, or before, ſhall bring in and exhibite before my faid Officers their ſufficient Diſpenſations authorized by the King's Majefty, as well for Non-reſidence, as for keeping of more Benefices with Cure than one.

Item: That every Parſon, Vicar, and other Curats, once in every quarter, ſhall openly in the Pulpit exhort and charge his Parſiſoners, that they in no wise do make any privy or secret contract of Matrimony between themselves, but that they utterly defer it until ſuch time as they may conveſtently have the Father and Mother, or ſome other Kinsfolk or Friends of the Perſon that ſhall make ſuch Contract of Matrimony; or eſte two or three honſt Perſons to be preſent, and to hear and record the words and manner of their Contract, as they will avoid the extream pains of the Law provided in that behalf, if they ſuppoſtuoſly do or attempt the contrary.

Item: That in the avoiding of divers and grievous Offences and Enormities, and ſpecially the moſt deteſtable Sin of Adultery, which ofteſtimes hath hapned by the negligence of Curats in marrying Perſons together which had been married before, and making no due proof of the death of their other Husbands and Wives at the time of ſuch Marriages, I require and command you, and moniſh peremptorily by these Preſents, all manner of Parſons, Vicars, and Curats, with other Priests, being of my Dioceſes and Jurifディций, that they, nor any of them from henceforth, do presume to ſolemnize Matrimony in their Churches, Chappels, or elsewhere, between any Perſons that have been married before, unless the faid Parſon, Vicar, Curat, or Priest, be first plainly, fully, and ſufficiently informed and certified of the Deceaf of the Wife or Husband of him or her, or of both, that he ſhall marry, and that in writing, under the Ordinaries Seal of the Dioceſe, or place where he or she inhabited or dwelt before, under pain of Excommunication, and otherwife to be puniſhed for doing the contrary, according to the Laws provided and made in that behalf.

Item: That ye, and every of you that be Parſons, Vicars, Curats, and alſo Chauntry-Priests and Stipendiaries, do inftruct, teach, and bring up in Learning the beſt ye can, all ſuch Children of your Parſiſoners as ſhall come to you for the fame; or at the leaſt, to teach them to read English, taking moderately therefore of their Friends that be able to pay, so that thereby they may the better learn and know how to Believe, how to Pray, how to live to God's Pleaſure.

Item:
Item 5 That every Curat do at all times his best diligence to stir, move, and reduce such as be at Discord, to Peace, Concord, Love, Charity, and one to remit and forgive one another, as often and howsoever they shall be grieved or offended: And that the Curat shew and give example thereof, when and as often as any variance or discord shall happen to be between him and any of his Cure.

Item 5 Where some sroward Persons, partly for malice, hatred, displeasure, and disdain, neglect, contempt, and despite their Curats, and such as have the Cure and Charge of their Souls; and partly to hide and cloak their loud and naughty living, as they have used all the Year before, use at length to be confedled of other Priefts which have not the Cure of their Souls: Wherefore I will and require you to declare, and shew to your Parishioners, That no Testimonials brought from any of them, shall stand in any effect; nor that any such Persons shall be admitted to God's Board, or receive their Communion, until they have submitted themselves to be confedled of their own Curats, (Strangers only except) or else upon arduous and urgent Caufes and Considerations, they be otherwise dispensed with in that behalf, either by me, or by my Officers aforesaid.

Item 5 That whereupon a detestable and abominable practice universally reigning in your Parishes, the young People, and other ill-difposed Persons doth use upon the Sundays and Holy-days, in time of Divine Service, and preaching the Word of God, to refer unto Ale-houses, and there exercise unlawful Games, with great Swearing, Blasphemy, Drunkenness, and other Enormities, so that good and devout Persons be much offended therewith: Wherefore I require and command you, to declare to such as keepeth Ale-houses, or Taverns, within your Parishes, that at such times from henceforth, they shall not suffer in their Housies any such unlawful and ungodly Assemblies; neither receive such Persons to Bowling and Drinking at such Seafons, into their Housies, under pain of Excommunication, and otherwise to be punifhed for their so doing, according to the Laws in that behalf.

Item 5 That all Curats shall declare openly in the Pulpit, twice every Quarter, to their Parishioners, the seven deadly Sins, and the Ten Commandments, so that the People thereby may not only learn how to obey, honour, and serve God, their Prince, Superiors, and Parents, but also to avoid and eschew Sin and Vice, and to live virtuously, following God's Commandments and his Laws.

Item 5 That where I am credibly informed, that certain Priests of my Dioces and Jurisdiction, doth use to go in an unhedm and unprudedly Habit and Apparel, with unlawful Tonsures, carrying and having upon them also Armour and Weapons, contrary to all wholesome and godly Laws and Ordinances, more like Persons of the Lay, than of the Clergy; which may and doth minister occasion to light Persons, and to Persons unknown, where such Persons come in place, to be more licentious both of their Communication, and also of their Acts, to the great slander of the Clergy: Wherefore in the avoiding of such slander and obloquy hereafter, I admonilh and command all and singular Persons, Vicars, Curats, and all other Priests whatsoever they be, dwelling, or inhabiting, or hereafter shall dwell and inhabit within my Dioces and Jurisdiction, That from henceforth they, and every of them, do use and wear
wear meet, convenient, and decent Apparel, with their Trufhures accordance, whereby they may be known at all times from Lay-people, and to be of the Clergy, as they intend to avoid and eschew the Penalty of the Laws ordained in that behalf.

Item 5: That no Parfon, Vicar, or other Beneficed Man, having Cure within my Diocefs and Jurifdiction, do suffer any Priet to lay Mails, or to have any Service within their Cure, unless they first give knowledge, and prefent them with the Letters of their Orders to me as Ordinary, or to my Officers deputed in that behalf; and the said Priet so presented, shall be by me, or by my said Officers, found able and sufficient thereunto.

Item 5: That every Curat, not only in his Preachings, open Sermons, and Collations made to the People, but also at all other times necessary, do periwade, exhort, and monith the People, being of his Cure, whatsoever they be, to beware and abftrain from swearing and blaspheming of the Holy Name of God, or any part of Christ’s most precious Body or Blood. And likewise to beware, and abftrain from Curling, Banning, Chiding, Scolding, Backbiting, Slanderin, and Lying. And also from talking and jangling in the Church, especially in time of Divine-Service, or Sermon-time. And feemably to abftrain from Adultery, Fornication, Gluttony, and Drunkennens: And if they, or any of them, be found notoriously faulty or infamed upon any of the faid Crimes and Offences, then to detect them at every Vifitation, or sooner, as the Cafe shall require, fo that the faid Offenders may be corrected and reformed to the example of others.

Item 5: That no Priet from henceforth do use any unlawful Games, or frequently use any Ale-houses, Taverns, or any fufpeft place at any unlawful Times, or any light Company, but only for their Necfeffities, as they, and any of them, will avoid the danger that may ensue thereupon.

Item 5: That in the Plague-time, no dead Bodies or Corpfes be brought into the Church, except it be brought fhreight to the Grave, and immediately buried, whereby the People may the rather avoid infecfion.

Item 5: That no Parsons, Vicars, nor Curats, permit or suffer any manner of common Plays, Games, or Interludes, to be played, set forth, or declared, within their Churches or Chapells, contrary to this our forbidding and Commandment; and then you, or either of you, in whose Churches or Chapells any fuch Games, Plays, or Interludes fhall be fo used, fhall immediately thereupon make relation of the Names of the Perfons or Perfons fo obfolutely and disobediently using themselves, unto Me, my Chancellor, or other my Officers, to the intent that they may be therefore reformed and punifhed according to the Laws.

Item 5: That all Priets fhall take this order when they Preach: firft, They fhall not rehearfe no Sermons made by other Men within this 200 or 300 Years; but when they fhall preach, they fhall take the Gospel or Epiftle of the day, which they fhall recite and declare to the People, plainly, distinctly, and fincerely, from the beginning to the end thereof, and then to defire the People to pray with them for Grace, after the ufage of the Church of England now used: And that done, we will that every Preacher fhall declare the fame Gospel or Epifte, or both, even from
from the beginning, not after his own Mind, but after the Mind of some Catholick Doctor allowed in this Church of England, and in no wise to affirm any thing, but that which he shall be ready always to shew in some Ancient Writer; and in no wise to make rehearsal of any Opinion not allowed, for the intent to reprove the same; but to leave that for those that are and shall be admitted to preach by the King's Majesty, or by me the Bishop of London, your Ordinary, or by mine Authority. In the which Epistle and Gospel, ye shall note and consider diligently, certain godly and devout places, which may incense and stir the Hearers to obedience of good Works and Prayers: And in case any notable Ceremony used to be observed in the Church, shall happen that day when any preaching shall be appointed, it shall be meet and convenient that the Preacher declare and let forth to the People the true meaning of the same, in such sort that the People may perceive thereby, what is meant and signified by such Ceremony, and also know how to use and accept it to their own edifying. Furthermore, That no Preacher shall rage or rail in his Sermon, but coldly, discreetly, and charitably, open, declare, and let forth the excellency of Virtue, and to suppress the abomination of Sin and Vice; every Preacher shall, if time and occasion will serve, instruct and teach his Audience, what Prayer is used in the Church that day, and for what thing the Church prayeth, specially that day, to the intent that all the People may pray together with one Heart for the same; and as occasion will serve, to shew and declare to the People what the Sacraments signifyeth, what strength and efficacy they be of, how every Man should use them reverently and devoutly at the receiving them. And to declare wherefore the Mass is so highly to be esteemed and honoured, with all the Circumstances appertaining to the same. Let every Preacher beware that he do not feed his Audience with any Fable, or other Histories, other than he can avouch and justify to be written by some allowed Writer. And when he hath done all that he will say and utter for that time, he shall then in few words recite again the Pith and Effect of his whole Sermon, and add thereunto as he shall think good.

Item: That no Parson, Vicar, Curat, or other Priest, having Cure of Souls within my Diocess and Jurisdiction, shall from hence-forth permit, suffer, or admit any manner of Person, of whatsoever estate or condition he be, under the degree of a Bishop, to preach, or make any Sermon or Collation openly to the People within their Churches, Chappels, or elsewhere within their Cures, unless he that shall so preach, have obtained before special Licentie in that behalf, of our Sovereign Lord the King, or of me Edmund Bishop of London, your Ordinary; And the same Licentie so obtained, shall then and there really bring forth in writing under Seal, and shew the same to the said Parson, Vicar, Curat, or Priest, before the beginning of his Sermon, as they will avoid the extrem Penalties of the Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, provided and established in that behalf, if they presumptuously do or attempt any thing to the contrary.

Item: I desire, require, exhort, and command you, and every of you, in the Name of God, That ye firmly, faithfully, and diligently, to the uttermost of your powers, do observe, fulfil, and keep all and singular these mine Injunctions. And that ye, and every of you, being Priests,
Book III. of Records.

Priests, and having Cure, or not Cure, as well Benefice as not Beneficed, within my Diocess and Jurisdiction, do procure to have a Copy of the same Injunctions, to the intent ye may the better observe, and cause to be observed the Contents thereof.

The names of Books prohibited, delivered to the Curats, Anno 1542: to the intent that they shall present them with the Names of the Owners, to their Ordinary, if they find any such within their Parishes.

The Disputation between the Father and the Son.
The Supplication of Beggars by the Author Figb.
The Revelation of Antichrift.
The Practice of Prelates.
The Burying of the Mafs, in English Ritame.
The Book of Friar Barnes, twice printed.
The Matrimony of Tindall.
The Exposition of Tindall, upon the 4th Chap. to the Corinth.
The Exposition of Tindall upon the Epistles Canonick of St. John.
The New Testament of Tindall's Translation, with his Preface before the whole Book, and before the Epistles of St. Paul and Rom.
The Church of John Rajall.
The Table, Glosses, Marginal, and Preface before the Epistle of St. Paul and Romans, of Thomas Mathews doing, and printed beyond the Sea without priviledg, set in his Bible in English.

XXVII. A Collection of Passages out of the Canon Law, made by Grammer, to shew the necessity of reforming it.

An Original.

De Majorit & obedient. Unam Sanctam.

H e that knowledgeth not himself to be under the Bishop of Rome, Ex M.SS. and that the Bishop of Rome is ordained by God to have Primacy D. Stilting over all the World, is an Heretick, and cannot be saved, nor is not of the Flock of Christ.

Dift. 10. De Summa Excommunicationis, Nominal. 25. q. 11. omne.

Princes Laws, if they be against the Canons and Decrees of the Bishop of Rome, be of no force nor strength.
All the Decrees of the Bishop of Rome ought to be kept perpetually of every Man, without any repugnancy, as God's Word spoken by the Mouth of Peter; and whosoever doth not receive them, neither avails them the Catholick Faith, nor the four Evangelists, but they blaspheme the Holy Ghost, and shall have no forgiveness.

35. q. 1. General.

All Kings, Bishops, and Noblemen, that believe or suffer the Bishop of Rome's Decrees in any thing to be violate, be accused, and for ever culpable before God, as transgressors of the Catholick Faith.


The See of Rome hath neither spot nor wrinkle in it, nor cannot err:

35. q. 1. Ideo de Senten. & re judicata, de iurejurando licet ad Apostolica li. 6. de iurejurando.

The Bishop of Rome is not bound to any Decrees, but he may compel, as well the Clergy as Lay-men, to receive his Decrees and Canon Law.

9. q. 2. Ipsi consil. Novo z. q. 6. dandum aliorum. 17. q. 4. Si quis de Baptis. & ejus effectus majores.

The Bishop of Rome hath authority to judge all Men, and specially to determine the Articles of the Faith, and that without any Council, and may affoil them that the Council hath damned; but no Man hath authority to judge him, nor to meddle with any thing that he hath judged, neither Emperor, King, People, nor the Clergy: And it is not lawful for any Man to dispute of his Power.


The Bishop of Rome may excommunicate Emperors and Princes, depose them from their States, and affoil their Subjects from their Oath and Obedience to them, and so contrain them to Rebellion.


The Emperor is the Bishop of Rome's Subject, and the Bishop of Rome may revoke the Emperor's Sentence in temporal Causes.
De Ecclesi & Ecclesi proprietate. Venerabilen.

Belongeth to the Bishop of Rome to allow or disallow the Emperor after he is elected and he may translate the Empire from one Region to another.


The Bishop of Rome may appoint Coadjutors unto Princes.


There can be no Council of Bishops without the Authority of the See of Rome; and the Emperor ought not to be present at the Council, except when Matters of the Faith be entreaty, which belong universally to every Man.

2. q. 6.

Nothing may be done against him that appealeth unto Rome.


The Bishop of Rome may be judged of none but of God only; for altho he neither regard his own Salvation, nor no Mans else, but draw down with himself innumerable People by heaps unto Hell; yet may no mortal Man in this World presume to reprehend him: forasmuch as he is called God, he may not be judged of Man, for God may be judged of no Man.

E. z. q. 5.

The Bishop of Rome may open and shut Heaven unto Men.

Dist. 40. Non vos.

The See of Rome receiveth holy Men, or else maketh them holy.


He that maketh a Lye to the Bishop of Rome, committeth Sacriledg.


To be Senator, Capitane, Patrician, Governour, or Officer of Rome, none shall be elected or pointed, without the express license and special consent of the See of Rome.
De Eleccióne & Eleći proprietate. Venerabilium.

It appertaineth to the Bishop of Rome to judge which Oaths ought to be kept, and which not.

De jurejurand. Si vero. 15. q. 6. Authoritatem.

And he may absolve Subjects from their Oath of Fidelity, and absolve from other Oaths that ought to be kept.


The Bishop of Rome is Judg in Temporal Things, and hath two Swords, Spiritual and Temporal.

De Hæreticis Multorum.

The Bishop of Rome may give Authority to arrest Men, and imprison them in Manacles and Fetters.

Extrav. de Consuetudine super gentes.

The Bishop of Rome may compel Princes to receive his Legates.

De Truga & Pace. Trugas.

It belongeth also to him to appoint and command Peace, and Truce to be observed and kept, or not.

De Prebend. & dig. dilectum & li.6. licet.

The Collation of all Spiritual Promotions appertain to the Bishop of Rome.

De Excessibus Prelatorum. Sicut unire.

The Bishop of Rome may unite Bishopricks together, and put one under another at his pleasure.

Li. 6. de penis Felicium.

In the Chapter Felicis li. 6. de penis, is the most partial and unreasonable Decree made by Bonifacius 8. that ever was read or heard, against them that be Adversaries to any Cardinal of Rome, or to any Clerk, or Religious Man of the Bishop of Rome's Family.
Lay-men may not be Judges to any of the Clergy, nor compel them to pay their undoubted Debts, but the Bishops only must be their Judges.

De fo ro Competent. Cum sit iict.

Rectors of Churches may convene such as do them wrong, whether they will, before a Spiritual Judge, or a Temporal.

Idem ex parte Dilciti.

A Lay-man being spoilt, may convene his Adversaries before a Spiritual Judge, whether the Lords of the Fœd consent thereto or not.

Ibidem Significasti, & 11. q. 1. placuit.

A Lay-man may commit his Cause to a Spiritual Judge; but one of the Clergy may not commit his Cause to a Temporal Judge, without the consent of the Bishop.

Ne Clerici vel Monachi. Secundum.

Lay-men may have no Benefices to farm.

De Summa Excommunicationis. Nemo extr. de pecunia & Remiss. &c. si.

All they that make, or write any Statutes contrary to the Liberties of the Church; and all Princes, Rulers, and Counsellors, where such Statutes be made, or such Customs observed, and all the Judges and others that put the fame in execution; and where such Statutes and Customs have been made and observed of old Time, all they that put them not out of their Books be excommunicate, and that so grievously, that they cannot be assailed but only by the Bishop of Rome.


The Clergy, to the relief of any common necessity, can nothing confer without the consent of the Bishop of Rome; nor is it not lawful for any Lay-man to lay any Imposition of Taxes, Subsidies, or any Charges upon the Clergy.

Lay-men may not meddle with Elections of the Clergy, nor with any other thing that belongeth unto them.

De jurejurando. Nimis.

The Clergy ought to give no Oath of Fidelity to their Temporal Governors, except they have Temporalities of them.


The Goods of the Church may in no wise be alienated, but whosoever receiveth or buyeth them, is bound to Restitution; and if the Church have any Ground, which is little or nothing worth, yet it shall not be given to the Prince; and if the Prince will needs buy it, the Sale shall be void and of no strength.

13. q. 2. Non licet.

It is not lawful for the Bishop of Rome to alienate or mortgage any Lands of the Church, for every manner of necessity, except it be Houses in Cities, which be very chargeable to support and maintain.


Princes ought to obey Bishops, and the Decrees of the Church, and to submit their Heads unto the Bishops, and not to be Judg over the Bishops; for the Bishops ought to be forbore, and to be judged of no Lay-man.

De Major. & obedien. solite.

Kings and Princes ought not to set Bishops beneath them, but reverently to rise against them, and to assign them an honourable Seat by them.


All manner of Causes, whatsoever they be, Spiritual or Temporal, ought to be determined and judged by the Clergy.

Ibidem Omnes.

No Judg ought to refuse the Witness of one Bishop, altho he be but alone.
Whoever teacheth or thinketh of the Sacraments otherwise than the See of Rome doth teach and observe, and all they that the same See doth judge Heretics, be Excommunicate.

And the Bishop of Rome may compel by an Oath, all Rulers and other People, to observe, and cause to be observed, whatsoever the See of Rome shall ordain concerning Heresy, and the Authors thereof; and who will not obey, he may deprive them of their Dignities.

We obtain Remission of Sin, by observing of certain Feasts, and certain Pilgrimages in the Jubilee, and other prescribed Times, by virtue of the Bishop of Rome's Pardons.

Whoever offendeth the Liberties of the Church, or doth violate any Interdiction that cometh from Rome; or conspireth against the Person, or Statute of the Bishop, or See of Rome; or by any ways offendeth, disobeyeth, or rebelleth against the said Bishop, or See; or that killeth a Priest; or offendeth personally against a Bishop, or other Prelate; or invadeth, spoileth, withholdeth, or wasteth Lands belonging to the Church of Rome, or to any other Church immediately subject to the same; or whosoever inadeth any Pilgrims that go to Rome, or any Suitors to the Court of Rome, or that lett the devotion of Causes unto that Court, or that put any new Charges or Impositions, real or personal upon any Church, or Ecclesiastical Person; and generally all other that offend in the Cases contained in the Bull, which is usually published by the Bishops of Rome upon Maundy Thursday; all these can be affoiled by no Priest, Bishop, Arch-Bishop, nor by none other, but only by the Bishop of Rome, or by his express licence.

Robbing of the Clergy, and poor Men, appertaineth unto the judgment of the Bishops.

He is no Man-slayer that slayeth a Man which is Excommunicate.

Here may be added the most tyrannical and abominable Oaths which the Bishop of Rome exacts of the Emperors; in Clement, de jurejurando Romani dipl. 6. 3. Tibi Dominio.
De Consecrat. Dist. 1. Scient.

It is better not to Consecrate, than to consecrate in a place not Hallowed.

De Consecrat. Dist. 5. De his Manus, ut rerum.

Confirmation, if it be ministered by any other than a Bishop, is of no value, nor is no Sacrament of the Church; also Confirmation is more to be had in reverence than Baptism; and no Man by Baptism can be a Christian Man without Confirmation.

De parricnt. Dist. 1. Multiplex.

A penitent Person can have no remission of his Sin, but by supplication of the Priests.

XXVIII. A Mandate for publishing and using the Prayers in the English Tongue,

Mandatum Domino Episcopo London. direct: pro publicatione Regiarum Injunctionum.

Most Reverend Father in God, right trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well, and let you wit, That calling to our remembrance the miserable State of all Christendom, being at this present, besides all other troubles, so plagued with most cruel Wars, Hatred, and Discensions, as no place of the same almost (being the whole reduced to a very narrow Corner) remaineth in good Peace, Agreement, and Concord; the Help and Remedy whereof far exceeding the Power of any Man, must be called for of him who only is able to grant our Petitions, and never forsaketh nor repealeth any that firmly believe, and faithfully call on him; unto whom also the example of Scripture encourageth us, in all these and other our Troubles and necessities, to fly and to cry for Aid and Succour; being therefore resolved to have continually from henceforth general Processions, in all Cities, Towns, Churches, and Parishes of this our Realm, said and sung, with such reverence and devotion as appertaineth. Forasmuch as heretofore the People, partly for lack of good Instruction and Calling, and partly for that they understood no part of such Prayers or Suffrages as were used to be sung and said, have used to come very slackly to the Procession, when the same have been commanded heretofore; We have set forth certain godly Prayers and Suffrages in our Native English Tongue, which we send you herevith, signifying unto you, That for the special trust and confidence we have of your godly mind, and earnest desire, to the setting forward of the Glory of God, and the true worshipping of his most Holy Name, within that Province committed by us unto you, we have
have sent unto you these Suffrages, not to be for a month or two observed, and after slenderly considered, as other our Injunctions, have to our no little marvel, been used; but to the intent that as well the fame, as other our Injunctions, may be earnestly set forth by preaching good Exhortations and otherwise to the People, in such sort as they feeling the godly taft thereof, may godly and joyously, with thanks, receive, embrace, and frequent the fame, as appertaineth. Wherefore we will and command you, as you will answer unto us for the contrary, not only to cause these prayers and Suffrages aforesaid to be published, frequented, and openly used in all Towns, Churches, Villages, and Parishes of your own Dioces, but also to signify this our Pleasure unto all other Bishops of your Province, willing and commanding them in our Name, and by virtue hereof, to do and execute the fame accordingly. Unto whose Proceedings, in the execution of this our Commandment, we will that you have a special respect, and make report unto us, if any shall not with good dexterity accomplish the fame; not failing, as our special trust is in you.

At S. James's, Juni—Regni 36. Directed to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

XXIX. The Articles acknowledged by Shaxton, late Bp of Sarum.

The First; Almighty God, by the Power of his Word, pronounced by the Priest at Mass in the Confecration, turneth the Bread and Wine into the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ; so that after the Confecration, there remaineth no Subfance of Bread and Wine, but only the Subfance of Christ, God and Man.

The Second; The said Blessed Sacrament, being once Confecrate, is and remaineth still the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, although it be reserved; and not presently distributed.

The Third; The same Blessed Sacrament being confecrate, is and ought to be worshipped and adored with godly honour wheresoeuer it is, forasmuch as it is the Body of Christ inseparably united to the Deity.

The Fourth; The Church, by the Miniftration of the Priest, offereth daily at the Mass for a Sacrifice to Almighty God, the self-fame Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, under the form of Bread and Wine, in the remembrance and reprefentation of Christ's Death and Paffion.

The Fifth; The same Body and Blood which is offered in the Mass, is the very propitiation and satisfaction for the sins of the World; forasmuch as it is the self-fame in Subfance which was offered upon the Crofs for our Redemption: And the Oblation and Action of the Priest is also, a Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving unto God for his Benefices.
first, and not the satisfaction for the Sins of the World, for that is only to be attributed to Christ's Passion.

The Sixth: The said Obleation, or Sacrifice, so by the Priest offered in the Mass, is available and profitable, both for the Quick and the Dead; altho' it lieth not in the power of Man to limit how much, or in what measure the same doth avail.

The Seventh: It is not a thing of necessity, that the Sacrament of the Altar should be ministr'd unto the People under both kinds of Bread and Wine: and it is none abuse that the same be ministr'd to the People under the one kind; forasmuch as in every of both the kinds, whole Christ, both Body and Blood is contained.

The Eighth: It is no derogation to the vertue of the Mass, altho' the Priest do receive the Sacrament alone, and none other receive it with him.

The Ninth: The Mass used in this Realm of England, is agreeable to the institution of Christ: and we have in this Church of England, the very true Sacrament, which is the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, under the form of Bread and Wine.

The Tenth: The Church of Christ hath, doth, and may lawfully order some Priests to be Ministers of the Sacraments, altho' the same do not preach, nor be not admitted thereunto.

The Eleventh: Priest's being once dedicated unto God by the Order of Priesthood, and all such Men and Women as have advisedly made Vows unto God of Chastity or Widowhood, may not lawfully marry, after their said Orders received, or Vows made.

The Twelfth: Secret auricular Confinfion is expedient and necessary to be retained, continued, and frequented in the Church of Christ.

The Thirteenth: The Predestination and Predefinrition of Almighty God, altho' in it self it be infallible, induce not necessity to the Action of Man, but that he may freely use the Power of his own Will or Choice, the said Predefinrition notwithstanding.

I Nicholas Shaxton, with my Heart, do believe, and with my Mouth do confefs all these Articles above-written to be true in every part.

Ne deijitzis hominem avertentem se a peccato, neque impropores ei: memento quomium omnes in corruptione sumus, Ecclef. 8.
XXX. A Letter written by Lethington the Secretary of Scotland, 

\[\text{to Sir William Cecil, the Queen of England's Secretary, touching the Title of the Queen of Scots to the Crown of England: By which it appears that K. Henry's Will was not signed by him.}\]

I Cannot be ignorant that some do object as to her Majesty's Foreign Birth, and hereby think to make her incapable of the Inheritance of England. To that you know for Answer what may be said by an English Patron of my Mistress's Cause, altho' I being a Scot will not affirm the same, that there ariseth amongst you a Question; Whether the Realm of Scotland be forth of the Homage and Leageance of England: And therefore you have in sundry Proclamations preceding your Wars-making, and in sundry Books at sundry times, laboured much to prove the Homage and Fealty of Scotland to England. Your Stories also be not void of this intent. What the judgment of the Fathers of your Law is, and what commonly is thought in this Matter, you know better than I, and may have better intelligence than I, the Argument being fitter for your Assertion than mine.

Another Question there is also upon this Objection of Foreign Birth; that is to say, Whether Princes inheritable to the Crown, be in the Crown, exempted or concluded as private Persons, being Strangers born forth of the Allegiance of England. You know in this case, as divers others, the State of the Crown: the Persons inheritable to the Crown at the time of their Capacity, have divers differences and prerogatives from other Persons; many Laws made for other Persons take no hold in case of the Prince, and they have such Privileges as other Persons enjoy not: as in cases of Attainders, and other Penal Laws: Examples, Hen. 7. who being a Subject, was attainted; and Ed. 4. and his Father Richard Plantagenet were both attainted; all which notwithstanding their Attainders had right to the Crown, and two of them attained the same. Amongst many Reasons to be shewed, both for the differences, and that Forreign Birth doth not take place in the case of the Crown, as in common Persons, the many experiences before the Conquest, and since, of your King's, do plainly testify. 2. Of purpose I will name unto you, Hen. 2d. Maud the Empress Son, and Richard of Bourdeaux, the Black Prince's Son, the rather for that neither of the two was the King of England's Son, and so not Enfant du Roy, if the word be taken in this strict signification. And for the better proof, that it was always the common Law of your Realm, that in the case of the Crown, Foreign Birth was no Bar; You do remember the words of the Stat. 25. Ed. 3. where it is said, the Law was ever so: Whereupon if you can remember it, you and I fell out at a reasoning in my Lord of Leicester's Chamber, by the occasion of the Abridgment of Raffles, wherein I did show you somewhat to this purpose; also these words, Infant and Ance-
answered with the scope of this word Ancestors in all Provisions, for Filii, Nepotes and Liberis, you may see there was no difference betwixt the first degree, and those that come after by the Civil Law. Liberum appellatioe comprehenduntur non solum Filii, verum etiam Nepotes, Pronepotes, Ab-nepotes, &c. If you examine the Reason why Foreign Birth is excluded, you may see that it was not so needful in Princes' Cases, as in common Persons. Moreover, I know that England hath oftentimes married with Daughters, and married with the greatest Foreign Princes of Europe. And so I do also understand, that they all did repute the Children of them, and of the Daughters of England, inheritable in Succession to that Crown, notwithstanding the Foreign Birth of their Issue: And in this case do appeal to all Chronicles, to their Contracts of Marriages, and to the opinion of all the Princes of Christendom. For the England be a noble and puissant Country, the respect of the Alliance only, and the Dowry, hath not moved the great Princes to match so often in marriage, but the possibility of the Crown in succession. I cannot be ignorant altogether in this Matter, considering that I serve my Sovereign in the room that you serve yours. The Contract of Marriage is extant betwixt the King, my Misfis's Grandfather, and Queen Margaret, Daughter to King Henry the 7th, by whose Person the Title is devolved on my Sovereign; what her Father's meaning was in bestowing of her, the World knoweth, by that which is contained in the Chronicles written by Pohidormus Virgilius, before (as I think) either you or I was born; at least when it was little thought that this Matter should come in question. There is another Exception also laid against my Sovereign, which seems at the first to be of some weight, grounded upon some Statutes made in King Hen. 8. time, (viz.) of the 28th, & 35th of his Reign, whereby full Power and Authority was given him the said King Henry, to give, dispose, appoint, assign, declare, and limit, by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or else by his last Will made in writing, and signed with his hand at his pleasure, from time to time thereafter the Imperial Crown of that Realm, &c. Which Imperial Crown is by some alleged and constantly affirmed to have been limited and disposed, by the last Will and Testament of the said King Hen. 8. signed with his Hand before his Death, unto the Children of the Lady Francis; and Eleanor, Daughter to Mary the French Queen, Younger Daughter of Hen. 7. and of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk; so as it is thought the Queen, my Sovereign, and all others, by course of Inheritance, be by these Circumstances excluded and fore-closed: So as it does well become all Subjects, such as I am, so my liking is, to speak of Princes, of their Reigns and Proceedings modestly, and with respect; yet I cannot abstain to say, that the Chronicles and Histories of that Age, and your own printed Statutes being extant, do contaminate and disgrace greatly the Reign of that King in that Time. But to come to our purpose, what equity and justice was that to disinherit a Race of Foreign Princes of their possibility, and maternal right, by a municipal Law or Statute made in that, which some would term abrupt time, and say, that that would rule the Roast, yea, and to exclude the right Heirs from their Title, without calling them to answer, or any for them: well, it may be said, that the injury of the time, and the indirect dealing is not to be allowed; but since it is done it cannot be avoided, unless some Circumstances...
material do annihilate the said limitation and disposition of the Crown.

Now let us examine the manner and circumstances how King Hen. 3. was by Statute enabled to dispose the Crown. There is a form in two forts prescribed him, which he may not transgress, that is to say, either by his Letter Patents, sealed with his Great Seal, or by his last Will, signed with his Hand; for in this extraordinary case he was held to an ordinary and precise form; which being not observed, the Letters Patents, or Will, cannot work the intent or effect supposed. And to disprove, that the Will was signed with his own Hand; you know, that long before his death he never used his own signing with his own Hand; and in the time of his sickness, being divers times pressed to put his Hand to the Will written, he refused to do it. And it seemed God would not suffer him to proceed in an Act so injurious and prejudicial to the right Heir of the Crown, being his Niece. Then his death approaching, some as well known to you as to me, caufed William Clarke, sometimes Servant to Thomas Hennage, to sign the supposed Will with a famp, (for otherwife signed it was never;) and yet notwithstanding some respecting more the satisfaction of their Ambition, and others their private Commodity, than just and upright dealing, procured divers honest Gentlemen, attending in divers several Rooms about the King's Person, to testifie with their Hand-writings the Contents of the said pretended Will, turmifed to be signed with the King's own Hand. To prove this diemel and forged signed Testament, I do refer you to fuch Trials as be yet left. First; The Attestation of the late Lord Paget, published in the Parliament in Queen Mary's Time, for the restitution of the Duke of Norfolk. Next, I pray you, on my Sovereign's behalf, that the Depositions may be taken in this Matter of the Marquefs of Winchester, Lord Treasurer of England; the Marquefs of Northampton, the Earl of Pembroke, Sir William Petre then one of King Henry's Secretaries, Sir Henry Nevill, Sir Maurice Barkley, Doctor But, Edmond Harman Baker, John Osborn Groom of the Chamber, Sir Anthony Dennis, if he be living, Terris the Chirurgeon, and such as have heard David Vincent and others speak in this cafe; and that their Attestations may be enrolled in the Chancery, and in the Arch, In perpetuum rei memoriam.

Thirdly; I do refer you to the Original Will turmifed to be signed with the King's own Hand, that thereby it may moft clearly and evidently appear by some differences, how the fame was not signed with the King's Hand, but stamped as aforesaid. And albeit it is used both as an Argument and Calumnation against my Sovereign to some, that the said Original hath been embezelled in Queen Mary's Time, I trust God will and hath referred the faim to be an Instrument to relieve the Truth, and to confound faife Surmifes, that thereby the Right may take place, notwithstanding the many Exemplifications and Transcripts, which being sealed with the great Seal, do run abroad in England, and do carry away many Mens minds, as great presumptions of great verity and validity. But, Sir, you know in cases of less importance, that the whole Realm of England, Transcripts and Exemplifications be not of so great force in Law to serve for the recovery of any thing, either real or personal: And in as much as my Sovereign's Title in this cafe shall be little advanced,
advanced, by taking exceptions to others pretended and styled Titles, considering her precedence, I will leave it to such as are to claim after the issue of Hen. the 7th, to lay in Bar the Poligamy of Charles Brandon the Duke of Suffolk, and also the vitiated and clandestine Contract, (if it may be so called) having no witnesses nor solemnization of Christian Matrimony, nor any lawful matching of the Earl of Hertford and the Lady Katherine. Lastly; The semblably compelling of Mr. Key, and the Lady Mary Sitter to the Lady Katherine.

And now, Sir, I have, to answer your desire, said somewhat briefly to the Matter, which indeed is very little, where so much may be said; for to speak truly, the Cause speaketh for it self. I have so long forbear to deal in this Matter, that I have almost forgotten many things which may be said for Roboration of her Right, which I can shortly reduce to my Remembrance, being at Edinburgh where my Notes are: So that if you be not by this satisfied, upon knowledge from you of any other Objection, I hope to satisfy you unto all things may be said against her. In the mean time I pray you to counsel the Queen, your Sovereign, as some effectual repairation may follow without delay, of the many and sundry traverses and disfavourings committed against the Queen, my Sovereign: as the publishing of so many exemplifications of King Henry’s suppos’d Will, the secret embracing of John Halles Books, the Books printed and not avowed the last Summer, one of the which my Mistres hath sent by Henry Killigrew to the Queen your Sovereign; The Disputes and Proceedings of Lincolns-Inn, where the Case was ruled against the Queen my Sovereign; The Speeches of sundry in this last Session of Parliament, tending all to my Sovereign’s direction, and nothing paid to the contrary by any Man, but the Matter shut up with silence, most to her prejudice; and by so much the more as every Man is gone home secket and confirmed in his Error. And, lastly, The Queen, your Sovereign’s Resolution to defend now by Proclamations, all Books and Writings containing any discussion of Titles, when the whole Realm hath engendred by these fond Proceedings, and other favoured Praefices, a fetted Opinion against my Soveraigns, to the advancement of my Lady Katherine’s Title. I might also speak of another Book lately printed and set abroad in this last Session, containing many Untruths and weak Reasons, which Mr. Waling desired might be answered before the Defence were made by Proclamation. I trust you will so hold hand to the Reformation of all thes things, as the Queen, my Sovereign, may have effectual occasion to esteem you her Friend; which doing, you shall never offend the Queen your Mistres, your Country, nor Conscience, but be a favourer of the Truth against Errors, and yet defer well of a Princess, who hath a good heart to recognize any good turn, when it is done her, and may hereafter have means to do you pleasure. For my particular, as I have always honoured you as my Father, so do I still remain of the same mind, as one, whom in all things not touching the State, you may direct, as your Son Thomas Cecil, and with my hearty commendations to you, and my Lady, both, I take my leave. From Streveling, the 14th of January, 1566.
AN APPENDIX
Concerning some of the Errors and Falshoods IN SANDER's Book OF THE English Schifin.
I. A.

APPENDIX.

Exhibit and Remarks

to

SANDER'S BOOK

OF THE

SEAFARER.
An Appendix.

Those who intend to write Romances, or Plays, do
commonly take their Plot from some true Piece of
History; in which they often such Characters to
Persons and Things, and mix such Circumstances
and secret Passages, with those publick Transactions
and Changes, that are in other Histories; as may
more artificially raise those Passions and Affections
in their Readers minds, which they intend to move, than could pos-
sibly be done, if the whole Story were a mere Fiction and Contri-
Vance: and tho' all Men know those tender Passages to flow only from
the Invention and Fancy of the Poet; yet, by I know not what Charm,
the greatest part that read or hear their Poems, are softened and sensibly
touched.

Some such Design Sanders seems to have had in his Book, which he
very wisely kept up as long as he lived: He intended to represent the
Reformation in the fouleft shape that was possible, to defame Queen
Elizabeth, to stain her Blood, and thereby to bring her Title to the
Crown in question; and to magnify the Authority of the See of Rome;
and celebrate Monaflick Orders, with all the praises and high characters
he could devise: And therefore after he had writ several Books on thofe
Subjefts, without any considerable success, they being all rather filled
with foul Calumnies and detracting Malice, than good Arguments, or
strong fence, he resolved to try his skill another way; so he intended to
tell a doleful Tale, which should raise a detestation of Herefy, an ill
Opinion of the Queen, caft a stain on her Blood, and difparage her Ti-
tle, and advance the honour of the Papacy. A Tragedy was fitter for
these ends, since it left the deepest impressions on the graver and better
affections of the Mind; the Scene must be laid in England, and King
Henry the Eighth and his three Children, with the Changes that were in
their Times, seemed to afford very plentiful Matter for a Man of Wit
and Fancy, who knew where he could dextrously fhew his Art, and had
boldnes enough to do it without flame, or the reverence due, either
to crowned Heads, or to Persons that were dead. Yet becaufe he knew
not how he could hold up his Face to the World, after these Discoveries
were made, which he had reason to expect, this was concealed as long
as he lived: and after he had died for his Faith (that is, in Rebellion,
which I fhall fhew is the Faith in his Stile) this Work of his was publifh-
ed. The title is generally clean, and things are told in an easy and
pleasant way; only he could not ufe his Art fo decently, as to restrain
that Malice which boiled in his Breaft, and often fermented out too
palpably in his Pen.

The Book served many Ends well, and fo was generally much cried
up, by Men who had been long accustomed to commend any thing that
was
An Appendix.

was useful to them, without troubling themselves with those impertinent Questions, whether they were true or false; yet Riffon, and others since that time, took the Pencil again in their hands, and finding there were many Touches wanting, which would give much life to the whole Piece, have so changed it, that it was afterwards reprinted, not only with a large Continuation, that was writ by a much more unskilful Poet, but with so many and great Additions, scattered through the whole Work, whereby it seemed so changed in the vampire, that it looked new.

If any will give themselves the trouble, to compare his Fable with the History that I have written, and the certain undoubted Authorities I bring in confirmation of what I assert, with the slender, and (for the most part) no Authorities, he brings, they will soon be able to discern where the Truth lies: But because all People have not the leisure or opportunities for laying things so critically together, I was advised, by those whose Counsels directed me in this whole Work, to sum up, in an Appendix, the most considerable Falshoods and Mistakes of that Book, with the Evidences upon which I rejected them. Therefore I have drawn out the following Extravision, which contains Errors of two sorts. The one is, of those in which there is indeed no malice, yet they flew the Writer had no true information of our Affairs, but commits many Faults, which tho they leave not such foul imputations on the Author, yet tend very much to disparage and discredit his Work. But the others are of an higher guilt, being designed Forgeries, to serve partial Ends; not only without any Authority, but manifestly contrary to Truth, and of such Records as (in spite of all the care they took in Q. Mary's Time by destroying them, to condemn Posterity to Ignorance in these Matters) are yet revered, and serve to discover the faldhood of those Calumnies in which they have traded so long. I shall pursue these Errors in the series in which they are delivered in Sanders his Book, according to the Impression at Colen 1628, which is that I have. I first set down his Errors, and then a short confutation of them, referring the Reader for fuller information to the foregoing History.

Page 2.

1. Sanders says, 'That when Prince Arthur and his Princess were bedded, King Henry the 7th ordered a grave Matron to lie in the Bed, that so they might not consummate their Marriage.

This is the ground-work of the whole Fable; and should have been some-way or other proved. But if we do not take so small a Circumstance upon his word, we treat him rudely; and who will write Histories, if they be bound to say nothing but Truth! But little thought our Author that there were three Depositions upon Record, point blank against this: for the Dutchess of Norfolk, the Viscount of Pritwater and his Lady, depofed they saw them bedded together, and the Bed bleffed after they two were put in it; besides that such an extravagant thing was never known done in any place.

2. Sanders says, 'Prince Arthur was not then fifteen Years of Age, and was sick of a lingering Disease.

The Plot goes on but scurvily, when the next thing that is brought to confirm it, is contradicted by Records. Prince Arthur was born the 20th of September, in the Year 1486, and so was 15 Years old and two months
months passed at the 14th of November 1501, in which he was married to the Prince, and was then of a lively and good Complexion, and did not begin to decay till the Streete following, which was impu-
ted to his Excesses in the Bed, as the Witnesses depose.

3. He says; 'Upon the motion for the marrying of his Brother *Henry* to the Prince, it was agreed to by all, that the thing was lawful.

It was perhaps agreed on at *Rome*, where Mony and other political Arts sway their Counsels; but it was not agreed to in *England*: for which we have no meaner Authority, than *Warham* Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, who, when examined upon Oath, depo'd that himself then thought the Marriage was not honourable, nor well-pleasing to God, and that he had thereupon opposed it much, and that the People mur-
mered at it.

4. He says; 'There was not one Man in any Nation under Heaven, or in the whole Church, that spake against it.

The common Stile of the *Roman Church*, calling the See of *Rome* the Catholick Church, must be applied to this, to bring off our Author; otherwise I know not how to save his Reputation. Therefore by all the Nations under Heaven must be understood only the Divines at *Rome*, tho' when it came to be examined, they could scarce find any who would justify it: all the most famous Universities, Divines, and Cano-
nuits, condemned it, and *Warham's* Testimony contradicts this plainly, besides the other great Authorities that were brought against it, for which see *ibid. 2*. from *pag. 91*. to *pag. 103*.

5. 'The King once said, *He would not marry the Queen.*

Here is a pretty Essay of our Author's Art, who would make us think it was only in a transient Discourse, that the King said he would not marry Queen Katherine; but this was more maturely done, by a solemn Protestation, which he read himself before the Bishop of Winche-
sler, that he would never marry her, and that he revoked his consent given under Age. This was done when he came to be of Age, see *pag. 36.* it is also confess'd by *Sanders* himself.

6. He says; 'The Queen bore him three Sons and two Daughters. *Ibid.*

All the Books of that time speake only of two Sons, and one Daughter; but this is a flourish of his Pen, to represent her a fruitful Mother.

7. He says; 'The King had sometimes two, sometimes three Concu-
bines at once.

It does not appear he had ever any but *Elizabeth Blunt*; and if we judge of his Life, by the Letters the Popes wrote to him, and many printed Elogies that were published then, he was a Prince of great Piety and Religion all that while.

8. He says; 'The Lady *Mary* was first desired in marriage by *James*.

*the 5th of Scotland*, then by *Charles* the 5th the Emperor; and then *Francis* asked her, first for the *Dolphin*, then for the Duke of *Orleance*, and last of all for himself.

M m m m 2 But
But all this is wrong placed, for she was first contracted to the Dol-
phin, then to the Emperor; and then treated about to the King of Scot-
land; after that it was left to Francis his choice, whether she should be 
married to himself, or his second Son the Duke of Orleane: So little did 
our Poet know the publick Transactions of that Time.

Ibid. 
9. He says; 'She was in the end contracted to the Dolphin: From 
whence he concludes, that all Forreign Princes were satisfied with the 
lawfulness of the Marriage.

She was first of all contracted to the Dolphin. Forreign Princes were 
so little satisfied of the lawfulness of the Marriage, that the she being 
Heir to the Crown of England, was a Match of great Advantage; yet 
their Counsellors excepted to it, on that very account, that the Marriage 
was not good. This was done in Spain, and the was rejected, as a 
Writer who lived in that time informs us; and Sanders confesses it was 
done by the French Ambassador.

Page 7. 
10. He says; 'Wolsey was first Bishop of Lincoln, then of Duresme, 
after that of Wincebeffer, and lastt of all Arch-Bishop of York; after that 
he was made Chancellor, then Cardinal and Legate.

The order of these Preferments is quite reverfed; for Wolsey soon af-
after he was made Bishop of Lincoln, upon Cardinal Bembridge his Death, 
was not only promoted to the See of York, but advanced to be a Cardi-
inal in the 7th Year of the King's Reign: And some months after that, 
he was made Lord Chancellor; and seven Years after that, he got the 
Bishoprick of Dureflan, which six Years after he exchanged for Wince-
beffr. He had heard perhaps that he enjoyed all these Preferments; but 
knowing nothing of our Affairs beyond hear-fay, he resolv'd to make 
him rife as Poets order their Heroes, by degrees, and therefore ranks his 
Advancement not according to Truth, but in the method he liked best 
himself.

Page 8. 
11. He says; 'Wolsey first design'd the Divorce, and made Longland, 
that was the King's Confeffor, second his motion for it.

The King not only denied this in publick, saying, That he himself 
had first mov'd it to Longland in Confeffion; and that Wolsey had op-
pol'd it all he could: but in private discours with Grineaus, told him, 
he had labour'd under these Scruples for seven Years; septem perpetus 
Annis trepidatio. Which reckoning from the Year 1531, in which Grin-
eaus wrote this to one of his Friends, will fall back to the Year 1524, 
long before Wolsey had any provocation to tempt him to it.

Page 9. 
12. He says; 'In the Year 1529, in which the King was first made to 
doubt of his Marriage, he was resolv'd then whom to marry when he 
was once divorced.

But by his other Story, Ann Boileyn was then but fifteen Years old, 
and went to France at that Age, where she stayed a considerable Time 
before she came to the Court of England.

Ibid. 
13. He says; 'The King spent a Year in a private search, to see what 
could be found, either in the Scriptures, or the Pope's Bull, to be made 
use
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Use of against his Marriage; but they could find nothing.
In that time all the Bishops of England, except Eiliger, declared under their Hands and Seals, that they thought the Marriage unlawful; for which see pag. 38. and upon what Reasons this was grounded, has been clearly opened, pag. 97.

14. He says, 'If there were any ambiguities in the Pope's first Letters (meaning the Bull, for dispersing with the Marriage) they were cleared by other Letters, which Ferdinand of Spain had afterwards procured.
These other Letters (by which he means the Breve) bear date the same day with the Bull; and so were not procured afterwards. There were indeed violent presumptions of their being forged long after, even after the Process had been almost a Year in agitation. But tho' they helped the matter in some leffer Particulars, yet in the main Business, Whether Prince Arthur did know his Princess, they did it a great prejudice; for whereas the Bull bore, that by the Queen's Petition her former Marriage was perhaps consummated, the Breve bears that in her Petition, the Marriage was said to be consummated, without any perhaps.

15. He says, 'The King having seen the second Letters, both he and his Council resolved to move no more in it.
The Process was carried on, almost a Year, before the Breve was heard of; and the Forgery of it soon appeared, so they went on notwithstanding it.

16. He says, 'The Bishop of Tarhy being come from France, to conclude the Match for the Lady Mary, was set on by the King and the Cardinal, to move exception to the lawfulness of the Marriage.
There is no reason to believe this; for that Bishop, tho' afterwards made a Cardinal, never published this: which both he ought to have done as a good Catholick, and certainly would have done as a true Cardinal, when he saw what followed upon it, and perceived that he was trepanned to be the first mover of a thing, which ended so fatally for the Interests of Rome.

17. He says, 'The Bishop of Tarhy, in a Speech before the King in Council, said, That not he alone, but almost all learned Men, thought the King's Marriage unlawful and null: so that he was freed from the Bond of it, and that it was against the Rules of the Gospel; and that all Foreign Nations had ever spoken very freely of it, lamenting that the King was drawn into it in his Youth.
It is not ordinary for Ambassadors to make Speeches in King's Councils: But if this be true, it agrees ill with what this Author delivers in his third Page, That there was not a Man in the whole Church, nor under Heaven, that spoke against it, otherwise the Bishop of Tarhy was both an impudent and a foolish Man.

18. He says, 'Upon the Pope's Captivity, Wolfey was sent over to France with 300000 Crowns to procure the Pope's liberty.

Hull,
Hill, Helvingheid, and Stow, say, He carried over 240000 pounds Sterlin, which is more than thrice that sum.

Ibid. 19. He says; 'Two Colleagues were sent in this Ambassy with the Cardinal.

His greatnes was above that, and none are mentioned in the Records.

Ibid. 20. He says; 'Orders followed him to Calais, not to move any thing about the King's Marriage with the French King's Sister, the King having then resolved to marry Ann Boleyn.

This agrees ill with what he said pag. 9. that a Year before the King was resolved whom to marry.

Ibid. 21. He says; 'King Henry, that he might have freer access to Sir Thomas Boleyn's Lady, sent him to France; where after he had stayed two Years, his Lady was with Child of Ann Boleyn by the King.

This Story was already confuted, see pag. 41, 42. And in it there are more than one or two lies.

1. Sir Thomas Boleyn went not Ambassador to France till the 7th Year of the King's Reign: And if two Years after that, Ann was born, which was the 9th of his Reign, she must then have been but ten Years old at this time.

2. Tho he had sent him upon his first coming to the Crown, this could not be true; for two Years after, admit her to be born, that is Anno 1511, then a Year before this, which was Anno 1526, she was fifteen Years old; in which Age, Sanders says, she was corrupted in her Father's House, and sent over to France, where she staid long. But all this is false: For,

3. She was born two Years before the King came to the Crown, in the Year 1507, and if her Father was sent to France two Years before, it was in the Year 1505.

4. The King being then Prince, was but fourteen Years old, for he was born the 28th of June, in the Year 1491: in which Age there is no reason to think he was so forward as to be corrupting other Mens Wives, for they will not allow his Brother, when almost two Years elder, to have known his own Wife.

As for the other pieces of this Story, that Sir Thomas Boleyn did sue his Lady in the Spiritual Court; that upon the King's sending him word that she was with Child by him, he passed it over; that the King had also known her Sister, and that she had owned it to the Queen, that at the fifteenth Year of Ann's Age, she had prostituted her self both to her Fathers Butler, and Chaplain; that then she was sent to France, where she was at first for some time concealed, then brought to Court, where she was so notoriously lewd, that she was called an Hackney; that she afterwards was kept by the French King; that when she came over into England, Sir Thomas Wiat was admitted to base Privacies with her, and offered to the King and his Council, that he himself should with his own Eyes see it: And in fine, that she was ugly, mihapied, and monstros, are such an heap of impudent Lyes, that none but a Fool, as well as a Knave, would venture on such a recital. And for all this,
this, he cites no other Authority but Raffal's Life of Sir Thomas More, a Book that was seen by none but himself; and he gives no other evidence that there was any such Book, but his own Authority. Nor is it likely that Raffal ever writ More's Life, since he did not set it out with his Works which he published in one Volume, Anno 1556. It is true, More's Son-in-Law, Roper, writ his Life, which is since printed, but there is no such Story in it. The whole is such a piece of lying, as if he who forg'd it, had resolved to out-do all who had ever gone before him: for can it be so much as imagined, that a King could pursue a Design for seven Years together, of marrying a Woman of so scandalous a Life, and so disagreeable a Person? and that he who was always in the other extremity of Jealousy, did never try out these Reports, and would not so much as see what Was informed? Nor were these things published in the Libels that were printed at that time, either in the Emperor's Court, or at Rome. All which shew that this was a desperate Contrivance of Malicious Traitors, against their Sovereign Queen Elizabeth, to defame and disgrace her. And this I take to be the true reason why none made any full answer to this Book all her Time. It was not thought for the Queen's Honour to let such Stuff be so much considered as to merit an Answer. So that the 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18, pages, are one continued Lye.

22. He says; 'Sir Thomas Boleyn hearing the King intended to marry his supposed Daughter, came over in all haste from France, to put him in mind that he was his own Child; and that the King bade him hold his peace for a Fool, for an hundred had lien with his Wife as well as he, but whole-foever Daughter she was, she should be his Wife: and upon that Sir Thomas instructed his Daughter how she should hold the King in her toils.

Sir Thomas must have thought the King had an ill Memory, if he had forgot such a Story: but the one part of this makes him afraid that the King should marry his Daughter, and the other part makes him afraid they should mis their hopes in it: Not to mention how little likely it is, that a King of such high vanity, would have done that which the privatest Person has an aversion to, I mean, the marrying the Daughter of one whom they know to be a common Profitite.

23. He says; 'Wolsey before his return from France, sent Gambara to the Pope, desiring him to name himself Vicar of the Papacy, during his captivity. This was not done till almost a Year after this: and the motion was sent by Staphilens Dean of the Rota, for which see pag. 50.

24. He says; 'None but ill Men and ignorant Persons wrote against the Marriage, but all learned and good Men wrote for it. The whole Doctors of the Church, in all Ages, were against it; and no Doctor, ancienter than Cajetan, could ever be found to have writ for it.

25. He says; 'That the great endeavours were used to perswade Sir Tho. More of the unlawfulness of the Marriage, all was in vain.
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Is it probable that the King would have made him Lord Chancellor, when he was so earnest in this Business, if he had not known that he would have gone along with him in it? By one of his Letters to Cromwell out of the Tower, it appears, that he approved the Divorce, and had great hopes of success in it, as long as it was prosecuted at Rome, and founded on the defects in the Bull. And in the 22d Year of the King's Reign, when the Opinions of the Universtitites, and the Books of Learned Men were brought to England against the Marriage, he carried them down to the House of Commons, and made read them there; after which he directed they would report in their Country what they had heard and seen; and then all Men would openly perceive that the King had not attempted this Matter of his Will and Pleasure, but only for the discharge of his Conscience. More was a Man of greater Integrity than to have said this, if he had thought the Marriage good; so that he has either afterwards changed his mind, or did at this Time dissemble too artificially with the King.

Page 22.

26. After a long flourish about the King's secret fears and apprehensions, and the perplexities the Cardinal was in, which must pass for a piece of his Wit, that is to say, Lying, for he knew none of their thoughts; He says, 'That Gardiner and Sir Francis Brian were sent to the Pope together, Gardiner being then Secretary of State.

In this there are only three gross mistakes. First, Gardiner was not sent with the first Message to the Pope, Secretary Knight carried it. 2. Sir Francis Brian went never to Rome with Gardiner: It is true, a Year after the commencing the Suit, Sir Francis Brian was sent to Rome, and about a month after him Gardiner was also sent; so tho' they were both together at Rome, yet they were not sent thither together. 3. Gardiner was not Secretary of State, but was Wolsey's Secretary, when he went first to Rome, and was made a Privy Councillor when he was sent thither the second time; and was not Secretary of State till some months after his return from his Journey the last time.

Page 23.

27. He says; 'They made the Pope believe that the Queen would willingly retire into a Monastery.

This was on the contrary a contrivance of the Popes, who thought it the easiest way to bring the Matter to a good issue; but in England they had no hopes of it, and so always diverted the motion when it was proposed by the Pope.

Ibid.

28. He says; 'The Pope said he would consult with some Cardinals and Divines, and do all that he could lawfully do to give the King satisfaction.

Upon the first motion of it, the Pope frankly granted the King's desire; and gave a Bull with a Commission upon it: And only consulted some Cardinals about the methods of doing it. And did allure the King, that he would not only do every thing that could be granted in Law or Justice, but whatsoever he could grant out of the fulness of his Power. It is true, afterwards when the Pope changed his Meafures, and resolved to agree with the Emperor, he pretended he understood not these things himself, but would needs turn it over upon the Cardinals and Divines.

29. He
29. He says; 'All the Cardinals were of a mind that the Marriage Page 24. was good.
Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, by the force of that mighty Argument of 4000 Crowns, changed his mind. All the other Cardinals were forward in granting the King’s Desires, for which he wrote them a Letter of Thanks.

30. He says; 'The Pope granted the Commission to the two Legats, not doubting but it was true that had been told him of the Queen’s readiness to go into a Monastery.
The Pope knew she would not yield to any such thing but when he granted that Commission, he sent with Campsio a Decretal Bull, annulling the Marriage: and sent afterwards a Promise never to avocate the Process, but to confirm what Sentence the Legats should give; tho soon after he broke his Promise most signally. And since he had often dispenced with others for breaking their Faith, he might think that it was hard to deny him the same priviledge for himself.

31. He says; ‘The Pope understanding that the Queen did not consent to the Propositions that were made, and that he had been abused, sent after Campsio, when he was on his Journey, that he should not proceed to a Sentence without a new Order.
The Pope sent Campsio to England after Campsio, to assure the King, he would do every thing for him that he could do out of the fulness of his Power: And ordered the same Person to charge Cardinal Campsio to burn the Decretal Bull, which he had sent by him: In all which the Pope, as appears by the Original Letters, was only governed by politic Maxims, and considered nothing but the Dangers himself was like to fall in; tho Sanders would persuade us, he was ready to run the hazard of all these.

32. He says; ‘The King by his Letters to the Pope, did, at the same time that he was moving Scruples about his own Marriage, transact about a Dispensation for a Marriage betwixt his own Natural Son the Duke of Richmond, and his Daughter the Lady Mary.
Tho the whole Dispatches at that time, both to and from Rome, he most happily preferred, there is not the least mention of any such design; and can any Body think that if any such motion had been made, the Pope would not have taken great Advantages from it, and that these Letters would not have been afterwards published? But this Sanders thought was a pretty embellishment of his Fable; and of a piece with this is his next.

33. He says; ‘The King did under his own hand confess, he had known Ann Boleyn’s Sister Mary, and desired the Pope would dispence with his marrying Ann notwithstanding that.
The fallhood of this appears from the recital of it: And how came it that these Letters were not published? Nor is there any mention of this in all the Dispatches I have seen. And it is not possible that in so many Conferences which the English Ambassadors had with the Pope, there...
these two things should never have been discoursed of. And can it be thought credible, that at the same time when the King pretended such Scruples and Troubles of Conscience, he could be guilty of so much folly and impiudence, as to put himself thus in the Pope's Mercy, by two such Demands? This was a Forgery of Cardinal Pole's, which Sanders greedily catched to dress up the Scene.

Page 34. 34. From page 34, to 42, there is a trifling account given of the Reasons brought against the Marriage, which Sanders answers manfully, and fights courageously against the Man of Straw he had set up. But if that be compared with what has been opened in the History, it will appear how lame and defective his Account is.

Page 42. 35. He says, 'Clarke Bishop of Bath and Wells, Tonstal Bishop of London, and West Bishop of Ely, writ for the lawfulness of the King's Marriage.

All the Bishops, except Fisher, had a Year before this given it under their Hands and Seals, that the King's Marriage was unlawful: and in all the Memorials of that Time, Fisher is the only Bishop I find mentioned to have writ for it. Tonstall was also soon after Translated to Durham, which none that have considered that King's Temper, will think could have been done, if he had interposed in so tender a Point, against what the King so vehemently desired.

Ibid. 36. He says, 'That Abell, Powel, Fetherston, and Ridley, also writ for the Marriage. This is not likely of the second and third, for they being afterwards attainted of Treason, no such Books were objected to them; but the Crime charged on them, was only that they said, the King's Marriage with Q. Katherine was good.

Page 43. 37. He says, 'All things appeared clear in the Trial before the Legats, in behalf of the Marriage, so that they could give no Sentence against such full Evidence as was brought for it. This is said without any regard to Truth; for all the Matter of Fact that had been alleged, was clearly proved for the contrary side. It was proved that Prince Arthur married the Queen: violent presumptions appeared of his confounding the Marriage: It was also proved, that the King was under Age when the Bull was obtained, and that the Petitions given in his Name, upon which the Bull was granted, were false: That the King had not defiled it, but when he came of Age he had protested against it: And that there was no hazard of a War between Spain and England, the preventing which, was the chief Reason set down in the Bull that permitted it. So that all that had been informed at Rome, as to Matter of Fact, was fully proved before the Legats, by clear Instruments, and many and noble Witnesses.

Ibid. 38. He puts a long bold Speech in Campegio's Mouth, who was far from assuming such freedom; but lived licentiously in England, in all manner of Disorders, of which both he and his Bastard Son were guilty. And by dissembling, and other Arts, persuaded the King to delay the Process,
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Proceeds, from day to day, giving him full assurances, that in conclusion he should obtain what he desired: and by such means he gain’d Time, and drew out the Trial, till the Pope had ended his Treaty with the Emperor; and then he served him an Italian Trick, by adjourning the Court.

39. He says; ‘Some Doctors being corrupted with the King’s Mony, Page 48: declared for him; but those were none of the most learned.

The King ordered those he sent, not to give or promise any thing to any Person, till they had delivered their Opinion freely: Upon which some of them wrote to him, that they would answer upon their Heads, that they had followed his Orders in that particular.

40. He says; ‘These Determinations were published in the Names of the Universities, to deceive the World by a false representation of so great Authorities.

Were the publick Seals of the Universities, put to their determinations, after a long debate, all being required to deliver their Consciences upon Oath, and done with the unanimous consent of the whole Faculty in some places, false representations? This was done in Italy, in Padua, Bononia, Ferrara, and Milan, under the Pope and the Emperor’s Eye, and within their Dominions.

41. He says; ‘Endeavours were used to corrupt the University of Page 50; Cologne, and some others in Germany, for which great Sums were offered, and that the King was at a vast expence in it.

Crooks Accompants shew that his Expence in Italy was very inconsiderable. And who can imagine that when Paris, Padua, and Bononia, had declared for the King, he would be much concerned for Cologne, or any other University in Germany? Those who will believe Sanders, and such Authors as he quotes, Cocklett, and an unknown Bishop of Brazil, may if they will.

42. He says; ‘In Oxford the King not being able to obtain a satisfactory Answer in that Matter, eight Students of the University broke into the place where the Seal was laid, and put it to an Answer, which passed for the Determination of the University.

The Lord Herbert says, There was an Original Instrument passed, which he saw; by which the University did appoint a Committee of 33 Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity, to examine the Questions proposed by the King, and to set the Seal of the University to any Answer that they should agree on: and these did afterwards give a Resolution against the lawfulness of the Marriage.

43. ‘He tells a long Story of the King’s endeavours to gain Reginald Pole, and that he came over to England; and being much pressed by his Kindred to comply with the King, he went to him, fully purposed to have done it: but could not speak a word to him, till he resolved to talk to him in another stile; and then he found his Tongue, and spake very freely to the King, who put his hands sometimes to his Poynard, intending to have killed him; but was overcome with the simplicity
simplicity and humility of his Discourse: and so the King continued his Pension to him, and gave him leave to go back to Padua.

This is another pretty adventure of one of the Hero's of the Romance, but has this misfortune in it, that it is all without any proof: for as none of the Books of that Time ever mention it, so neither did Pole himself pretend to have carried so, in his Book, tho' written with the most provoking insolence that was possible. In it he mentions his going over to England, but not one word of any such discourse with the King. And King Henry was not a Man of such a temper, as to permit one of Pole's quality to go out of England, and live among his Enemies, and continue his Penions to him, if he had to his face opposed him in a Matter he laid so much to heart.

Page 53. 44. He says; "Fisher of Rochester, and Holman Bishop of Bristol, wrote for the Marriage. There was no bishopric, nor Bishop of Bristol at that time, nor thirteen Years after.

Ibid. 45. 'Many are reckoned up who wrote for the Marriage in all Nations. These are neither to be compared in number, nor authority, to those who wrote against it: an hundred Books were shewed in Parliament, written by Divines, and Lawyers beyond Sea, besides the determinations of twelve of the most celebrated Universities in Europe. The Emperor did indeed give so great Rewards, and such good Benefices, to those who wrote against the King, that it is a wonder there were not more Writers of his side.

Page 56. 46. He says; "That upon Warkam Arch-Bishop of Canterbury's death, the Earl of Wiltshire told the King that he had a Chaplain, who was at his House, that would certainly serve the King in the matter of his Divorce; upon which Cranmer was promoted. Cranmer was no stranger to the King at this time: he was first recommended by the King to the Earl of Wiltshire, to be kept in his House; but was in Germany when Warkam died, and made no haste over, but delayed his Journey some months. It is true, he was of the mind that the King ought to be divorced; but this was not out of servile compliance; for when the King pressed him in other things that were against his Conscience, he expresed all the courage and constancy of mind which became so great a Prelate.

Ibid. 47. He says; "That Cranmer being to swear the Oath of Obedience to the Pope, before he was consecrated, did protest to a publick Notary, that he took it against his Will; and that he had no mind to keep his Faith to the Pope, in prejudice to the King's Authority. He did not protest that he did it unwillingly, nor was it only to a Notary, but twice at the High Altar he repeated the Protestation that he made; which was to this effect, That he intended not thereby to oblige himself to any thing, contrary to the Law of God, the King's Prerogative, or the Laws of the Land; nor to be restrained from speaking, advising, or confenting to any thing that should concern the Reformation.

48. He says; 'Cranmer did in all things so comply with the King's Page 57.' Lufts, that the King was wont to say he was the only Man that had never contradicted him in any thing he had a mind to.

Cranmer was both a good Subject, and a modest and discreet Man, and so would obey and submit as far as he might, without sin: yet when his Conscience charged him to appear against any thing that the King prefixed him to, as in the Matter of the fix Articles, he did it with much resolution and boldness.

49. He says; 'The King going over to Calais, carried Ann Boleyn Page 58, secretly with him. He carried her over in great state, having made her Marchioness of Pembroke; and in the publick Interview between him and Francis, she appeared with all possible splendor.

50. He says; 'After the King's return from France, he brought the Page 59. Action of Premunire against all the Clergy. This is an Error of two Years; for so long before this Voyage to France was that Action begun; and the Clergy about 18 months before had made their Submission, and obtained their Pardon in March 1531, which appears by the printed Statutes, and the King went over to France in September 1532; so that it is clear Sanders never looked for any verification of what he wrote.

51. He says; 'The King, by an unheard-of Tyranny, and a new Ibid. Calumny, brought this Charge against the Clergy. These Laws upon which the Charge was founded, had been oft renewed: they were first made under Edward the First, by reason of the Papal Encroachments that gave the rise to them; they were oft confirmed by Edward the Third, Richard the Second, Henry the Fourth, and Henry the Fifth, with the Concurrence of their Parliaments; so the Charge was neither new nor Tyrannical.

52. He says; 'The Clergy submitted to the King, being betrayed by Ibid. their Metropolitans, Cranmer and Lee. The submission was made two Years before Cranmer was Arch-Bishop, in March 1531, and Cranmer was Consecrated in March 1533. but at that time Warham's fate in Canterbury; as for Lee, he opposed it for some time.

53. He says; 'The whole Clergy petitioned the King, to forgive Ibid. their Crime, according to that Supreme Power which he had over all the Clergy and Laity, within his Kingdom; from whence the King's Counsellors took occasion afterwards to call him Supream Head. The Clergy did, in the Title of their Submission, call the King in formal Terms, Supream Head of the Church and Clergie of England, as far as by the Law of Christ is lawful: to which Fisher, with the rest of the Convocation, subscribed. And all this was done when More was Chancellor.

54. He
Page 62. 54. He says; 'When the King went to marry Ann Boleyn, he perswaded Rowland Lee, made soon after Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, to officiate in it, affirming he had obtain'd a Bull for it from Rome, which was then lying in his Cabinet. Upon which Lee giving credit to what he had, did marry them.

This is another trial of Sanders's wit, to excufe Lee, who tho at this time he complied absolutely with the King, yet did afterwards turn over to the Popish Party; therefore to make him look a little clean, this Story must be forged. But at that time all the World saw that the Pope and the Emperor were so linked together, that Lee could not but know that no such thing was possible. And he was so obficious to the King, that such Arts were necefsary to perswade him to any thing the King had a mind to.

Page 67. 55. For five pages he runs out in repetition of all those foul Lyes concerning Ann Boleyn, by which he defigned both to disgrace the Reformers, who were supported by her, and to defame her Daughter Queen Elizabeth, which have been before confuted: After that he says, 'Queen Katherine, with three Maids and a small Family, retired into the Country.

She had both the respect of a Prince's Dowager, and all the Jointure contracted to her by Prince Arthur; so she could not be driven to that straitnefs; but this must go for an Ornament in the Fable.

Page 71. 56. He says; 'It was concluded that Cranmer might be more free to pass Sentence, that there should be an Oath imposed on the Clergy, for paying the fame Obedience to the King that they had paid the Pope: Upon which he tells a long formal Story, for two pages, That 'it was resolved to draw Fijher into it, to swear Obedience to the King in all Eclesiatical Causes, with that exception, as far as is lawful, according to the Word of God; which it was, and perswaded others to do it; and upon this Cranmer taking the New Oath, went and pronounced Judgment for Divorce.

There is not one tittle of this true, for there was no Oath sworn about the King's Supremacy at this time. The Story of Fijher, is that which was done by the Convocation two Years before Cranmer's preferment, nor was there any Oath taken then, or at this time. It is true, two Years after this, Gardiner, Stokesley, and many other Bishops, did of their own accord take such an Oath; but there was no Law for it till the 28th Year of the King's Reign.

Page 72. 57. He says; 'One Richard Risey (or Roufe, according to the Records) was hired by Ann Boleyn to poison Fijher. Roufe was boiled alive for poisoning the Bishop's Family, but did not discover any that set him on it; Which none can think but he would have done, if the Queen had hired him to it, and had then deserted him, to perish in fo horrid a manner.

Page 73. 58. He says; 'Cranmer being by Authority of Parliament freed from his Oath to the Pope, and bound by a new one to the King, went now confidently to pronounce Sentence.
The Parliament did not put down the Pope's Authority for eight months after this, and appointed no new Oath till three Years after; For Cranmer sat in Judgment as Primate of England, and Legate of the Apostolick See.

59. He says; 'Cranmer carried some Bishops with him, and having cited the Queen, without hearing her, he gave Sentence against the Marriage.

Gardiner, Stokesly, Clark, and Longland, the Bishops of Winchester, London, Bath, and Lincoln, went with him. He could not hear the Queen, when she would not appear: but he examined all the Instruments and Evidences that had been brought in the whole Proceeds.

60. He says; 'The Pope would not proceed against the King, till he met with the French King at Marfilles: but that the English Ambassadors did there carry so insolently, that Francis was ashamed of their behaviour; and desired the Pope to proceed against the King as he thought fit, and that he should never defend him more, but should be against him.

Here the Romance goes on too grossly, for the Pope and the French King agreed at Marfilles to bring this matter to an issue: the Pope declared he thought the King's Cause was just and right; and promised, if the King would send a full Submission to Rome, he would give Sentence in his Favour: Upon which the French King sent over the Bishop of Paris, who prevailed with the King to do it; tho' this afterwards came to nothing. It is true, Bonner who was always officious and forward when there was anything to be got by it, being sent to Marfilles by the King, to deliver an Appeal in the King's Name to the Pope, to the next General Council; and perhaps knowing nothing of the private Transactions between the Pope and the French King, it being a Secret of too great importance to be communicated to such a hot-brained Man, did deliver his Message to the Pope in such provoking Language, that the Pope talked of throwing him into a boiling Cauldron; and he was fain to fly for it.

61. He says; 'The Pope returning to Italy, after he had again most carefully reviewed the whole Cause, gave sentence.

This was so precipitated, that they would not stay six days beyond the time which they prefixed, for the return of the Messenger that was sent to England; but dispatched that, which by the forms of their Court should have been done in three Quarter Sessions, all in one day.

62. He says; 'Upon this Sentence, the King being enraged, did command Queen Katherine to be only called Princess, and declared her Daughter the Lady Mary a Bastard.

Both these were done five months before the Pope's Sentence, and soon after, the Sentence was pronounced by Cranmer. And these were the natural consequences of it; for the Marriage being annulled, neither could the be longer a Queen, nor her Daughter Princess any more.

63. He says; 'The King imprisoned E. Forest a Franciscan Ob- servant, a most holy and learned Man, for contradicting Latimer, when
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'when he was enveighing against the Pope's Authority.

Concerning this Forest, I have seen an Original Letter of one List a Friar of the same Houfe, a Year after this, that says, Forest was a great scandal to their Houfe, and was very ignorant: and that tho' he had been much against the King in his Marriage, yet he had then inflamed himself into his favour, of which many of the Houfe, who were for the King's Cause, had great apprehensions. In the same Letter he writes how cruel they were against any of their Brethren, who they thought discovered anything that was done among them; and that one Rain-croft, a Brother, whom they suspected to have informed what passed among them, was cruelly used, and kept in Prison till he died; which he chiefly imputes to Forest. This Friar swore the King's Supremacy, and yet at the same time was persuading others not to do it; and being questioned upon it, said, He took the Oath only with his Outward, but not with his Inward Man; and for that, and his denying the Gospel, he was burnt as an obdurate Heretic.

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64. He says; 'Abell, Powel, and Fetherston, were put in Prison because they consulted with the Maid of Kent.

This is only charged upon the former of these, but the two latter are not accused of any such thing.

Ibid.

65. He says; 'Elizabeth being born the 8th of September, but five months after the King had publickly married her Mother, could not be the lawful Issue of that Marriage.

This is a malicious Lye, for himself confessed that the King was married to her Mother the 14th of November the former Year; between which, and the 8th of September, there were ten months; nor was the King ever after that married publickly to the Queen. For what he calls a publick Marriage, was only the shewing her openly as Queen. But the design of this Lye is so visible, that it needs not be opened.

Ibid.

66. He says; 'The King's Daughter Mary, who was then present, could never be induced to think she was the King's Child.

In the former page he said, 'Mary was sent to her Mother; and now forgetting himself too soon, he says, she was present when Elizabeth was born. What Mary's thoughts were, none can tell, but the publickly acknowledged her to be her Sister, tho' she did not use her as one.

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67. He says; 'Elizabeth Barton, who was famed for her Sanctity, and fix with her, who thought she was inspired by the Holy Ghost, were accused in Parliament.

These fix knew that she was not inspired; and that all that was given out about her, was a contrivance of theirs, who had instructed her to play such Tricks, as was proved by their own Confessions, and other Evidences.

Ibid.

68. He says; 'They all died very constantly: and on the Margent calls them seven Martyrs.

The Nun her self acknowledged the Imposture at her Death, and laid the heaviest weight of it, on the Priests that suffered with her, who
had taught her the Cheat: so that they died both for Treason and Impoffure. And this being Sanders's Faith, as appeared by his Works, they were indeed Martyrs for it.

69. He says; 'Mere and Fisher having examined her, could see no ground to think she was acted by a Fanatical Spirit, as it was given out.

It was not given out that she was acted by a Fanatical Spirit, for that had been more honest; but her Spirit was cheating and knavery. More cleared himself, and looked on her as a weak Woman, and commonly called her the Silly Maid: But Fisher did dillow her, when the Cheat was discovered, though he had given her too much encouragement before.

70. He says; 'The thing the prophesied came to pass; which was, Page 81.

That Mary should be Queen of England.

The thing for which she and her Complises were attainted of Treafon, was, that the faid, If the King married Ann Boleyn, he fhould not be a King a month longer, and not an hour longer in the fight of God, and fhould die a Villains Death. But it did not serve Sanders's ends to tell this.

71. He says; 'The day she fuffered, many of the Nobility came and swore to the Succession of the Illue of the King's Marriage with Queen Ann, before the Arch-Bifhop of Canterbury, the Lord Chanfellor, and Crollmel.

Both Houfes of Parliament, did in the Houfe of Lords take that Oath, on the day of their Prorogation, which was the 30th of March, as appears by the second Act of the next Session: and the Nun, with her Complises, did not fuffer till the 21 of April after.

72. He says; 'The Francifcans of the Obfervance, chiefly two Faibers in London, Elfton and Payton, did, both in their Sermons and publiffick Diuffutes, refufe the King's Marriage with Q. Katherine.

Elfton and Payton, were not of London but of Greenwich. They compared the King to Aehab, and faid, in the Pulpit, to his face, The Dogs fhall lick his Blood; with many other fhuch virulent Expressions. But to rail at a Prince with the moft fpiteful Repreffes that could be, was a part of Sanders's Faith: and fo no wonde thofe pafs for Confefors, when Elizabeth Barton and her Complises are reckoned Martyrs.

73. He says; 'Tonftal Bifhop of Durefine; was ordered by the King's Meffengers, not to come to the Session of Parliament 26 Regni, in which the King's Supremacy was established.

In this he is safer than in fome other Stories; for the Journals of that Session are loft, fo the fallfhood of this cannot be demonftrated: yet it is not at all likely, that he who justified all that was done in the former Session, in which the Pope's Power was put down, the nomination of Bishops annexed to the Crown, a Reformation of Ecclefaftical Laws appointed to be made, in defence of all which he wrote afterwards, was now fo ferupulous as to be ordered to stay at home. But Tonftal suffering im-
prisonment in Edward the Sixth's time, it was fit to use some art to shew that he was unwillingly brought to comply with the King.

Ibid. 74. 'He, to shew God's Judgments on the chief Instruments that served the King, says, That the Duke of Norfolk, was by the King condemned to perpetual Imprisonment. This bewrays palpable Ignorance, since he was attainted of High-Treason the very day before the King's death, and should have suffered the next day, if the King's Death had not prevented it. But since he will defiance on the Providence of God, he should rather have concluded, that his escape so narrowly was a sign of God's great care of him.

Ibid. 75. In the Session of Parliament that met the third of November (as he describes it, which was the 26th Year of the King's Reign) he says, 'Mary the King's Daughter was illegitimated, and all her Honours were transferred on Elizabeth, and the Pope's Power put down. This shews he never looked on our publick Statutes; otherwise he had seen that these Acts passed in the former Session.

Page 84. 76. He says, 'When the King sent his Ambassadors to the French Court, Francis would not so much as hear them give a Juffification of the King's proceedings. How true this can be, the World may judge, since these two Kings continued in a firm Alliance eight years after this. And Francis did often treat, both with him and the Princes of Germany, about these things, and was inclined to do almoet all that he did.

Ibid. 77. He says, 'The Lutherans did so abominate the Grounds of his Separation from Rome, that they could never be induced to approve it; for which he cites Cochlaeus, an Author of his own Kidney. They did condemn the King's first Marriage as unlawful, and thought the Pope's Dispensation had no force: and so far they approved it. But they had this singular Opinion, that he should have continued unmarried as long as Queen Katherine lived. Yet in that they were so modest, that they only desired to be excused, as to the second Marriage: which confederating that Queen Ann favoured their Doctrine, and that by an absolute compliance with what the King had done, they might have secured his Protection to themselves, whom otherwise they provoked highly, is an evidence of a strict adhering to what their Consciences dictated, that cannot be sufficiently commended.

Page 85. 78. He says, 'The King made many write Apologies for what he did; which some did willingly, being tainted with Heresy, others unwillingly, and for fear, as Gardiner and Tomstall. In this he shews how little judgment he had of the Nature of things, when he thinks to excuse their Writing for the King, as extorted by force: To have done it through Error and Mistake, was much the former Excuse: but to make them Men of such prostituted Consciences, as not only to subscribe and swear, but to write with Learning and Zeal, and yet against their Consciences, represents them guilty of unexpressible bafeness. Indeed Gardiner was a Man like enough to write any thing that
that might please the King; but Tenstall was a Man of greater probity, than to have done so unworthy a thing upon any account whatsoever. But since he mentioned Writers, he should have named Langland Bishop of Lincoln, Stokesley Bishop of London, and above all, Bonner, who did officiously thrust himself into the Debate, by writing a Preface to Gardiner’s Book, with the greatest vehemence that could be. But the Blood he shed afterwards did so endear him to this Author, that all past Faults were forgiven, and to be clean forgotten.

79. He says; ‘Five Martyrs suffered, because they would not swear the King’s Supremacy, according to the Law that was then passed. There was no such Law made at that time, nor could any such Oath be then put to them. The only Oath which the Parliament had enacted, was the Oath of the Succession, and the refusing it, was only imprisonment of Treason, and was not punishable by Death. But it was for denying the King’s Supremacy, and for writing and speaking both against it, and his Marriage, that they suffered according to Law.

80. He says; ‘Cromwell threatened the Jury in the King’s Name, with certain Death, if they did not bring them in Guilty. Every Body that knows the Law of England, will soon conclude this to be a Lye: for no such Threatnings were ever made in Trials in this Nation: Nor was there any need at this time: for the Law was so plain, and their Facts so clearly proved, that the Jury could not refuse to bring them in Guilty.

81. He says; The three Carthusians that suffered, were made stand upright, and in one place, fourteen days together, with Irons about their Necks, Arms, and Legs, before they died: and then with great pomp he describes their Death in all its parts, as if it had been a new-invented Cruelty, it being the Death which the Law appoints for Traitors. He tells, that Cromwell lamented that others of them had died in their Cells, and so prevented his Cruelty. He also adds a long story of the severities against the Franciscans.

All this he drew from his learning in the Legend. The English Nation knows none of these Cruelties, in which the Spanish Inquisitors are very expert. I find, by some Original Letters, that the Carthusians, who were shut up in their Cells, lived about a Year after this; so if Cromwell had designed to take away their lives, he wanted not opportunities: but it appears from what More writ in his Imprisonment, that Cromwell was not a cruel Man, but on the contrary, merciful and gentle. And for the Franciscans, tho they had offended the King highly, two of them railing spitefully at him to his Face, in his Chappel at Greenwich: Yet that was passed over with a Reproof, from which it appears that he was not easily provoked against them. So all that Relation which he gives, being without any Authority, must pass for a part of the Pocm.

82. He says; ‘The Bishop of Rochester was condemned, because he would not acknowledge the King’s Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Matters.
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He was never pressed to acknowledge it, but was condemned for denying it, and speaking against it; for had he kept his Opinion to himself, he could not have been questioned. But the denying the King's Titles, of which his being Supremacy Head was one, was by the Law Treatise; so he was tried for speaking against it, and not for his not acknowledging it.

Page 93. 83. 'He runs out in an high commendation of Fisher, and among other things, mentions his Episcopal and Apostolical Charity.

His Charity was burning indeed. He was a mercifls Protector of Heretics, so that the rigor of the Law, under which he fell, was the same measure that he had measured out to others.

Page 100. 84. Sanders will let the World see how carefully he had read the Legend, and how skilfully he could write after that Copy, in a pretty Fabulous Story concerning More's Death; to whom I will deny none of the Praifer due to his Memory, for his great Learning, and singular Pobity; nor had he any blemish, but what flowed from the Leave of that cruel Religion, which carried him to great Severities against those that preached for a Reformation. His Daughter Refer was a Woman of great Vertue, and worthy of such a Father, who needed none of Sanders's Art to represent her well to the World. His Story is; 'That the morning her Father died, she went about distributing all the Mony she had, in Alms to the Poor: And at last was at her Prayers in a Church, when of a sudden she remembered that she had forgot to provide a Winding-sheet for his Body; but having no more Mony left, and not being well known in that place, the apprehended they would not give her credit: Yet she went to a Linen-Drapers Shop, and calling for so much Cloth, she put her hand in her Pocket, knowing she had nothing in it, but intending to make an excuse, and try if they would trust her. But by a Miracle she found the price of the Sheet, and neither more nor less, was conveyed into her Pocket.

This is such a lively essay of the Man's Spirit that invented it, that I leave it without any further Commentary.

Page 105. 85. He says; 'Lee that was not in Orders, was sent to visit the Monasteries, who solicited the Chaffity of the Nuns.

He does not mention Leighton and London, the two chief Visitors, for Leighton brought in Lee: but they were of the Popish Party, and Lee was Cranmer's Friend, therefore all must be laid on him. He was in Orders, and soon after was made Dean of York. I have seen Complaints of Dr. London's soliciting the Nuns, yet I do not find Lee complained of. But since London was a perccutor of Heretics, such a small kindness, as the concealing his Name, and the turning the blame over on Lee, was not to be flood on among Friends, especially by a Man of Sanders's ingenuity.

Page 107. 86. For the correspondence between Q. Katherine and Father Forell, and the Letters that paff; since Sanders tells us not a word how he came by them, we are to look on them as a piece of the Romance.

87. He
87. He says; 'Ann Boleyn bore a monftrous and a mishaped Lump Page 114. of Flesh, when the time of her bearing another Child came.

She bore a dead Child before the time, says Hall; but there was no great reproach in that, unless made up by Sanders's wit.

88. He lays out the busines of Ann Boleyn with so much spite and malice, that we may easily see against whom he chiefly designed this part of his work. He says; 'She was found guilty of Adultery and Incest.

There was no evidence against her, but only a hear-say from the Lady Wingfield: We neither know the credit of that Lady, nor of the Person who related it in her Name. It is true, Mark Sneton did confess his Adultery with the Queen, but it was generally thought he was drawn into it by some promises that were made to him, and so cheated out of his life; but for the Queen, and the other four, they attested their innocency to the last: nor would any of those unfortunate Persons redeem their lives at so ignominious a rate, as to charge the Queen, whom they declared they knew to be innocent; so that all the evidence against her, was an hear-say of a Woman that was dead, the Confession of a poor Musician, and some idle words her self spoke of the Discourses that had passed between her, and some of those Gentlemen.

89. He says; 'Foreigners did generally rejoice at her fall: and to prove this, he cites Cockleburs words, that only shew that Author's ill Opinion of her.

The Germans had so great a value of her, that all their correspondence with the King fell to the ground with her: but he may well cite Cocklebur, an Author of the same honesty with himself, from whose Writings we may with the like security make a judgment of Foreign Matters, as we may upon Sanders's Testimony believe the account he gives of English Affairs.

90. He tells us, among other things done by the King, and picks it out as the only instance he mentions of the King's Injunction. 'That the People should be taught in Churches the Lord's Prayer, the Ave, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in English.

It seems this Author thought the giving these Elements of Religion to the People in the vulgar tongue, a very heinous Crime, when this is singled out from all the rest.

91. 'That being done, he says, there was next a Book published, Ibid. called Articles, appointed by the King's Majesty, which were the Six Articles.

This swears that he either had no information of English Affairs, or was sleeping when he wrote this: for the six Articles were not published soon after the Injunctions, as he makes it, by the same Parliament and Convocation, but three years after, by another Parliament: They were never put in a Book, nor published in the King's Name; they were Enacted in Parliament, and are neither more nor less than 25 lines
lines in the first Impression of that Act; so far short come they of a Book.

Page 119. 92. He reckons up very defectively the Differences between the Church of Rome, and the Doctrine set forth by the King's Authority: but in one Point he shews his ordinary wit; for in the sixth particular, he says, 'He retained the Sacrament of Order, but appointed a new Form of Consecrating of Bishops.

This he put in out of Malice, that he might annul the Ordinations of that Time: but the thing is false: for except that the Bishops, instead of their Oaths of Obedience to the Pope, which they formerly swore, did now swear to the King, there was no other Change made; and that to be sure, is no part of the Form of Consecration.

Page 120. 93. He resolved once to speak what he thought was Truth, tho' it be treasonable and impious: and says, 'Upon these Changes, many in Lincolnsire, and the Northern parts, did rise for Religion, and the Faith of Christ.

This was indeed the Motive by which their seditious Priests misled them; yet he is mistaken in the Time, for it was not after the six Articles were published, but almost three Years before it. Nor was it for the Faith of Christ, which teaches us to be humble, subject, and obedient; but because the King was removing some of the Corruptions of that Faith, which their false Teachers did impiously call the Faith of Christ.

Ibid. 94. He says; 'The King did promise most faithfully, that all these things of which they complained, should be amended.

This is so evidently false, that it is plain Sanders resolved dexterously to avoid the speaking of any sort of Truth: for the King did fully and formally tell them, he would not be directed nor counselled by them in these Points they complained of; and did only offer them an Amnestey for what was past.

Page 121. 95. 'Then he reckons up 32 that died for the Defence of the Faith.

They were attainted of Treason, for being in actual Rebellion against the King; and thus it appears that Rebellion was the Faith in his sense: and himself died for it, or rather in it, having been starved to death in a Wood, to which he fled after one of his rebellious Attempts on his Soveraign, in which he was the Pope's Nuncio.

Page 122. 96. He says: 'The King killed the Earl of Kildare, and five of his Uncles.

By this strange way of expressing a legal Attainder, and the execution of a Sentence for manifest Treason and Rebellion, he would iniminate on the Reader, a fancy, that one of Bonner's cruel Fits had taken the King, and that he had killed those with his own hand. The Lord Herbert has fully opened that part of the History, from the Records that he saw; and shews that a more resolv'd Rebellion could not be, than that was, of which the Earl of Kildare and his Uncles were Guilty.
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But because they sent to the Pope and Emperor for Assistance, the Earl desiring to hold the Kingdom of Ireland of the Pope, since the King by his Herefy had fallen from his Right to it, Sanders must needs have a great kindness for their Memory, who thus suffered for his Faith.

97. He says; 'Queen Jane Seymour being in hard labour of Prince Edward, the King ordered her Body to be so opened by Surgeons, that the died soon after.

All this is false, for she had a good Delivery, as many Original Letters written by her Council (that have been since printed) do shew, but the died two days after of a Distemper incident to her Sex.

98. He sets down some Passages of Cardinal Pole's Heroical Constancy; which being proved by no Evidence, and not being told by any other Writer, (whom I ever saw) are to be look'd on as the flourishes of the Poet to set off the Poet.

99. He would perfwade the World, that the Marquess of Exeter, the Lord Montacute, and the rest that suffered at that Time, died, because they were believed to dislike the King's Wicked Proceedings; and that the Countess of Sarrum was beheaded on this single account, that she was the Mother of such a Son, and was sincerely addicted to the Catholick Faith; and that she was condemned because she wrote to her Son, and for wearing in her Breast, the Picture of the five Wounds of Christ.

The Marquess of Exeter pretended he was well satisfied with the King's Proceedings, and was Lord Stewart when the Lords Darcy and Hussey were tried, and he gave Judgment against them. But it being discovered that he and other Persons approved of Cardinal Pole's Proceedings, who endeavoured to engage all Christian Princes in a League against the King, pursuant to which they had expressed themselves, on several Occasions, resolved, when a fit opportunity offered itself, to rebel; it was no wonder if the King proceeded against them according to Law. And for the Countess of Sarrum, tho' the legality of that Sentence passed against her cannot be defended, yet she had given great offence; not only by her correspondence with her Son, but by the Bulls she had received from Rome; and by her opposing the King's Injunctions, hindring all her Tenants to read the New Testament, or any other Books set out by the King's Order. And for the Picture, which was found among her Cloaths, it having been the Standard of the Rebellion, and the Arms of England being found on the other side of it, there was just ground to suspect an ill Design in it.

100. He says; 'The Images which the King destroyed, were by many wonderful Works of God, recommended to the Devotion of the Nation. All the wonder in these Works, was the knavery of some jugling Impostors, and the simplicity of a credulous multitude, of which see page 224, which being so openly discovered, nothing that had shame in it, could speak of them as our Author does.
Page 131. 101. He says; "Six and twenty Carts drawn with Oxen, were loaded with the Riches taken from Thomas Becket's Shrine; whom he makes a most glorious Martyr, that died for the defence of the Faith, and was honoured by many Miracles after his death.

Other Writers have sufficiently shewed what a perfidious, ingrateful, and turbulent Priest he was. All these were Vertues in our Author's Opinion, and Ingredients in his Faith. But he has in this Account of the Riches of the Shrine, gone beyond himself, having by a figure of Speech very familiar to him, (called Lying) increased two Chests (see page 224.) to 26 Cart Loads.

Page 132. 102. He says; "The Sentence which P. Paul gave out against the King, was affixed in some Towns, both in France, Flanders, and Scotland; from which he infers, that both the Emperor, the French, and the Scotch King, did consent to that Sentence.

In this he design'd an eminent piece of Service to the Apostolick See, to leave on Record an Evidence, that three Sovereign Princes had acknowledged the Pope's Power of depoying Kings. But he did ill to name the Proofs of his Assertion, and had done better to have said simply that it was so, than to have founded it on so ill grounds: as if the affixing Papal Bulls in a place, were an evidence that the Princes, in whose Dominions it was done, consented to it. He might with the same reason have concluded, that Q. Elizabeth consented to the Sentence against her self; which it is very like will not be easily believed, tho' the Bull was affixed in London. But all those very Princes whom he names, continuing to keep up their correspondence with the King, as well after as before this Sentence, is a much clearer demonstration that they despis'd the Pope's Sentence.

Page 134. 103. He says; "The King, by his own Authority, threw all the Begging Orders out of their Houses.

The Falsohood of this hath appeared already, for they resigned their Houses to the King; and of these Resignations, the many were destroy'd, yet near an hundred are still extant.

Ibid. 104. He says; "The Parliament, in the Year 1539, gave the King all the great Monasteries.

The Parliament passed no such Act; all that they did, was only to confirm the Grants made, or to be made by these Houses to the King. It was their Surrenders that cloathed the King with the Right to them. All the Tragical Stories he tells us that followed upon this, are founded on a falfe Foundation.

Page 135. 105. He sets down a Form of a Resignation, which he says, "All the Abbots, and many Religious Persons, were made to sign and set their Seals to it.

Among all the Resignations which are yet extant, there is not one in this Form; for which see page 238.

106. He
106. He says; The King's Commissionrs, who went about getting Page 136. hands to that form, made them believe, in every house, that all the rest had signed it; and so by that, and other perjuries, prevailed with many to set their hands to it.

If all the subscriptions had been procured about the same time, such arts might be suspected: but in a thing that was three years a-doing, these tricks could not have served their turn.

107. He says; They told the monks, that tho' the King might, by laid. virtue of the act of parliament, seize on their houses and rents, yet he desired rather to do it with their good-will.

In this there are two errors; first, most of these houses were resigned to the King before the act of parliament; see pag. 235. and next, the act of parliament only confirmed their deeds, but did not give their houses to the king.

108. He says; The Abbots of glassenbury, colchester, and reading, page 137. suffered martyrdom, because they refused to set their hands to that writing.

There was no such writing ever offered to them; nor was there any law to force them to resign; so they could not suffer on that account, but they were martyrs for Sanders's faith, for they were attained by a legal trial of high treason.

109. He tells a long story of Whitting abbot of glassenbury's being page 138. brought up to London, to be prevailed with to set his hand to the surrender. Which he still refusing to do, was sent back; and tho' a book against the king's divorce was found among his papers, which was laid there by those who searched for it; yet that was past over in a chiding: but as he went home, hearing there was a meeting of the county at wells, he went thither; and as he was going up to his place on the bench, he was called to the bar to answer some things that were to be objected to him: He was amazed at it, and asked what the matter was? But one told him, he needed fear nothing, for some-what was only to be done for form, to terrify others: Upon which he was condemned and sent away to his Abbey, little thinking he was so near his end; but when he came near it, a priest was sent to him to take his confession, for they told him he must die immediately; he begged a day or two's respite, but in vain: so they hanged him up in his habit, on the top of the hill near his Abbey, and quartered him; and all this was done in one day.

This book came out in foreign parts, and was printed at Rome, in the reign of Sixtus the Fifth, who took great pleasure in such executions, as he describes this to have been; which may fall oft out, where the lives of the subjects are wholly at the prince's mercy: But to tell such tales of England, which is so famed over the world for the safety and security the subjects enjoy, and for the regular and legal proceedings in all trials, especially of life and death, was a great error in the poet; for the decorum of the laws and customs of a place must be observed, when any nation is made the scene of a fable. But as no thing

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thing like this can be done by the Law of England, so there was nothing of it in this Cafe: The Jury that sat on him, where Men of great credit in the Country: when he died, he acknowledged his Offences; and with appearance of repentance, begged God’s Pardon, and the King’s: see p. 239.

Page 145. 110. After many bitter Invectives against Cromwel, for which I could never see good Evidence, tho I cannot disprove them by any convincing Arguments, he says, ‘That he advised the King to make a Law, that Perfons might be Convened and Condemned in abstinence, and without being heard: and that this Law first of all fell upon himself.

There was no such Law ever made, only the Parliament by their Supream Authority, did Attaint some in that manner, but no other Court might do it. Nor was this first applied to Cromwel, for a Year before his Attinder, the Countefs of Sarum, with a great many more, were so attainted, tho she did not suffer till a Year after him.

Ibid. 111. He tells many Reasons why the King had a mind to put away Ann of Cleve: But in this, as in other things, he betrays a profound ignorance of that Time; for every Body knew, that the King, from the first time he saw her, disliked her, and that he never consummated the Marriage.

This is a Subject not fit to be long dwelt on: but if any will compare the Account I give of this Matter from the Records, with Sanders’s Tale, they will see that he wrote at random, and did not so much as know Publick Transactions.

Page 146. 112. He says, ‘The King had promised to the Emperor, That he would no longer continue in the Smaladlick League; but Cromwel counterfeited the King’s Hand, to a new confirmation of it; which coming to the Emperor’s knowledg, he challenged the King of it: and sent him over a Copy of it, upon which the King disowned it, and cast it on Cromwel; and that this was the cause of his fall.

This I believe is one of Sanders’s Dreams: there is not one word of it in Cromwel’s Attinder; nor do I find the least shadow of this in some Original Letters which he wrote to the King for his Pardon, in which he answers many of the things laid to his Charge. Nor is it likely he would adventure on so bold a thing, with such a King, nor could the Emperor have that Writing in his power, as long as the King lived: for it is not to be imagined how he could come by it, till he had taken the Duke of Saxony Prisoner, which was after this King’s Death.

Page 148. 113. He says, ‘When Cromwel was put to death, the King proceeded to the Divorce of Ann of Cleve.

The Divorce was judged by the Convocation, eight days before Cromwel’s Death, and confirmed in Parliament, which was dissolved before he suffered.

Ibid. 114. He says, ‘The King sent to her, to tell her, he had a mind to be separated from her; and tho he could proceed more severely against
against her, since he knew she was an Heretick, & yet for her Families.

The does he leave it to her self to devise any Reason for their Divorce:

Upon which she came next day to the Senate, (which may be either

to the King's Council, or the Parliament,) and confessed she had been

married to another before she was married to the King; and there-

upon, by the Authority of Parliament, he was divorced, and within

eight days married Katherine Howard.

There are but six gross Errors in this Period. 1. The King sent not

any Message to her, nor came there any Answer from her, till the Sen-

tence of Divorce was quite passed. 2. In the Original Letter which

those he sent to her, wrote to him from Richmond, it appears that they

used no threatenings to her, but barely told her what was done, to

which she acquiesced. 3. She never came from Richmond in all that

Process, and did make no such declaration in the Senate. 4. She did

did not say that she was married to another, but only that she had been

contracted to the Prince of Lorrain when she was under Age. 5. The

Parliament did not dissolve the Marriage, but only confirmed the Sen-

tence of the Convocation. 6. The King did not marry Katherine

Howard before the 8th of August, and the Divorce was Judged the

10th of July, a month wanting two days.

115. He says: 'The King had consummated the Marriage for seven Page 149.

months together.

There were but six months between his Marriage and the Divorce;

and in all that while, as they bedded but seldom, so there were very

clear Evidences brought, that it was not consummated.

116. He says: 'The King sent the Bishop of Winchester and Sir Hen-

ry Knevett, to the Diet of the Empire; who were ordered to propose

to the Emperor, That the King might be again reconciled to the See

of Rome; to which, he adds, his Conscience did drive him; but since

the King would not confess his past Crimes, nor do Penance for them,

nor restore the Goods of the Church, it came to nothing.

This is another Ornament of the Fable, to show the Poet's wit; but

is as void of Truth, as any passage in Plautus or Terence is. For the

King was all his Life so intractable in that Point, that the Popish Party

had no other way to maintain their Interest with him, but to comply,

not without affectation in that Matter: and when an Information was

given against Gardiner, for his holding some correspondence with the

Pope's Legate at the Diet, he got the Man who had innocently disco-

covered it, to be put in Prison; and said, it was a Plot against him to

ruin him, which he needed not be so solicitous about, if his Instructions

from the King had allowed him to enter on such a Treaty.

117. He runs out in a long digression, upon the King's assuming the Page 153:

Title of King of Ireland, to shew that the Kings of England only hold

Ireland by the Pope's Donation.

In this Sanders shews his Art, he being to carry the Standard of Rebel-

lion in that Kingdom, to blast the King's Right to it. He acknowledges

the Crown of England had the Dominion of Ireland, with the Title of

Lord of Ireland, about 400 Years: And certainly if so long a postrilion

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does not give a good Title, and a prescription against all other Pretenders, most of the Royal Families in Christendom will be to seek for their Rights. But he says, it was given by the Pope to King Henry the Second; and yet he confesses that he had conquered some parts of it, before that Grant was sent him by Hadrian the Fourth. Certainly King Henry the Second had as good a right to take it, as Pope Hadrian had to give it: Nor was the King's accepting the Pope's Donation, any prejudice to his Title: for Things extorted or allowed upon a publick Error, can have no force, when that is openly discovered. If then the Super- fiction of those Ages, made, that the Pope's Donation was a great help to any Pretender, it was no wonder that Kings made use of it; but it were a wonder indeed if they should acknowledge it, after the Trick is known and seen by all.

Page 162. 118. After this, and a Satyr against Queen Elizabeth for assuming the Title, Defender of the Faith, and a long enumeration of the exactions in the last Year's of this Reign; in which, tho' there be Matter enough for severe Complaints, yet many of the Particulars he mentions are without any proof, and must rest on the Author's credit; which by this time, the Reader will acknowledg is not very great. Another long discourse of some length follows, of the Misfortunes of the Duke of Norfolk, and of all that served the King in his Divorce, and in the following Actions of his Life: from which he infers, that these were effects of a Curse from Heaven upon all that he did, and on all those that assisted him: But as the Inference is bad, so he forgot to mention those Noble Families that were raised in his Time, and have continued since in great Honour; as the Seymours, from whom the Dukes of Somerset are descended; the Paulets, from whom the Marquess of Winchester derives; the Ruffells, Wriathstices, Heriberts, Richers, and Cromwells, from whom the Earls of Bedford, Southampton, Pembroke, Essex, and Ardglas have descended; and the Browns, the Pettes, the Pagets, the Norths, and the Montaguers, from whom the Vice-Count Mountague, the Barons Petre, Paget, North, and Mountague, are descended. These Families have now flourished in great Wealth and Honour an Age and a half; and only one of them has, and that but very lately, determined in the Male Line: but the Illustrious Female Branches of it are intermixed with other Noble Families. So that the Observation is false, and the Inference is weak.

Page 164. 119. He says, 'When the King found his strength declining, he had again some thoughts of reconciling himself to the Church of Rome; which when it was proposed to one of the Bishops, he made a flattering Answer. But Gardiner moved that a Parliament might be called for doing it: and that the King, for the quiet of his Own Conscience, would vow to do it; of which God would accept in that extremity, when more was not possible to be done. But some of his Courtsiers coming about him, who were very apprehensive of such a Reconciliation, left they should have been made. And yet he minded that what the King had done, was against his Conscience, and that so he sinned the Sin against the Holy Ghost.
An Appendix.

I shall not examine this Theological Definition of the Sin against the Holy Ghost; for my Quarrel is not at present with his Divinity, but with his History, tho' it was easy to shew that he is alike at both. But for this Story, it is a pure Dream; for not only there is no Evidence for it, nor did Gardiner in the Reign of Queen Mary ever own any such thing, tho' it had been then much for the credit of their Cause, especially being often upbraided with his compliances to this King, for which the mention of his Repentance had furnished him with a good Answer: But as the Tale is told, the Fiction appears too plainly, for a Parliament was actually sitting during the King's Sickness, which was dissolved by his Death, and no such Proposition was made in it. The King on the contrary destroyed the chief hopes of the Popish Party, which were founded on the Duke of Norfolk's greatnes, by the Attainder which was passed a day before he died. And yet Sanders makes this Diffcourage to have been between the King and Gardiner after his fall, and his Sons Death; between which, and the King's Death, there were only nine days; but besides all this, Gardiner had lost the King's Favour a considerable time before his Death.

120. He says; 'The King, that he might not seem never to have done any good Work in his whole Life, as he was dying, founded Chriss's Church Hospital in London; which was all the Restitution he ever made for the Monasteries and Churches he had robbed and spoileled.

If it had not already appeared, in many Inflances, that our Author had as little shame as honesty, here is a suflicient proof of it. I will not undertake to justify the King, as if he had done what he ought to have done, in his new Foundations: But it is the height of impudence to deny things that all England knows. He founded fix Bishopricks; he endowed Deans and Prebendaries, with all the other Offices belonging to a Cathedral, in fourteen several Sees, Canterbury, Winchester, Duremaine, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Worcester, and Carlisle; together with Westminster, Chester, Oxford, Gloucester, Peterborough, and Brifol, where he endowed Bishopricks likewise. He founded many Grammar-Schools, as Burton, Canterbury, Coventry, Worcester, &c. He founded and endowed Trinity Collidge in Cambridge, which is one of the noblest Foundations in Christendom. He also founded Professors in both Universities, for Greek, Hebrew, Law, Physick, and Divinity. What censure then deserves our Author, for saying, That the Hospital of Christ's-Church, was all the Restitution he ever made of the Church-Lands?

121. He gives a Character of the King, which suits very well with his History, his Malice in it being extravagantly ridiculous. Among other things, he says; 'The King promoted always learned Bishops, Cranmer only being excepted, whom he advanced to serve his Lufs.

Cranmer was a Man of greater Learning than any that ever sat in that See before him, as appears in every thing that he writ: Tomitul was a learned Man, and Gardiner was much esteemed for Learning; yet if any will compare Cranmer's Books of the Sacrament, with those the other two writ on the same Subject, there is so great a difference be-
tween the learning and solidity of the one and the other, that no Man of common ingenuity can read them but he must confess it.

Page 170. 122. He says; 'When the King found himself expiring, he called for a Boul of White-Wine, and said to one that was near him, We have lost all: and was often heard repeating Monks, Monks, and so he died. This was to make the Fable end as it had gone on, and it is forged without any authority or appearance of Truth. The manner of his Death was already told, so it needs not be repeated.

Page 172. 123. He says; 'The King by his Will appointed the Crown to go to his Righteous Heirs after his three Children, and commanded his Son to be bred a true Catholic: but his Will was changed, and another was forged, by which the Line of Scotland was excluded, and they bred his Son an Heretick.

There was no such Will ever heard of and in all the Debates that were managed in Queen Elizabeth's Reign about the Succession, those that pleaded for the Scotch Line, never allledged this; which had it been true, did put an end to the whole Controvery. It was indeed said, that the Will which was given out as the King's Will, was not signed by his Hand, nor sealed by his Order, but it was never pretended that there was any other Will: so this is one of our Author's Forgeries.

The Conclusion.

Thus I have traced him in this History, and hope I have said much more than was necessary to prove him a Writer of no credit, and that his Book ought to have no Authority; since he was not only a stranger to the Publick Transactions, Printed Statutes, and the other Authentick Registers of that Time, but was a bold and impudent Afferter of the grosseft and most malicious Lies, that ever were contrived. I have not examined all the Errors of his Chronology, for there is scarce any thing told in its right order, and due place; nor have I insisted on all the Passages he tells, without any proof, or appearance of truth; for as I could only deny these without any other evidence but what was negative, so there are so many of them, that I must have transferibed the greatest part of his Book, if I had considered them all. I have therefore only singled out these Passages, which I had in the former History demonstrated to be false: and these are both so many and so important, that I am sure, enough is said to destroy the Credit of that Author, and of his Book, which has too long deceived the World. And what is performed in this first Part, will I hope dispoifes the Reader of any ill Impressions the following parts of that Work have made on him, concerning the succeeding Reigns, of which an Account shall be given, as soon as it possibly can be made ready.
An Appendix.

I shall esteem my Time to have been well employed, and my Pains rightly placed, if my Endeavours have so good an effect, as to take off the unjust Prejudices which some may have conceived at the Changes that were then made in Religion, or at the beginnings of them; which being represented by this Author, and upon his Testimony by many other Writers, in such odious Characters to the World, are generally so ill looked on.

The Work itself was so good, done upon so much Reason, managed with such Care, directed by such Wisdom, and tempered with so great Moderation, that those who intended to blast it, did very wisely to load it with some such Prejudices: for if without these, the thing itself be examined by Men of a candid temper and solid Judgment, the Opposers of it know well where the Truth lies; and on whose side, both the Scriptures, and the best Ages of the Primitive Church have declared. But it was not fit to put a Question of such importance, on so doubtful and so dangerous an issue: therefore it was well considered by them, that some popular and easily understood Calumnies, to disgrace the beginnings of it, and the Persons that were most employed in it, were to be fastened on them; and if these could be once generally received, then Men might be alienated from it by a shorter way, than could be done by the dull and unsuccessful methods of Reason. Therefore as the Cause of our Church hath been often vindicated, by the learned Books that have been published in it; and never with more success, and a clearer victory, than of late, in the elaborate Writings (which are never to be mentioned but with honour) of the renowned Dr. Stillingsfield; so I judged it might not be an unuseful and unacceptable Work (which tho' it be of a lower form, and so most suitable to my Genius, yet will be of general use) to employ the leisure I enjoy, and the small Talent committed to me, in examining and opening the Transactions of those Times: And if those who read it, are displeased of their Prejudices, and inclined to consider things as they are now set before them, in a truer light, I have gained my end in it.

The Truths of Religion need no support from the Father of Lies. A Religion made up of Falshoods and Impostures, must be maintained by Means suitable to it self: So Sanders's Book might well serve the ends of that Church, which has all along raised its greatness by publick Cheats and Forgeries; such as the Donation of Constantine, and the Book of the Decretals; besides the vast number of Miracles and Visions that were for many Ages made use of by them; of which even the most disingenuous of their own Writers begin to be now ashamed. But the Reformation of Religion was a Work of Light, and needs none of the Arts of Darkness to justify it by. A full and distinct Narrative of what was then done, will be its Apology, as well as its History. There is no need of Artifice, but only of Industry, and Sincerity, to gather together all the remains of that Time, and put them in good order.

I am now beginning to look towards the next, and indeed the best part of this Work: Where, in the first Reign, we shall observe the active endeavours
endeavours of those Restorers of Religion. The next Reign affords a
fadder prospect of that Work laid in Ruins, and the Authors of it in
Ashes; but the Fires that consumed them, did rather spread than extin-
guish that Light which they had kindled. And what is fabled of the
Phænix, will be found true of our Church, That she rose new out of
these Ashes, into which she seemed confumed.

Towards the perfecting this History, I hope all that love the Subject
of it, will contribute their Endeavours, and furnish every thing that is
in their power, which may make it fuller or clearer: So I end with that
defire which I made in the Preface, that any who have in their Hands
any Papers relating to these Times, will be pleased to communicate them;
and what-ever assistance they give to it, shall be most thankfully owned
and acknowledged.

The End of the Appendix.

Addenda.
ADDENDA.

Numb. I. ARTICLES about Religion, set out by the Convocation, and published by the Kings Authority.

AN ORIGINAL.

HENRY the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of England, &c. Libr. and of France, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of Ireland, Clopp. E. 5, and in Earth Supream Head of the Church of England, to all and singular our most loving, faithful and obedient Subjects, greeting. Amongst other Cures committed unto this our Princely Office, whereunto it hath pleased God of his infinite mercy and goodness to call us, we have always esteemed and thought (as we also yet esteem and think) this to be most chief, most ponderous, and of most weight, that his Holy Word and Commandments may sincerely without let or hindrance, be of our Subjects truly believed, and reverently kept and observed; and that Unity and Concord in Opinions, namely in such things as does concern our Religion, may encrease and go furthward, and all occasion of Disent and Discord touching the same be represed, and utterly extinguiished; for the which cause we being of late, to our great regret, credibly advertised of such diversify in Opinions, as have grown and sprongen in this our Realm, as well concerning certain Articles necessary to our Salvation, as also touching certain honest and commendable Ceremonies, Rites, and Usages in our said Church, for an honest policy, and decent order heretofore of long time used and accustomed; minding to have that unity and agreement established through our said Church concerning the premises; and being very desirous to eschew not only the dangers of Souls, but also the outward inquietness which by occasion of the said diversify in Opinions (if remedy had not been provided) might perchance have ensued; have not only in our own person many times taken great pain, study, labour and travails, but also have caused our Bishops and other the most discreet and best learned men of our Clergy of this our whole Realm to be assembled in our Convocation, for the full debatement and quiet determination of the same: where after long and mature deliberation and disputations, had of and upon the premises, finally they have concluded and agreed upon the said matters, as well those which be commanded of God, and are necessary to our Salvation, as also the other touching the honest Ceremonies, and good and politic Order, as is a foresaid; which their determination, debatement, and agreement, forasmuch as we think to have proceeded of a good, right and true judgment, and to be agreeable to the Laws and Ordinances of God, and

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much
much profitable for the establishment of that charitable concord and
unity in our Church of England, which we most desire, we have caufed
the fame to be published, willing, requiring and commanding you to
accept, repute, and take them accordingly; most heartily desiring and
praying Almighty God, that it may please him so to illumine your
hearts, that you, and every of you, may have no less desire, zeal, and
love to the said Unity and Concord, in reading, divulging, and flowing
the fame, then we have had and have, causing them to be thus de-
viled, set forth and published. And for because we would the said Ar-
ticles, and every of them, to be taken and understood of you after
such fort, order, and degree as appertainth accordingly: We have
caufed by the like affent and agreement of our said Bishops and o-
ther Learned Men, the said Articles to be divided into two forts, that
is to say, such as are commanded expreily by God, and are neceffary
to our Salvation, and such other, as although they be not expressly
commanded of God, nor necessary to our Salvation; yet being of a long
continuance for a decent order and honest policy, prudently instituted,
are for that fame purpofe and end to be observed in like manner;
which ye following, after such fort as we have prescribed unto you,
shall not only attain that molt charitable Unity and loving Concord,
whereof shall enue your incomparable commodity, profit, and lucre,
as well spiritual as other; but also ye conforming your selves, and using
thereof our said Articles as is aforesaid, shall not a little encourage us
to take further travel, pains, and labours for your commodities in all
such other matters, as in time to come may happen to occur, and as
it shall be most to the honour of God and ours, the profit, tranquility,
and quietness of all you our molt loving Subjects.

The Articles of our Faith.

First, As touching the chief and principal Articles of our Faith, first
it is thus agreed as hereafter followeth by the whole Clergy of
this our Realm, we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct
and teach our People, by us committed to their Spiritual Charge, that
they ought and muft most contantly believe and defend all those things
to be true, which be comprehended in the whole body and Canon of
the Bible, and also in the three Creeds or Symbols, whereof one was
made by the Apostles, and is the common Creed which every man
useth; the fecond was made in the Holy Council of Nice, and is said
daily in the Mass; and the third was made by Athanasius, and is com-
prehended in the Psalm Quicumque vult; and that they ought and muft
take and interpret all the fame things according to the self-same sen-
tence and interpretation, which the words of the self-same Creeds or
Symbols do purport, and the Holy approved Doctors of the Church do
intreat and defend the fame.

Item, That they ought and muft repute, hold and take all the fame
things for the most Holy, most true, and most certain, and infallible words
of God, and such as neither ought, ne can be altered or convelved by
any contrary Opinion or Authority.

Item.
Addenda

Item, That they ought and must believe, repute and take all the Articles of our Faith contained in the said Creeds to be so necessary to be believed for man’s Salvation, that whosoever being taught will not believe them as is aforesaid, or will obstinately affirn the contrary of them, he or they cannot be the very members of Christ and his Spouse the Church, but be very Infidels or Hereticks, and members of the Devil, with whom they shall perpetually be Damned.

Item, That they ought and must most reverently and religiously observe and keep the self-same words, according to the very same form and manner of speaking, as the Articles of our Faith be already conceived and expressed in the said Creeds, without altering in any wise or varying from the same.

Item, that they ought and must utterly refuse and condemn all these opinions contrary to the said Articles, which were of long time past condemned in the four Holy Councils, that is to say, in the Council of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedonius, and all other such that time in any point consonant to the same.

The Sacrament of Baptism.

Secondly, as touching the Holy Sacrament of Baptism, we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge, that they ought and must of necessity believe certainly all those things, which hath been always by the whole consent of the Church approved, received and used in the Sacrament of Baptism; that is to say, that the Sacrament of Baptism was instituted and ordained in the New Testament by our Saviour Jesus Christ, as a thing necessary for the attaining of everlasting life, according to the saying of Christ, Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex Aqua & Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in Regnum caelestium;

Item, That it is offered unto all men, as well Infants as such as have the use of Reason, that by Baptism they shall have remission of Sins and the grace and favour of God, according to the saying of St. John, Qui crediderit & Baptizatus fuerit Salvus erit.

Item, That the promise of Grace and everlasting Life, which promise is adjoyned unto the Sacrament of Baptism, pertaineth not only unto such as have the use of Reason, but also to Infants, Inno centes, and Children; and they ought therefore and must needs be Baptized: and that by the Sacrament of Baptism they do also obtain remission of their Sins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very Sons and Children of God, insomuch as Infants and Children dying in their Infancy shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, or else not.

Item, That Infants must needs be Christened because they be born in Original Sin, which Sin must needs be remitted; which cannot be done but by the Sacrament of Baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost Qqqq
which exerciseth his Grace and Efficacy in them, and cleanseth and purifieth them from Sin by his most secret vertue and operation.

Item, That Children or Men once Baptized, can, no ought ever to be Baptized again.

Item, That they ought to repute, and take all the Anabaptists and the Pelagians opinions contrary to the premisses, and every other Mans opinion agreeable unto the said Anabaptists or the Pelagians opinions in this behalf, for detestable Heresies, and utterly to be condemned.

Item, That Men or Children having the use of Reason, and willing and desiring to be Baptized, shall by the virtue of that Holy Sacrament obtain the grace and remission of all their Sins, if they shall come thereunto perfectly and truly repentant and contrite of all their Sins before committed, and also perfectly and constantly confessing and believing all the Articles of our Faith, according as it was mentioned in the Article before, or else not.

And finally, if they shall also have firm credence and trust in the promise of God adjoyned to the said Sacrament, that is to say, that in and by this said Sacrament, which they shall receive, God the Father giveth unto them for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, remission of all their Sins, and the Grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby they be newly regenerated and made the very Children of God, according to the saying of Christ and his Apostle St. Peter, Penitentiam agite & Baptizetur vnumque vos in nomine Iesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, & acceptis domini Spiritus Sancti, and according also to the saying of St. Paul ad Titum 3, non ex operibus justitiae que fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam, salus nos fecit per leucentam regenerationis & renovations Spiritus Sancti, quem effudit in nos opulenter per Jesum Christum servatorem nostrum, ut justificati illius gratia heredes efficiamur juxta Iesum eis te eterna.

The Sacrament of Penance.

Thirdly, Concerning the Sacrament of Penance, We will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge, that they ought and must most constantly believe, that that Sacrament was instituted of Christ in the New Testament as a thing so necessary for mans Salvation, that no man which after his Baptism is fallen again and hath committed deadly Sin, can without the same be saved or obtain everlasting Life.

Item, That like-as such men which after Baptism do fall again into Sin, if they do not Penance in this Life, shall undoubtedly be damned; even so whensoever the same men shall convert themselves from the said naughty Life, and do such Penance for the same as Christ requireth of them, they shall without doubt attain remission of their Sins and shall be saved.

Item, That this Sacrament of perfect Penance which Christ requireth
eth of such manner of persons, confesseth of three parts, that is to say, Contrition, Confession, with the amendment of the former Life, and a new obedient reconciliation unto the Laws and Will of God, that is to say, exteriour Acts in works of Charity according as they be commanded of God, which be called in Scripture, *salutis digni penitentia*.

Furthermore, as touching Contrition which is the first part, We will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge, that the said Contrition confesseth in two special parts, which must always be conjoined together and cannot be disjoined; that is to say, the penitent and contrite man must first know the filthiness and abomination of his own Sin, whereunto he is brought by hearing and considering of the Will of God declared in his Laws, and feeling and perceiving in his own conscience that God is angry and displeased with him for the same; he must also conceive not only great sorrow and inward shame that he hath so grievously offended God, but also great fear of God's displeasure towards him, considering he hath no works or merits of his own which he may worthily lay before God as sufficient satisfaction for his Sins; which done then afterwards with this fear, shame and sorrow must needs succeed and be conjoined, The second part, *viz.* a certain faith, trust and confidence of the mercy and goodness of God, whereby the penitent must conceive certain hope and faith that God will forgive him his Sins, and repute him justified and of the number of his Elect Children, not for the worthiness of any merit or work done by the penitent, but for the only merits of the blood and passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Item, That this certain faith and hope is gotten and also confirmed, and made more strong by the applying of Christ's words and promises of his grace and favour contained in his Gospel, and the Sacraments instituted by him in the New Testament; and therefore to attain this certain faith, the second part of Penance is necessary, that is to say, Confession to a Priest if it may be had; for the Absolution given by the Priest was instituted of Christ to apply the promises of God's grace and favours to the Penitent.

Wherefore as touching Confession, We will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us to their Spiritual Charge, that they ought and must certainly believe that the words of Absolution pronounced by the Priest, be spoken by the Authority given to him by Christ in the Gospel.

Item, That they ought and must give no less faith and credence to the same words of Absolution so pronounced by the Ministers of the Church, than they would give unto the very words and voice of God himself if he should speak unto us out of Heaven, according to the saying of Christ, Quorum remiseritis peccato, &c. & qui vos audi me audit.

Item, That in no ways they do contemn this Auricular Confession which is made unto the Ministers of the Church, but that they ought to
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to repute the same a very expedient and necessary mean, whereby they may require and ask this Absolution at the Priests hands, at such time as they shall find their Consciences grieved with mortal Sin, and have occasion so to do, to the intent they may thereby attain certain comfort and consolation of their Consciences.

As touching the third part of Penance, We will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us to their spiritual charge, that although Christ and his death be the sufficient Oblation, Sacrifice, Satisfaction, and Recompence, for the which God the Father forgiveth and remitteth to all sinners not only their sin, but also Eternal Pain due for the same; yet all men truly penitent, contrite and confess'd, must needs also bring forth the fruits of Penance, that is to say, Prayer, Fasting, Almsdeeds, and must make Restitution or Satisfaction in will and deed to their Neighbour, in such things as they have done them wrong and injury in, and also must do all other good works of mercy and charity, and express their obedient will in the executing and fulfilling of God's Commandments outwardly, when time, power and occasion shall be ministr'd unto them, or else they shall never be faved; for this is the express Precept and Commandment of God, Agite fructus dignos penitentia; and St. Paul faith, Debites sumus, and in another place he faith, Castigo corpus mens & in servitutem redugo.

Item. That these precepts and works of Charity be necessary works to our Salvation, and God necessarily requireth that every penitent man shall perform the same, whenever time, power, and occasion shall be ministr'd unto him so to do.

Item. That by Penance and such good works of the same, we shall not only obtain everlasting Life; but also we shall deserve remission or mitigation of these present pains and afflictions in this World, according to the saying of St. Paul; Si nos ipsi judicaremus, non judicaremus a Domino; & Zacharias, Covertimini ad me & ego convertar ad vos; & Evanjs 58. frange eurienti panem tuum, &c. tune cris velit tibibus irigius. Hec sunt inculta ecclesiæ & ut exercentur ad bene operandum, & in his ipsis operibus exerceant & conferunt fidem, potentes & expellantes a Dee mitigationem presentium calamitatum.

The Sacrament of the Altar.

Forthwith, as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, We will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us unto their spiritual charge; that they ought and must constantly believe that under the form and figure of Bread and Wine, which we there present do see and perceive by our outward senses, is verily, substantially, and really contained and comprehended, the very self-same body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ which was born of the Virgin Mary and suffered upon the cross of our Redemption, and that under the same form and figure of Bread and Wine, the very self-same body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed and received of all them which receive the
said Sacrament; and that therefore the said Sacrament is to be used with all due reverence and honour, and that every man ought first to prove and examine himself, and religiously to try and search his own Conscience, before he shall receive the same; according to the laying of St. Paul, Quisquis ederit panem hanc aut bibit de pudio Domini indigne, reus evit corporis & sanguinis Domini; probet autem sibi sium homo, & sic de pane illo edat & de pendo illo bibat: nam qui edat aut bibit indigne, judicium sibiips mandaet & bibit, non dijudicains corpus Domini.

Justification.

Firstly, As touching the order and cause of our Justification, we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that this word Justification signifieth remission of our Sins, and our acceptance or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God, that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ.

Item, That sinners attain this Justification by Contrition and Faith joined with Charity, after such sort and manner as we before mentioned and declared; not as though our Contrition, or Faith, or any works proceeding thereof, can worthily merit or deserve to attain the said Justification; for the only mercy and grace of the Father, promised freely unto us for his Son's sake Jesus Christ, and the merits of his blood and passion be the only sufficient and worthy causes thereof; and yet that notwithstanding, to the attaining of the said Justification, God requireth to be in us, not only inward Contrition, perfect Faith, and Charity, certain hope and confidence, with all other spiritual graces and motions, which, as we said before, must necessarily concur in remission of our Sins, that is to say, our Justification: but also he requireth and commandeth us, that after we be justified we must also have good works of charity, and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of his Laws and Commandments: for although acceptance to everlasting Life be conjointed with Justification, yet our good works be necessarily required to the attaining of everlasting Life; and we being justified be necessarily bound, and it is our necessary duty to do good works, according to the saying of St. Paul, Debitorès s narration non carui ut seonundm carrnm viviunn, nam se secundum carrnis vixeritius morierunt, sin antem spiritu faci corporis mortificaverimus, vivemns; etenim quicumque spiritu Dei deucuntur hi sunt filii Dei: and Christ faith, si vir ad vitam ingredi seria manata: and St. Paul faith, de malis operibus, qui tala agunt Regnum Dei non possidentur. Wherefore we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that God necessarily requireth of us to do good works commanded by him; and that not only outward and civil works, but also the inward spiritual motions and graces of the Holy Ghost; that is to say, to dread and fear God, to love God, to have firm confidence and trust in God, to invoke and call upon God, to have patience in all adversities, to hate Sin, and to have certain purpoze and will not to sin again, and such other like motions and virtues: for Christ faith, Nisi abundaveri.
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That is to say, we must not only do outward civil good works, but also we must have these foresaid inward spiritual motions consenting and agreeable to the Law of God.

Of Images.

As touching Images, truth it is that the same have been used in the old Testament, and also for the greater abuses of them sometimes destroyed and put down; and in the new Testament they have been also allowed, as good Authors do declare. Wherefore we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People, committed by us to their spiritual charge, how they ought and may use them. And First, That this may be attributed unto them that they be representers of vertue and good example, and that they also be by occasion the kinders and firens of Mens minds, and make Men often remember and lament their Sins and Offences, especially the Images of Christ and our Lady; and that therefore it is meet that they should stand in the Churches, and none otherwise to be esteemed: And to the intent the rude people should not from henceforth take such superstitition, as in time past it is thought that the same hath used to do, we will that our Bishops and Preachers diligently shall teach them, and according to this Doctrine reform their abuses; for else there might fortune Idolatry to ensue, which God forbid. And as for Censing of them, and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worhippings, although the same hath entred by devotion, and fallen to custom; yet the people ought to be diligently taught, that they in no ways do it, nor think it meet to be done to the same Images, but only to be done to God, and in his Honour, although it be done before the Images, whether it be of Christ, of the Cross, or of our Lady, or of any other Saint beside.

Of Honouring of Saints.

As touching the Honouring of Saints, we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach Our People, committed by Us unto their Spiritual Charge, that Saints now being with Christ in Heaven, be to be honoured of Christian People on Earth; but not with that confidence and honour which are only due unto God, troubling to attain at their hands that which must be had only of God, but that they be thus to be honoured, because they be known the Elect Persons of Christ, because they be passed in Godly Life out of this transitory World, because they already do Reign in Glory with Christ: and most specially to laud and praise Christ in them for their excellent vertues which he planted in them; for example, of and by them to such as are yet in this World to live in Vertue and Goodness, and also not to fear to dye for Christ and his Cause, as some of them did; and finally to take them, in that they may, to be the advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ. By these ways and such like be Saints to be honoured and had in reverence, and by none other.
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Of Praying to Saints.

As touching Praying to Saints. We will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge, that albeit Grace, remission of Sin and Salvation, cannot be obtained but of God only by the Mediation of our Saviour Christ, which is only sufficient mediator for our Sins; yet it is very laudable to pray to Saints in Heaven everlastingly living, whose Charity is ever permanent, to be intercedors, and to pray for us and with us, unto Almighty God after this manner: All Holy Angels and Saints in Heaven pray for us, and with us unto the Father, that for his dear Son Jesus Christ’s sake, we may have Grace of him and remission of our Sins, with an earnest purpose, not wanting Ghostly Strength, to observe and keep his holy Commandments, and never to decline from the fame again unto our lives end: And in this manner we may pray to our Blessed Lady, to St. John Baptist, to all and every of the Apostles or any other Saint particularly, as our Devotion doth serve us; so that it be done without any vain Superstition, as to think that any Saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that any Saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is Patron of the fame. And likewise we must keep Holy-days unto God, in memory of him and his Saints, upon such days as the Church hath ordained their Memories to be celebrated; except they be mitigated and moderated by the assent or commandment of the Supream Head, to the Ordinarys, and then the Subjects ought to obey it.

Of Rites and Ceremonies.

As concerning the Rites and Ceremonies of Christ’s Church, as to have such Vesture in doing God’s service as be and have been most part used; as Sprinkling of Holy-water to put us in remembrance of our Baptism, and the Blood of Christ sprinkled for our Redemption upon the Cross; Giving of holy Bread to put us in remembrance of the Sacrament of the Altar, that all Christen Men be one body Mystical of Christ, as the Bread is made of many grains and yet but one Loaf, and to put us in remembrance of the receiving the holy Sacrament and Body of Christ, the which we ought to receive in right Charity; which in the beginning of Christ’s Church, Men did more often receive than they use now a days to do; bearing of Candles on Candlemas-day, in memory of Christ the Spiritual Light, of whom Simon did prophesie as is read in the Church that day; Giving of Ashes on Ash-Wednesday, to put us in remembrance every Christen Man in the beginning of Lent and Penance, that he is but Ashes and Earth, and thereto shall return; which is right necessary to be uttered from henceforth in our Mother-tongue always on the same day; Bearing of Palms on Palm-Sunday, in memory of receiving of Christ into Jerusalem a little before his death, that we may have the same desire to receive him into our Hearts; Creeping to the Cross, and humbling our selves to Christ on Good-Friday before the Cross, and offering thereunto Christ before the fame and killing of it in memory of our Redemption by Christ made

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upon the Cross; Setting up the Sepulcher of Christ, whose body after his death was buried; the Hallowing of the Font, and other like Exorcisms and Benedictions by the Ministers of Christ's Church: and all other like laudable Customs, Rites, and Ceremonies be not to be condemned and cast away, but to be used and continued as things good and laudable, to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things that they do signify, not suffering them to be forgotten, or to be put in Oblivion, but renewing them in our Memories from time to time; but none of these Ceremonies have Power to remit Sin but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our Sins be forgiven.

Of Purgatory.

Forasmuch as due order of Charity requireth, and the Book of Maccabees, and divers ancient Doctors plainly shewing, that it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for Souls departed, and forasmuch also as such usage hath continued in the Church so many years even from the beginning, we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge, that no Man ought to be grieved with the continuance of the same; and that it standeth with the very due Order of Charity, for a Christen Man to pray for Souls departed, and to commit them in our Prayers to God's mercy, and also to cause others to pray for them in Masses, and Exequies, and to give Alms to others to pray for them, whereby they may be relieved, holpen, of some part of their pain: But forasmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof and kind of pains there, also be to us uncertain by Scripture; therefore this with all other things we remit to God Almighty, unto whose mercy it is meet and convenient for us to commend them, trusting that God accepteth our Prayers for them, referring the rest wholly to God, to whom is known their estate and condition; wherefore it is much necessary that such Abuses be clearly put away, which under the name of Purgatory hath been advanced, as to make Men believe that through the Bishop of Rome's Pardon, Souls might clearly be delivered out of Purgatory, and all the pains of it, or that Masses said at Scala celi, or otherwher, in any place, or before any Image, might likewise deliver them from all their pain, and send them straight to Heaven, and other like Abuses.

Signed

Thomas Cromwell.

T. Cantuarien.
Edwardus Ebor.
Joannes London.
Cuthbertus Dunelmii.
Joannes Lincoln.
Hugo Wygorni.
Joannes Roffen.
Richardus Cicestre.
Joannes Bathoniensis.

Thomas Blien.
Joannes Bangoven.
Nicholas Sarisbuti.
Edwardus Hereforden.
Willhelmus Norwicen.
Willhelmus Meneven.
Robertus Affaven.

Robertus
Robertus Abbæ Sanclī Albani.

Wilhelmus ab Weffonwaster.

Joannes Ab. Buriæ.

Richardus Ab. Glaucenæ,

Robertus Ab. Multinæbar.

Clemens Ab. Eveshamen.

Johannes Ab. de Bello,

Wilhelmus Ab. S. Petri Glastæfæ.

Richardus Ab. Winekelecombæns.

Joannes Ab. de Croyland.

Robertus Ab. de Thorney.

Robertus Ab. de Wetham.

Joannes Ab. Cirencester.

Joannes Ab. Teneshaven.

Thomas Prior Coventr.

Joannes Ab. de Osney.

Hæricus Ab. de

Anthonius Ab. de Eynsham.

Robertus Prior Elyen.

Robertus Magisfer ordinis de Semperingham.

Richardus Ab. de Netley.

Hugo Prior de Huntingtænæ.

Wilhelmus Ab. de Stratford.

Gabriel Ab. de Buckæfæna.

Hæricus Ab. de Wardenæ.

Joannes Prior de Merton.

Richardus Pr. de Waltham.

B Thomas Ab. de

Thomas Ab. de Stanly.

Richardus Ab. de Bytæfæna.

Richardus Pr. de Lanthoræ.

Robertus Ab. de Thame.

B Joannes Prior de

Radulphus Prior de Kynmæ.

B Richardus Ab. de

Robertus Ab. de Wellowes.

Bartholomæus Pr. de Overheæ.

Wilhelmus Pr. de Bungævenæ.

Thomas Ab. de Abendon.

Hæricus Ab. de

Abercorn Ab. de

Robertus Ab. de Eynsham.

Robertus Prior Elyen.

Inferior

Gauclciel Clyfton Decanus Herefæd.

Joannes London Decanus Wallingford.

Richardus Layton Archæd. Buckæs.


Roffæn.


Robertus Evans Decan. Bungævenæ.

Walterus Cretæning Ar. Bathanænæ.

Richardus Shelton Mag. Collæg. de Melynham.

Per me Wilhelminum Glyn. Archi.

Robertus Evæns Decan. Bungævenæ.

Walterus Cretæying Ar. Bathanænæ.


Georgius Wyndæham Archæd. Norwæken.

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Nicol-
Addenda.

Nicolaus Wilson.

Some Observations on the former Subscriptions.

A The Abbots of Gloffenbury and Reading Subscribe with the rest: by which it appears that they complied in the changes that were made as readily as others did.

B The Abbots write generally so ill that it is very hard to read their Subscriptions: Some of them I could by no means know what to make of.

C There are of 50 of the lower house of Convoocation; of those there are 25 Archdeacons, 4 Deans of Cathedrals, 3 Deans of Collegial Churches, 17 Procurators for the Clergy, and one matter of a Colledge.

II. Some Queries put by Cranmer in Order to the Correcting of several Abuses.

Cott. Libr. Chap. 5.

Ifst, What Causes, Reasons, or Considerations hath or might move any man to desire to have the Bishop of Rome restored in any point to his pretended Monarchy, or to repugn against the Laws and Statutes of this Realm made for the setting forth of the King's Title of Supream Head?

2. Item, Whether a Man offending deadly after he is Baptized, may obtain remission of Sins, by any other way than by Contrition, through Grace?

3. Item, If the Clergy know that the common sort of Men have them in a higher estimation, because they are persuaded, that it lyeth in the Will and Power of Priests to remit, or not remit Sins at their pleasure, whether in such case the said Clergy offend if they wink at this, and voluntarily suffer the People to continue in this Opinion?

4. Item, Whether a Sinner being forry and contrite for his Sins and forthwith dying, shall have as high a place in Heaven, as if he had never offended?

5. Item, Whether any, and what difference may be Assigned betwixt two Men, whereof the one being very forry and contrite for his Sins dieth without Absolution of the Priest, and the other which being contrite is also absolved by the Priest, and so dieth?
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Item, If it may appear that the common people have a greater affiance or trust in outward Rites or Ceremonies than they ought to have, and that they esteem more virtue in Images and adorning of them, killing their feet or offering Candles unto them, than they should esteem, and that yet the Curates knowing the same, and fearing the loss of their offerings, and such other temporal commodities, do rather encourage the People to continue after this sort, than teach them the Truth in the premises according to Scripture; what the Kings Highness and his Parliament may do, and what they are bound in Conscience to do in such case?

Item, Whether now in time of the new Law the Tithes or Tenth be due to Curates by the Laws of God, or of Man; and if the same be due by the Laws of Man, what Mans Laws they be?

Item, Whether the Clergy only, and none but they ought to have voices in general Councils?

Item, Whether the 13th Canon in the Council of Caledon, wherein is contained that one Clerk may not sit another before any secular Judge, but only before his Bishop, and such other Canons of like effect, have been generally received or not? and whether the same be contrary to the Kings Prerogative and Laws of this Realm; and whether it be expedient that it were declared by the Parliament that the said Canons being at no time received, especially within this Realm, be void and of none effect?

Item, Of the 24th Canon of the said Council, wherein is contained that Monasteries once consecrated by the Bishop, may not after be made dwelling houses for Lay-men, whether that Canon have been received and observed, and whether the same be against the Power of the King and Authority of his Parliament?

Item, If it may appear that the Bishops have not, ye yet do maturely examine and diligently inquire of the Conversation, and Learning of such as be ordered or admitted to Cures by them, but rather without examination or inquisition indistinctly admit persons unable, whereof ensueth great peril of Souls, and innumerable inconveniences other ways, what the Kings Highness or his Parliament ought to do, or may do for reformation in the Premisses?

Item, If such as have Deanries, Arch-Deaconries, Chanterships, and other Offices or promotions of the Clergy, use not themselves in their own persons after such sort as the primary institution of these Offices or Promotions require, and according to the Wills of them that endowed them, what the King and his Parliament may do or ought to do in this case?

Item, For what causes and to what ends and purposes such Offices and Promotions of the Clergy were first instituted?

Item, If Curates having Benefices with cure, for their more bodily ease, refuse to dwell upon any of their said Cures, and remain in idleness continually in Cathedral or Collegial Churches, upon their Prebends, whether it be in this case expedient, that the Kings Highness or his Parliament take any Order for the redress of the same?
III. Some Queries concerning Confirmation, with the Answers which were given to them by Cranmer, and Stokesley Bishop of London.

AN ORIGINAL.

Written with Cranmer's hand.
Cotton Libr.
Cleve E. 5.

Whether Confirmation be Instituted by Christ?

Response. There is no place in Scripture that declareth this Sacrament to be instituted of Christ.

First, For the places alledged for the same be no Institutions but Acts and Deeds of the Apostles.

Secondly, These Acts were done by a special Gift given to the Apostles for the confirmation of God's Word at that time.

Thirdly, The said special Gift doth not now remain with the Successors of the Apostles.

What is the External Sign?

The Church useth Christ's name for the exterior Sign, but the Scripture maketh no mention thereof.

What is the Efficacy of this Sacrament?

The Bishop in the name of the Church doth invoke the Holy Ghost to give Strength and Constancy, with other spiritual Gifts, unto the person confirmed; so that the efficacy of this Sacrament is of such value, as is the Prayer of the Bishop made in the name of the Church.

Hoc responseo, salvo semper eruditiorum & Ecclesiae orthodoxo judicio.

Stokesley's Paper.

The first Question, Whether the Sacrament of Confirmation be a Sacrament of the New Testament instituted by Christ?

To this I answer, That it is.

The second Question, What is the outward Sign, and the invisible Graces which be conferred in the same?

To this I answer, That the Words Signo te Signo Sanctae Crucis, & confirmo te, &c. With the confirmation, with the Cream, imposition of hands of the Prelates, be the Signs: and the increase of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and especially of Fortitude, to speak, shew, and defend the Faith, and to suffer for the same in case need be.

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The third Question, What promises be made of the said Graces?

I Answer, That the facts and deeds that be expressed in the Books of the Apostles, with the effects ensuing, by the imposition of their Hands, upon them that before had received Remission of their Sins, joyned with the promises of Christ, made to his Church, and the continual belief of the University of the same Catholick Church from the time of the Apostles hitherto, without contradiction of any Man (ignorants and suspeets of Herefie only excepted) maketh us, and in my opinion, without prejudice of other Mens opinion, ought to suffice to make all Men that hath promised to believe the Catholick Church, assuredly to think that God hath made the promises of the said Grace.

Ego Joannes London. sic respondens, reus autoritate & testimoniis antiquissimorum, corumque Doctrinorum pariter ac Sanctisimorum virorum, & praecipue Sanctorum nostrum Ecclesiae Catholicae, cui etiam in non expressis in Sacra Scriptura, non multo minus quam scriptis, fides admisset est; nisi tam de Baptismo parvulorum, quam de perpetua Dieparent virgini integritate, & id genus compluribus, quisus sine salutis periculo nemo deferat, lucubrit situla Fide contradictore.

IV. Some Considerations offered to the King by Cranmer, to Induce him to proceed to a further Reformation.

Page leafeth it your Highness graciously to consider, deeply to ponder and weigh by your high Wisdom these Considerations following.

Firft, How no great thing is to be determined, principally matters of Christ's Religion, without long, great, and mature deliberation. Secondly, How evil it hath succeeded when in Provincial, yea or yet in General Councils, Men have gone about to set forth any thing as in the force of Gods Law, without the manifest Word of God, or else without apparent Reasons, innately deduced out of the Word of God. Thirdly, How all Christened Regions are now full of Learned Men in the Scripture, which can well expie out and judge how things that be, or shall be set forth, are agreeable with Scripture or not. Fourthly, Of what Audacity Men be of now adays, which will not spare to write against high Princes, as well as against private persons, without any respect to their high Estates, only weighing the equity or the inquiry of the Caufe. Fifthly, How not only Men of the New Learning (as they be called) but also the very Papistical Authors, do allow that by the Word of God, Priests be not forbidden to Marry, although they were not ignorant that many expounders of Scripture were of the contrary judgment. Sixthly, How that it is not possible that all Learned Men should be
Addenda.

of one mind, sentence, and opinion, as long as the cockle is mingled with the wheat, the Godly with the Ungodly, which certainly shall be as long as the World endureth.

Seventhly, How variety of Opinions have been occasion of the opening of many Verities heretofore taken for Heredie, yea and yet so esteemed and taken of many, in other Regions; as namely the usurped Authority of the Bishop of Rome, hath by that occasion come into Light, with the effusion of the blood not of a few, such as were the first stirrers up thereof.

Lastly, There be also other Opinions not spoken of, which have made, and yet will make as much variance in your Graces Realm as any of them treated of, namely, Whether the Holy Scripture teacheth any Purgatory to us after this Life or not? Whether the same Scripture teacheth the Invocation of dead Saints? Whether there be any unwritten Verities necessary to be believed not written in Scripture, nor deducted by infallible Arguments out of the open places of Scripture? Whether there be any satisfactions beside the satisfaction of Christ? Whether Free-Will by its own strength may dispose it self to Grace of a conveniency (as it is said) de congruo? Whether it be against Scripture to kiss the Image of Christ in the Honour of him? And generally whether Images may be used any other way than your Grace setteth forth in your Injunctions?

Wherefore in consideration of the Premisses it may please your Highness to suspend your judgment for a time, and not to determine the Marriage of Priests to be against Scripture, but rather to put both parts to silence, commanding them neither to preach, dispute, nor openly to talk thereof under pain of, &c. And in case these Premisses do not move your Highness to stay, that then it may please the same to grant that the Article of Priests Marriage may be openly disputed in both Universities, under indifferent Judges, before it be determined. All the Arguments of the contrary Party first to be delivered in writing to the Defenders twelve days before the Disputation; to the intent they may the more maturely and deliberately make answer to the same; and they that shall enter as Defenders into this Disputation, to do it under this condition, that if their Judges decern them to be overcome, they be right well contented to suffer death, therefore: And if their Adversaries cannot prove their purpose, their desire is no more but that it may please your Highness to leave your most humble Subjects to the liberty that Gods Word permitteth them in that behalf; and your said humble Subjects shall pray unto Almighty God for the preservation of your most Royal Estate long to continue to Gods Glory and Honour.

V. A.
V. A Declaration made of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests.

AN ORIGINAL.

As touching the Sacrament of Holy Orders, we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge.

First, How that Christ and his Apostles did institute and ordain in Cont. Libr. the New Testament, that besides the Civil Powers and Governance of Cleop. E. 5. Kings and Princes, which is called in Scripture, Potestas gladiator, the Power of the Sword, there should be also continually in the Church Militant, certain other Ministers or Officers, which should have Spiritual Power, Authority and Communion under Christ, to preach and teach the Word of God, unto his People, and to dispence and administer the Sacraments of God unto them; and by the same to confess and give the Grace of the Holy Ghost, to consecrate the blessed body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, to loofe and aboile from Sin, all Persmons which be duly penitent and sorry for the same; to bind and excommunicate such as be guilty in manifest Crimes and Sins, and will not amend their Defaults; to order and consecrate others in the same Room, Order and Office, whereunto they be called and admitted themselves; and finally to feed Christs People like good Pastors, and Rectors, as the Apostles calleth them, with their wholesome doctrine, and by their continual exhortations and monitions to reduce them from Sin and Iniquity, so much as in them lyeth, and to bring them unto the perfect knowledge, the perfect love and dread of God, and unto the perfect charity of their Neighbours.

Item, That this Office, this Ministration, this Power and Authority is no tyrannical Power, having no certain Laws or Limits, within the which it ought to be contained, nor yet none absolute Power, but it is a moderate Power, subject, determined, and restrained unto those certain Limits and Ends for which the same was appointed by Gods Ordinance; which, as was said before, is only to administer and distribute unto the members of Christs Mystical Body, spiritual and everlasting things; that is to say, the pure and heavenly doctrine of Christs Gospel, and the Graces conferred in his Sacramens: And therefore this said Power and Administration is called in some places of Scripture, Dominus & Gratia, a Gift and a Grace; in some places it is called Graces free potestas Clarium, that is to say, the Keys, or the Power of the Keys, whereby is signified a certain limited Office restrained unto the execution of a special Function or Ministration, according the saying of...
St. Paul in his first Chap. of his Epistle to the Romans, and in the fourth Chap. of his Epistle to Timothy, and also in the fourth Chap. of his Epistle to the Ephesians. Where he writes in this Sentence; 

\[\text{Quam} \text{ascendit Christus in alium capitam, ducent capacitatem, & dedit Dona hominibus, dedit autem, alios quindecim Apóstolos, alios vero Prophetas, alios vero Evangelistas, alios autem Pastores ac Doctores, ad institutionem sanctorum, in eis Administrationis, in edificationem corporis Christi, donec pereniam omnes omnes in unitatem Fidei & agnitionis Filii Dei, in virum perfectionem, in memoriam statis plene adultae Christi.}\]

That is to say, "when Christ ascended into Heaven, he subdued and vanquished very Captivity her self, and led or made her thrall and captive, and distributed and gave divers heavenly Gifts and Graces unto Men here on Earth; and among all, he made some the Apostles, some Priests, some Evangelists, some Pastors and Doctors, to the intent they should execute the work and office of their Administration, to the infaturation, instruction, and edifying of the Members of Christ's Mystical Body: And that they should also not cease from the Execution of their said Office, until all the said Members were not only reduced and brought unto Unity of the Faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God, but also that they were come unto a perfect State, and full Age therein, that is to say, until they were so established and confirmed in the same that they could no more afterwards be wavering therein, and be led or carried like Children, in any contrary Doctrine or Opinion, by the craft or subtle Persuasion of the false Pastors and Teachers, which go about by craft, to bring them into erroneous Opinions, but that they should constantly follow the true Doctrine of Christ's Gospel, growing and increaing continually by Charity unto a perfect Member of that Body, whereof Christ is the very Head, in whom if the whole Body, that is to say, If every part and member be grown and come unto his perfect Estate, not all in like, but every one according to the Gift and Quality which is deputed unto it, and so to be compassed, united, and corporated together in the said Body, no doubt but that whole Body and every part thereof shall thereby be made the more perfect and the more strong, by reason of that natural Love and Charity, which one Member so united in the Body hath unto the other: by which words it appeareth evidently not only that St. Paul accounted and numbed this said Power and Office of the Pastors and Doctors among the proper and special Gifts of the Holy Ghost, but also it appeareth that the same was a limited Power and Office, ordained specially and only for the causes and purposes before rehearsed.

\[\text{Item, That this Power, Office, and Administration is necessary to be preserved here in Earth for three special and principal Causes. Firstly, for that it is the Commandment of God it should be so, as it appeareth in sundry places of Scripture. Secondly, for that God hath instituted and ordained none other ordinary mean or instrument, whereby he will make us Partakers of the Reconciliation which is by Christ, and confer and give the Graces of his holy Spirit unto us, and make us the right Inheritors of everlasting Life, there to Reign with him for ever.}\]
ever in Glory, but only his Words and Sacraments; and therefore the Office and Power to minister the said Word and Sacraments, may in no wise be interred to perish, or to be abolished, according to the saying of St. Paul, *Quomodo credent in eum de quo non audiunt? Quomodo autem audient sine predicante? Quomodo autem predicabant nisi misi sanctum scripturum esse, quam specialis super montes pedes Evangelizantium Paece? Annunciation bonum!* Thirdly, Because the said Power and Office or Function hath annexed unto it assuredly Promises of excellent and inestimable things; for thereby is conferred and given the Holy Ghost with all his Graces, and finally our Justification and everlasting Life, according to the saying of St. Paul, *Non me pudet Evangelii feci Christi, potentia quae dedit Dei ad salutem omni credenti!* that is to say, I am not ashamed of the Room and Office which I have given unto me by Christ, to preach his Gospel, for it is the Power of God, that is to say, the elect Organ or Instrument ordained by God and endowed with such virtue and efficacy, that it is able to give and minister effectually everlasting Life unto all those that will believe and obey unto the same.

Iten, That this Office, this Power and Authority was committed and given by Christ and his Apostles unto certain Persons only, that is to say, unto Priests and Bishops, whom they did elect, call, and admit thereunto by their Prayers and Imposition of their Hands.

Secondly, We will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed unto their Spiritual Charge, that the Sacrament of Order may worthily be called a Sacrament, because it is a holy Rite, or Ceremony instituted by Christ and his Apostles in the New Testament, and doth consist of two Parts, like as the other Sacraments of the Church do; that is to say, of a Spiritual and an Invisible Grace, and also an outward and a visible Sign. The invisible Gift or Grace conferred in this Sacrament, is nothing else but the Power, the Office and the Authority before mentioned: the visible and outward Sign, is, the Prayer and Imposition of the Bishops hands, upon the Person which receiveth the said Gift or Grace. And to the intent the Church of Christ should never be defituted of such Ministers, as should have and execute the said power of the Keys, it was also ordained and commanded by the Apostles, that the same Sacrament should be applied and ministered by the Bishop from time to time, unto such other Persons as had the Qualities, which the Apostle very diligently describeth; as it appeareth evidently in the third Chap. of the first Epistle of St. Paul to Tim. and his Epistle unto Titus. And surely this is the whole virtue and efficacy, and the cause also of the institution of this Sacrament, as it is found in the New Testament; for albeit the Holy Fathers of the Church which succeeded the Apostles, minded to beautifie and ornament the Church of Christ with all those things, which were commendable in the Temple of the Jews, did devise not only certain other Ceremonies than be before rehearsed, as Tontures, Ruffles, Unctions, and such other Observances to be used in the Administration of the said Sacraments, but did also institute certain inferior orders or degrees, as Janitors, Lectors, Exorcists, Acolites, and Subdeacons, and deputed to...
to every one of those certain Offices to execute in the Church, where-in they followed undoubtedly the Example and Rites used in the Old Testament; yet the truth is, that in the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in Orders, but only of Deacons or Ministers, and of Priests or Bishops; nor is there any word spoken of any other Ceremony used in the conferring of this Sacrament, but only of Prayer, and the Imposition of the Bishops' hands.

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<td>Joannes London.</td>
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<td>Joannes Roffen.</td>
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(Some other hands there are that cannot be Read.)

Sacrs Theologie, Juris Ecclesiastici, & Civiles Professores.
VI. A Letter of Melanchthon, to persuade the King to a further Reformation. An Original.


Sed munio tranquillatatem, dices, & nolo dislimiludine Rituam exciitari discordias. Ego de pis & modellis loquor qui humanas traditio-nes sine tumultibus violent, non de his qui in cætu publico seditioni tranquilium populum aut concitant aut perturbant. Extant autem antea leges de seditionibus, nec statim violatio inepti & non necessarii Ritus judicanda eft seditionis, attamen haec in re non solum tranquil-litas,
Addenda.

Addenda.

...fed etiam piarum Conscientiarum ratio habenda est: est enim tenera res Conscientia, facile languefit percella potentam judiciis.

Nec ignoro quodam novo jam uti genere foapietia, excusant abutus, & lenient cos aitute affecis interpretationibus, ut habeat speciofam caufam cur cos retinceant; ficut nefarios abutus excufat Autor reformationis Coloniensis, ut campinarum confectionem & similes imposuit.

Quam multa funt in fabulos historis Sanctorum, ut Chriftophori, Georgii, quae, ut Poemata, contineat venutfilias Allegorias; nec tam propter has cogenda sunt Ecclesiæ ut illas poeticas personas colant.

Erat in Egypto Sacræum cum fici maturuifent, populus enim in templo edens recentes ficus, addebit canticum his verbis, Dulcis veritas. Hie Ritus facile est bellam significationem addere, cum accommodare ad laudem Verbi Dei, nec tam propter hie mos in Ecclesiæ revocandus est; atqui hanc novam sophisticam exoriri paffim videmus. Sic in Italia dicuntur abutibus patrocinari, Contaremus, Sadoletus, & Polus Cardinalis; nam hi præciepe fuceperunt fibi jam has partes defendendæ Romanae impetatis, & hanc ducent esse magnum ingenii laudem fucos illinire vitiosi Ritus,putantæ; & his ineptiis Dionysii Theologiae Mysticae renovare. Hæ Sophistica, nisi prudentes gubernatores Ecclesiæ erit, pariet horribilem confusionem religionum, & ruribus obtruct veritatem. Donec flagitantur humani Ritus tanquam necifarii, confirmatur prava opinio de cultu; ideo Paulus tam vehementer non modo opinionem, sed Ritus ipsos Leviticos iufcetatus est, prævidebat enim non exerci poftfuperfitionem, fi Ritus manerent, quare gravissime inquit, fi circumcedimiti, Christus eobi nihil ponderit.

Retineatur ergo simplicem & perspicuam fententiam de libertate in adiaphoros, & docent concionatores quæ fcedalà vitanda fint; retineantur Ritus divinutis insituti, & alia humana traditio utiles ad bonum ordinem, ut Paulus loquitur, & fì modus Ceremoniarum quæ hæc manerent conjunctam gravitatem & elegantiam; decet autem abfide ab Ecclesiæ barbariæ: Cæteri inutiles & inepti Ritus non duriter flagitantur.


Nec objicenda funt vota quæ & expresse pugnant cum divinis mandatis, & trahunt fæcum multiplicem superfitionem & morum corruptionem; videmus enim quales fit vita multorum Sacerdotum calibum:
Addenda.

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Itaeq, non sìne dolore aliquo legi in Edicto, quod hi qui Usores duxerunt accurantur Levitatis, nam hoc convicicio cauæ nostra prægravari videtur, quæ tamen Ecclesiæ necessària est, ut conjugii dignitatis clarùs conficicatur, ut superstitiosi cultus votorum reprehendantur, ut aereantur libidines. Non enim impurus calibus, sed honesta & pia conjugii conficucto, est cultus Deo grata, sicur Christus sua voce divinam conjunctionem appellat connumbium, inquienis, quos Deus conjunctit, &c. Dicamus Dei Ordinationem in natura magnificacere, aequo reverenter uti, non singamus ipsi novos cultus sine Verbo Dei; de quo genere Paulus patiuntur convacionatur, cum ad Timotheon scribens duxerit reprehendit eos qui prohibent nuptias.


Porro feliciter comit Regia Majestas tua quædam emendare, sufleetit aliqua ictus qua impie colebantur: Obtestor ergo Regiam Majestatem tuam, ut reliquam impietatem Romanam etiam ex Ecclesiæ tollat. Exempla teftantur ingenios victoris ornatos eccies qui sufluerunt Idololatram, ac fæpe teftatur Deus quantoperque requirat hunc cultum, ut removentur superfitiones, & pro hoc officio ingenti praemia pollicetur: quæ Deus etiam defendet Regiam Majestatem tuam, & ut Ezechias exteri piæ Regis impios ritus fuiueris. Audit Regia Majestas tua in Belgec æ & alibi immanciam exerçeri adverfus pios; & hæ Tyrannis dignit alia multa vitia, stabilit Idololatriam, delect veram invocationem, extinguat penitus veram Religionem; cumqys defunt boni Doctores, multa in populo fuuent patami. &c. Constat enim pene Ethnicae licentiam esse in Belgico, aliæ superstitiosi natura, aliæ fanciactas opiniones Anbaptiftarum amplectuntur. Talis est in Belgico status, quod quidem florit pace, otio, opibus; adfluent luxu diitores, ita se beatos esse putant, nec interea profciunt quo pænæ ipsis impendeant: Deus autem hau dum dubie tantum impietatem & crudelitatem atrociter puniet. Nollem igitur in Regno tuo renovari apœteratem adverfus pios, quam ita prohibebit Regia Majestas tua: si Edificationi leniet & Ecclesiæ constituere perget. Deinde ut etiam ad pofteritatem, animi abhorreant a Tyrannide Romanæ Episcopiæ, plurimum referit illas leges tolli, quæ sunt nervi autoritatis ipsius; magna vero adminicula potentiae Romanorum Episcoporum fuerunt, Millarum abusus, & Coelibus, que si durabunt aliquando poterunt præbere occasionem iiis qui depravate sunt opinionis Romanæ Aulae, ut ad eam rursum inclinationem faciant. Id caveri quantum referat, si doctrina puritas conservanda est, falsis intelligit Regia Majestas tua. Verum adhuc est, quod Juvenalis de Romanæ Aula scripsit, hic sunt comites, &c. inmiti co loci malis attinus, contumaciam fingularem adverfus Reges inde referunt, ut multa exempla teftantur. Hanc Epistolam loquaciorum ac liberiores ut Regia Majestas tua
Addenda.


Cal. Aprilis 1539.

Regiae Majestatis tuæ

Addictissimus

Philippus Melanthon.

Directed thus on the back. 5

Serenissimo & Inclyto Angliae & Franciae
Regi D. Henrico Octavo Wallia &
Cornubiae Principi, Capiti Anglicæ
Ecclesiae post Christum Supremo,

Principi Clementissimo.

VII. A Letter written by the German Ambassadors to the King, against the taking away of the Chalice, and against private Masses, and the Celibat of the Clergy, &c. An Original.
Addenda.

sunt vero hac tria paeae capita & fundamentum Tyrannidis & Idololatriae Pontificia, quibus fiantibus, neque Doctrina Religionis integra permanere, neque unquam Romani Episcopi improbissimis dominat

,mus, poenitus emtirpari poterit: nempè, Prohibitio utriusque speciei Sacramenti in eam Domini, Milla Privata, & Interdicito conjugal Sacerdotum, quia quidem utque adeo Dei Verbo adversariatus, adeoque etiam honestiti publice repugnat, ut vel ex his folis aperitifime intelligi possit Romanum Pontificem verum Antichristum, & omnis Idololatria, ip
tetatis, erroris, & turpitudinis, in Christif Euclefiâ introducta autorem eile; de quibus fane articulis nos paeae quaedam Serenissima Regis Majestatis Verum optimo studio feribemus, & eujdem ut Regis summi sapientia, acerimo judicio, & excellenti doctrina praditi, confirman commitemus, perfuasifime nobis habentes Verbum Majestatem Illustri

mm Principum nostrorum, & Statuum confederatorum confiliurn & institutum, in hiace articulis non improbarum efle.

Primum enim, Serenissime ac Potentissime Rex, non existimamus quæ rerum omnium ælius praecipuit, traditionibus aut ceremoniis humanis praferri debeat; hic enim cum ipse fit vita & veritas, errare non potest, humana vero omnia, precipue in rebus divinis, incerta & dubia sunt. Porro confit Christum ipsum utramq.; speciem inquituile, cum aut, bi
bete ex hoc omnem; & Paulum idem docuisse, cum inquit, 2 Cor. 11. probet Scipium homo, ac fide de pane comedat & pesculo bibat. Quibus fane locis, non de una parte Ecclesiæ, id eft, de Sacerdotibus tantum,
Addenda.

fed de tota Ecclesia mentio sit: Nam quod quidam ita Argumentantur
folis Apol tolis Christum id dixisse, eaque de causa utramq pespeciem ad
folios Sacerdotes pertinere, infirmum admodum est Argumentum; quia
eadem ratione sequetur, quod Laici ne altere quidem species danda
efset; neque enim alio loco Christus mandavit folum corpus Laicis dari,
& utramque speciem pro Sacerdotibus instituit: sed hoc fatendum est,
quod illud mandatum Christi de Sacramento, aut ad omnes, hoc est,
Laicos & Sacerdotes pertineat, aut Laici profrus a Sacramento Corporis
etiam arcendi fuirent, cum nufquam alibi in Evangelio, nisi tunc cum
dedit Apol tolis simul corpus & fanguinem, Sacramentum pro Laicis in-
stitutum reperiat: idque ad omnes pertinere Paulus declarat, cum ad-
dit, & de pector bibat, &c. Quod enim dicunt Sacramenti divisionem,
urgentibus quibusdam caufis, ab Ecclesia institutum esse, & sub una spe-
cie, non minus, quam sub utraque contineri, non multum ad rem facit:
Quis enim non intelligit hic de Christi instituto & mandato agi, idque
humane auctoritati & opinionibus longe præferendum esse; neque enim
Ecclesia sumit fibi hanc libertatem, ex Christi Ordinationibus res indiffe-
rentes conftituendi; & rationes illæ vel de discrimine ordinum, seu digni-
nitate Sacerdotali, vel periculo eftusfionis & finibus, nullo modo tantum
queant vim habere, ut propterem Divinæ Ordinationes mutanda sint;
neque ulla etiam confueta contro contra mandata Dei introducere, ipsis canoni-
bus Pontificis attentantibus, probanda est. Confitat vero utrum utrius-
que speciei, & clarum habere mandatum Christi, & adprobationem San-
ctorum Patrum, ac confuetudinem veteris Ecclesie; sic enim, inquit
Divus Hieronymus, Sacerdotes qui Eucharistiae ferviunt, & fanguin-
nem Christi populus distribuunt: & Gelarius Pontifex, Sacramenti Cor-
poris & Sanguinis Domini divisionem prohibet, camque grande Sacrile-
gium adpellat.

Adhæc, durat hodie hie mos Communionis utriusque speciei in Græcis
Ecclesiis, quæ hac in re Romani Pontificis tyrannidi ferper refiterunt;
neque ejus jugum recipere voverunt, & teftantur Historiae tum in Ger-
mania, tum in multis aliis regionibus ac provinciis, verum Communioni-
us uum diu conseruam funt, sed tandem fulminibus Romani Anti-
christi, quibus totum pæne orbem terrarum conterrruit & subjugavit,
homines, ut verifimilium est, viæi verum Eucharistiae utrum mutarunt, ad quem
tamen per singularem Dei Gratiam, agnita iterum veritate Evangelica, cum
Principes nostri, tum aliæ Evangelii Doctrinam profiterunt, iam redie-
runt, & fæco ac fuos in re Universæ Ecclesie maxime salutifera, tanquam
in libertatem, excufio jugo Pontificio, vendicarunt & adferverunt. Nam quæ
causæ Pontificem permoverint, ut contra Christi mandatum
& institutum, contra fententiam Sanctorum Patrum, contra confuetu-
dinem Universæ Ecclesie Christianæ, Sacramentum diviseret, & Laicos
Sanguine Domini nefaric fpoliaret, facile Serenissima Regina Majefcis
Veftra perspicit. Verifimile quidem videtur, eum voluiffe Iuam, fuique
ordinis authoritatem ac dignitatem, ca ratione augere, & hoc dicrem
inter Laicos & Sacerdotes confitueere; nam etiam nunc clamitant adver-
sarii, Laicos debere esse altera specie contentos; quasi regnum aliqut
polidante, & ita imperare ipsis liberum fit, ut etiam Christi beneficium
hominiis cripergue quenat, ad quod potius si fuo officio fungo vellet,
omnes invitare & pellicere deberent. Sed quid Christo cum Belial? quid
Pontifici cum Christi instituto, eujus ipse fumum adverfarium
esse
Addenda.

esse satis declarat, ideoque tum in hoc, tum alius fideturibus Religionis Christianae: Articulis oportuit ipsum a Scriptura dixere, imo Doctrinam Evangelio consentaneam damnare, ut manifestum fieret, eum esse Antichristum, de quo passim Scriptura talia prædixit.

Porro in altero Articulo, De Missa Privata, adhuc magis adparet a Romano Pontifice Religionem Christianam adeo opprimam & obcura
tam, ut Christi Beneficii, qui sua morte nos redemit, solutique est ho
ftia & satisfactio pro peccatis nostris, peccitoris suus, & in ejus loc
um Idololatricum cultum pro abolidis peccatis in Ecclesiâ invexerit, 
camque suis erroribus & prophanationibus miserabiliter implicaverit,
turbaverit & deformaverit. Cum enim Missa nihil alius fit, nec esse de
beat, quam Communio sive Synaxis, ut Paulus adpellat, neque etiam
alius ejus ufus fuerit tempore Apostolorum & veteris Ecclesiæ, quemad
modum hoc clar e ex S. Patribus probari potest, plane diversum quod
dam opus, prorsus pugnans cum Communione & vero Missæ ufu inde
factum est, quod docent ex opere operato, ut loquuntur, mereri grati
am, & tollere peccata vivorum & mortuorum,

Hæc opinio quantopere diftuit a Scripturis, ac gloriam Passionis Chri
tii iadat, Sereniff. Regia Majestas Véstra facillime judicabit. Si enim
hoc verum est, quod Missæ pro alius applicari potest, quod peccata tollit,
& prodeat tam vivis quam mortuis, requirit justificacionem ex opere
Missarum contingere, non ex sìde; verum hoc omnino Scriptura re
pugnat, quae tradit nos gratis propter Christum per sidem justificari, ac
peccata nobis condonari, & in gratiam nos recepi, atque ita non alieno
opere, sed propria sìde propter Christum, singulos justos fieri : At illi
docent alienum opus pro remittendis peccatis alteri, quod quidem ne
rum est somniun & figmentum humanum, repugnans Evangelice Do
trina : nam tunc demum adspicatur gratia per Verbum & Sacramento
rum ufm, cum ipsi utimur Sacramentis, sed isti pro alius utuntur, quod
perinde est ac si pro alius Baptizarentur. Neque vero potest dici quan
topere deformat Christi Gloriam opinio illa de Missa, quæ ex opere ope
rato conèrret gratiam, aut applicata pro alius mereatur eis remissionem
venialium & mortalium peccatorum culpa & poenae; idque aperte ad
versari Scriptura, & a vero ufu Missæ sive Communiones longe dixè
dere, vel inle liqnet, quia Missæ sive Synaxis ideo est instituta, ut sìde
lis qui utitur Sacramentum recordetur quæ beneficia accipiat per Christum,
& erigit ac solutur pavidam conscientiam; idque ideoque ibi prorígi debeb
Sacramentum, his quibus opus est consolatione, fiat Ambrosius ait,
quæ semper peccato, semper debeto accipere Medicinam. Atque hic
utque ad tempora Gregorii in Ecclesiâ Missæ ufu sit, neque antea
privata Missae cognita fuerunt; quod quidem cum multis alius Patrum
Sententiae pater, tum Chrysostomi, qui inquit, Sacerdotem flare ad Al
tare & alios ad Communiones accerfere, alios arceræ : Et ex veteribus
Canonibus confat, unum aliquem celebresse Missam, a quo reliqui
Prefbyteri & Diaconi sumperunt corpus Domini, hic enim inquit Canon
Nicensus, Accipiant Diaconi secundum Ordinem post Prefbyteros ab
Episcopo vel Prefbytero, Sacram Communione. Et feritit Epiphani
us, in Atia Synaxim ter celebratam singulis Septembris, nec quotidianas
fuisset Missæ, cunque morem ab Apostolis traditum esse; quæ quidem
Missæ ufuis etiam hodie in Græcis Parochiis durare dicitur, nam tantum
flagulæ dominicos diebus & festis, fit ibi una publica Missa, privatas vero
non
nulla materia doctrinam his fuitque ad credens. Nam si fiant aliqua heres, ita est quae privatas Missas Sacre Scripturae acerrime repugnantes, receperit; cujus quidem rei hanc potenti simam causam fuise arbitramur, quod Graeca Ecclesia Romanum Episcopum autorem perverse & Idololatrice Doctrina, & omnium pœne absumus qui in Ecclesiæ introducti sunt, pro fummum Ecclesiæ Univerfalis five Catholicae Capite, nunquam agno- verit.

Sed concedunt quidam adplicationes quæ sunt in Missæ pro vivis & mortuis, & item opiniones, quod ex opere operato gratiam mereri traduntur, non esse probandas, & disputant abolitis illis opinionibus impis, alia ratione Missæ privatæ retinendas, nempe quia fiant gratiarum actiones, quæ possent ab uno vel a pluribus fieri. Hæc fane ratio videtur aliquam habere speciem, eftque χαιρετικόν, ut inquit Sophocles, quod in caulis invalidis, & ut ipse ait, morbidis utendum sit. Si Missæ tantum effet gratiarum actio, foffit fortissi tali aliqua pretexu colorari; verum confitatem principaliter institutam effe, ut sit Sacramentum quod per Ministrum alteri exhibeat, ut accipens & credens consequatur gratiam. Et hoc quidem principali fine poftire, acceedit alter de gratiarum actione; quæ nullo modo ab institutione Chri fi recedere, fed modum & formam illius Institutionis, & exemplum veteris Ecclesiæ fe- qui & retinere debemus: Nulla enim novitas, praefertim in Sacramentis, recipienda est, contra formam a Christo traditam, & contra exempla veteris Ecclesiae.

Porro confitat privatæ Missæ effe recentes, & a Romanis Pontificibus introducetas, & ne hodie quidem, ut paulo ante ditum effet, in Graecis Ecclesiæ esse, nisi Parochiales diebus fõtis, cum quibus adhuc manet vestigium Communionis: Cum igitur contra Dei Verbum Missæ privata introduceta sit, eamque humanum tantum & commentitium cultum effe appareat, quis dubitat quin talis Missæ, fine ullo periculo omittit poftit, imo debet, cum repugnet Evangelio? Eftque pium & faneum opus, verum Missae five Synaxis um Ecclesiæ reffituerre ac reddere, quod per Romanum Pontificem, hoc et Antichristum, multis annis miseras litera privatæ fuit, qui quidem adhuc mordieus privatæ Missæ tenet, ad- firit, & defendit. Neque id immemores, facile enim sentit quod labefactata Missæ privata, labefactetur, imo ruat Univerfum ejus Regnum & Tyran- nis, quæ Missæ illis nititur; ut enim in feminibus caufa est Arborum & starem; ita hujus lu tuooffimii dominatus, imperii, tyrannis, nundina- tionis & Idololatrice Pontificiæ fenum fuit superstitionis Missarum priva- tarum: Nam hæ pepererunt & futfinerunt, veluti Atlas quidam, to- tum Papatum; ad harum normam omnia redefa funt, quipiem nihil fuit, quod non Missæ aliqua expiari poiffe creditum effet. His auctupat Pontifex Romanus indulgentias, quibus immensam pecuniam ex toto orbe terrarum prædatus effet; hæ Monachorum turbas infinitas coacervarunt, cum eorum nullus alius effet ufus, quam demurmura ndi Missæ privatæ, & alioquin inutile terræ pondus forent. Hæ funt & fuerunt univerfæ piæa, quæ Pontifex Romanus profiteretur, hanc solam novit ille Religionem, quæ in Missæ privatæ confittit; Doctrinam enim Evan- gelii non modo non habet, verum acertriœ odit & profequitur, & in summa.
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fumma his Missis ipsam pradicationem Verbi Divini Pontificex externavit, ut per omnia Antichristi munere fungeretur: Nam in loco uniuis concionis Verbi, amplus mille Missae private, hoc est, humani & considerati cultus, contra Divinum Verbum suceperunt; cum non Missas fieri sed Evangelium praeclare, & Sacramenta rite distribuire & administrare, Christus Apostolis, quorum illi volunt esse suceperant, mandaverit.

Curaruq igitur Illufrissimi Principes nostri, & alii Evangelii Doctrinam proficientes, Principes & Status, privatas Missas penitus aboleri, & verum Missa utum five Synaxis Christi institutioni, exemplo Apostolorum, veteris Ecclesiae ac Patrum fententia conformem, in Ecclesiâ revocarunt & restituerunt. Qua quidem Missa five Synaxis fumma cum reverentia celebratur, fervatibus pœne omnibus uti statis Ceremoniis, quae non repugnant Pictatis: & admiinfentur Germanice five Vernaculae cautiones ad docendum populum; præcepit enim Paulus, in Ecclesia uti lingua intellefca a populo. Porro,quia propter Communionem five utum Sacramenti Missa inftituta est, hi qui funt idonei & antea explorati, Sacramentum utuntur; ac dignitas & utus Sacramenti, fumma diligentia ac cura ex Verbo Dei populo commendatur, ut fiant & intelligant homines, quantum confulationem pavidis confentientes adferat, ac dicant Deo credere, & optima quaeque ab eo expefctare & petere.

Et hune quidem Sacramenti & Missae utum, Scripturae confentaneum, Deo gratiam, & Pictati conducibilem effe, Sereniffima Regia Majefteas Veftra facile agnofeit; neque enim hic aliud contra Dei Verbum admitterit, imo fcuendum Christi mandatum & ordinemon, qui haec Sacram Communionem ad hunc finem inftituit, omnia geruntur: Nulla effe hic admixta, prava, aut impia opinio, ut in Missa privata Papistica, cujus finis & inftitutio cum Evangelio pugnatur. Nihil hic etiam abfque fumma reverentia, ordine, & decoro, digno Ecclesiae, fieri cernitur. Audemusque adfirmare, majore Religione hune verum Missae utum exhiberi apud nos, quam haefteus unquam fub Papatu private Missae celebrata fuerint, provocamusque ad tellimonia doctrilimorum virorem, qui a Majefteate Veftra milli in illis locis fuerunt, & haec omnia coram fieri viderunt & audierunt.

Quod enim Adverfarii clamant, Noftros omnes cultus Divinos, omnes Ceremonias, omnem denique Religionem abolere & labefactare, ea in re Principibus noftris, & alius Evangelii Doctrinam proficientibus, injuriam faciunt; & haec eos infringi quadmalvolenti & odio plur quam Vatiniano, ut dici solet, confingere & comminisci clare adparet, cum ex Doctrina noftrorum, quam confentientem Sacris litteris in lucem ejderunt, & Scriptis suis univerfo orbi Chrifiano promulgarunt, tum etiam exemplis noftrorum Ecclesiis, in quibus nonint velint coguntur fateri, omnia religiofus & fandus fieri, quam apud ipfos; immo Dei beneficio univerius populus, non tantum in templis ef religiofior, fed in tota difciplina publica modo fius fc gerit, majoremque erga Magiftratum viiilem, & eos qui Ecclesiis praefunt, reverentiam & homen exhiber, quam unquam antea factum fuerit: & hoc finerce Evangelii Doctrinae acceptum referre debeamus, quae singulos, rectius omni bus Pontificis constitutionibus, fui officii admonent, & fola in quibus vera pieetas ac cultus divinus confiftat, tradit ac docet.

Porro, quod Missae collocata ad quodam, ut sub Papatu accidit, tur-
piter prophanentur, quodque hic abusus in omnibus poenae tempitis latif-
line pataret, non eft obtusurum: Nam Christi benefi ciium qui nos pre-
ciofo suo tinguine redemit, idque gratuito pro vili flipe & mercede
vendere, & tale etiam opus inde constitutere velle, quod ex su natura,
hoc eft ex opere operato, mercatur gratiam, & pofit adpicari pro pec-
catis alienis, mortuorum & vivorum, quis non videt summam eis im-
pietatem? Quid enim eft corpus Domini indigne tradare & funere, fi
hoc non effet? An potest etiam magis impium quidquam dici, quam illi
de Missis iis docuerunt? Nempe quod Christus sua passione satrificerit
pro pecatis Originis, & instituerit Missam, in qua fieret Oblatio pro
quotidianis delictis mortalibus & venialibus: cum Christus penitentiam
& remissionem peccatorum predicari mandaverit; Missam vero, hoc eft
Synaxim, ad alium plane finem instituerit, viz. ut porrigatur Sacramen-
tum his quibus opus eft conflatione, & ut per Verbum & Sacramentum
credentes gratiam recipiant, & remissionem peccatorum consequantur,
non ut ipfi sium opus, quod quale quale sit, humanum figmentum, huma-
cus cultus eft, contra Scripturam Deo offerant ac sacrificent. Hoc enim
non placat Deum, ut Christus ipse inquit, se frustra coli mandatis homi-
num: Nam Missam non eft tale opus live Sacrificium, quod mercatur
gratiam & profit etiam alios, inde adparat,quia Missa five Synaxis ad
hoc eft instituta, non ut Deus aliquid offeratur, sed ut communicantes
conflationem hauriant, & veluti pignus seu certum fignum gratiae ac
bonae voluntatis Dei erga se recipiant, atque ita recordentur mortis
Christi, hoc eft, beneficiorum quae per Christum accipiunt, quod
atem pro nobis mortuus eft, solumque pro peccatis nostris fatisciet, id-
que probant Verba ipfi quibus & Christus & Paulus de Mistia five Synaxi
uti sunt.

Primum enim inquit Christus, hoc eft Corpus Meum, quod pro vobis
traditur. Hæc sunt Verba Promissiônis Divine que foiam hidem exi-
gunt, quibusque offertur nobis gratia & remissio peccatorum, ergo non
eft Sacrificium, hoc eft, opus quod Deus offeratur & quidem pro abo-
licatis peccatis. Item Paulus ait, Annunciantes mortem Domini: An-
nunciare autem non eft Sacrificare, hoc eft tale opus Deo reddere, quo
peccata deleantur. Præterea Evangelii textus ita donat, Fregit & dedit
Diciplus, inquiens, accipite & comedite, &c. item, bibete ex hoc omen-
es, &c. accipere autem, comedere, & bibere, non eft sacrificare, quia
hæc opera ex opere operato non delent peccata.

Neque mandaturl hifice verbis, ut nos Deus aliquid offeramus, sed po-
tius ut ab eo accipiamus, quia addit, pro vobis traditur, & linguus qui
pro vobis effunditur; quæ Verba offendunt, non exhiberi a fumentibus
Euchariftiam Deo Sacrificium, sed donum hominibus datum. Præterea
vero nemo dicit Laicos cum sumunt Sacramentum, Sacrificare: at quantum
ad hanc Sacram Communionem, Missam, five Synaxis pertinent, nulla eft ratio diversitatis, cum idem Christus uno codemque tempore
ac momento, propter eundem finem & uum, hoc Sacramentum abique
differentia utentium Sacerdotum vel Laicorum instituerit. Et quemad-
modum prohibito utrieque speciei, humanum tantum commentum &
mandatum eft; itaque quod de Sacrificio Missæ ex opere operato grativa
promerente traditur, humana tantum opinio eft, contra Verbum Dei,
a quo in rebus maximis, nempe ad remissionem peccatorum, falsutem:
amarum, & vitam aternam pertinentibus, nullo modo eft discedendum
Non
Non enim frustra Paulus inquit & bis repetit, si nos aut Angelus de Cælo Evangelizet vobis præter id quod evangelizavimus, & acceptibus, Anathema sit.

Præterea nec potest ratio diversitatis adsignari ex Sacris Literis, cum magis dicant eos qui Sacramento Eucharistiae fruuntur Sacrificare, quam illos qui alio Sacramento, ut Baptismum, utuntur, cum utruntque nihil aliud sit, quam Sacramenta, quæ Christus horum institutor & auctor prorsus ad alium finem, quam ut finit talia Sacrificia, qualia illi communiscentur, ordinavit. Sed oportuit, Romanum Pontificem Miilas privatas, ad opprimendum Christi, cum ipse hostis est, gloriam attollere, ut populum Christianorum veritate Evangelica & agnitione Christi, & Sacramentinorum legiimmo uti, prorsus aduceret, Christique bonitatem & nifierecordiam oblitteraret. Qui enim Miilam tale Sacrificium esse cogitaret, quo Deus placetur, si non quænt Christi beneficium expendere pro dignitate, & in terroribus ac doloribus ibr & judiciis Dei non habebant refugium, neque bona conscientia poterunt doma & dignam amoris divinam agnoscere, ut alieno opere Deum placari & peccata remittere fibi perfutum habeant: Nam illi ipsi qui utuntur impias opiones de Miilis privata excufare, hoc pretexum, qui Miilis ideo vocetur Sacrificium, quia sit gratiarum actio & Sacrificium Laudis, qui convincuntur propriis ipforum Testamentis & Scripturis quæ de Miilis extant, haque perfuasiones hominum animis etiam hoc de Miilis privatis inhereit: sic enim Thomas inquit in Opusculo de Sacramento Altaris, cur Miila inftituta sit? Corpus Domini semel oblatum et in cruce, pro debito originali, sic offereatur jugiter pro quotidians delictis in Altari, ut habeas in hoc Ecclesia munus ad placandum Deum, super omnia legis Sacrificia preciose & acceptum.

Alexander Papa, nihil in Sacrificis Ecclesiae majus esse potest, quam Corpus & Sanguis Christi, nec ulla oblatio hac potior est, sed omnes praecellit: item ipsa veritas nos instruct, Calicem ac panem in Sacramento offere, quando ait, acipite & comedite, nam crinima atq. peccata, oblatis his Domino Sacrificiis, delentur. Et rursus inquit, talibus hostis defeptavitur & placabitur Deus, & peccata dimittet ingenit. Gabriel de Canon. Miila, Sacramentum Eucharistiae veluti Sacrificium summum patri oblatum, nendum ventiale sed etiam mortale, non dico sumentium sed omnium eorum pro quibus offertur, & quantum ad reatum culpa & pene, plus vel minus sectandum dispositionem eorum pro quibus offeretur, tollit: unde Thomas in Quarto Dist. 1, 2. q. 2. Eucharistia in quantum est Sacrificium, habet effectum etiam in alius pro quibus offeretur, in quibus non præ-exigit vitam spiritualen in actu, sed in potentia, & ieo si cosdivpositos inventet, eis gratiam obtinet, virtute illius veri Sacrificii a quomnis gratia in nos fluxit, & per consecuens peccata mortalit in eos delect, non facta caufa procula, sed in quantum gratiam contritionis eis imputat.

His & similibus omnes libri Scolasticiorum pleni sunt, quibus uno ore docent, Miilam tale esse Sacrificium, quo gratiam homines mercetur ex opere operato, quod ad delenda aliorum peccata adplicari possit. Quæ Doctrina aut potius perversum & impium fingement, an pugnet cum Sacris Literis necne? An verum Miiles fe Communionis usum tradit necne? An Christi beneficium non magis obfueret quam illufret, ino etiam prorsus tollat? Veltræ Serenifimæ Régis Majestati dijudicandum relinquimus, quæ pro sua fapiencia, & non tantum in rebus politicis, sed etiam Sacris & in omnem genere doctrinarum acerrimo judicio, facile cenfebit, justissimam causam habuimus Principes nostros & alios Evangelistis Doctrinarum profentantes,
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Missis privatas abrogandi, & verum Missæ five Communionis usum, pro Christi gloria & confolatione rotius Ecclesie Christiane, refiitucendi & revocandi, potquæm ex Dei Verbo cognoverunt, quam private Missæ a veritate Evangelica duxerunt, quæitterius in iis inquit Impietatis & Idololatriæ: fuit enim unicum Sacrificium propitiatorium in mundo, viz. Mors Christi, qui, ut Paulus inquit, fæculi est pro nobis oblatus, & fæculi hodie pro peccatis noftris, quod cetera legis Sacrificia propitiatoria significaunt, quæ fimiulutiune quidam, erunt satisfactiones redimentes fjiitiam Legis, ne ex politia excluderentur illi qui peccaverunt, eaq; celébrerunt potl Revelatum Evangelium: in Novo Teftamento, necesse est cultum tantum esse Spiritualem, hoc est, juflitiam Fidei & frrucus Fidei, quia adfert juftitiam & vitam spiritualem & æternam, juxta, Dabo Legem meam in cordibus eorum; & Christus ait, veri adoratores adorabunt Patrem in spiritu & veritate, id est, vero cordis adfçtù, qua de causa abrogati sunt Leviticæ cultus, quod debant sucedere cultus Spirituales mentis, & horum frrucus asigna; ut in Epifcola ad Hebreos manifeste docuerunt.

Ex quibus omnibus fequitur Missam non esse Sacrificium, quod ex operato mercatur, faciente vel aliis remissionem Peccatorum, ut illi docuerunt. Et quocum, quidam fuco niantur excufare. Missas privatæ, fœper eis refragatur & reclamant Doctrina ipforum de Missa, qua eam alius poſte adpicare tradiderunt, & peccata delere homínibus perfuaderunt. Hæc opinio non refitutu vero Missæ ufi, nonquantam animis hominis delebitur, fed perpetuo manet & redit is error, quod oporteat talem esse cultum in Ecclesia, quo Deus placetur.

Et ut videatur ficione juris: Jurisdictioni loquuntur, Missam poße vocari sacrificium memoriale fvee Laudis: at cum id non littere satisfactorium pro fcientibus, vel adpiecable pro aliis, quod quis mercatur remissionem Peccatorum, quorum attinent, relícto vero eius ufi & inftitutione, id in Ecclesiæ introducere, uti propter nullam humanam rationem, commentum, aut opinionem, a Christi mandato & ordinatione esse dedendum? Eadem enim ratione; Natalis Domini & fimiria Festa, quæ in Christi memoriam celebrantur, sacrificia memorialis fve Eucharistia dica poſsiunt; imo talia Sacrificia verius sunt, Evangelii predicatio, fides, invocatio, gratiarum actio, adfcciónes, aut applicationes pro aliis; & Missæ principalis finis, ut supra defferimus, ies est, ut fì Sacramentum, qua per Ministerium alteri exhibeat, quare non potefl dici Sacrificium: cum nemo ignoetum magnurn inter Sacrificia & Sacramenta diferimen esse, his enim nos dona a Deo oblatæ accipimus, illis vero noftrum Deo reddimus & offerimus.

Neque vero habent privatae Missæ alios au&tores quam Pontifices, qui a tempore Gregorii, nunc haec, nunc illam Ceremoniam, Cantionem, aut Orationen, linguæ pro sua fœcitate & opinione adjecejerunt, ut historia uno conuenire teltantur, donec cædem, egregium illud opus, dignum fœcius au&toribus exadedicarunt, & relícto vero Missæ five Communions ufi, ac obliteratae Doctrina de Chrifto, Univera Ecclesie Missis privatis in qua fola omnem pœne Sacratatem poſuerunt, reperita & obruta fuit.

Hæc Serenissime ac Potentissime Rex nostrum Principum & aliorum Imperii ordinum, Evangelicam Doctrinam proficentium, Theologi & Doctores, fæculi voluminibus explicarent, quæ quidem haec Epifcola nobis breviter attingenda diximus; non quod Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Veltram haee latere peñitus putamus, neq; enim ignorantum Serenissimæ Regiae Majestatibus Vetræ & veterum & recentium fcripta, de his & aliis

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Controversius Ecclesiasticis diligentissime cognita esse, de quibus etiam Majestas Veftra sapientissime, eruditiissime &oque cum doctis viris conferre & diuotpate solent: fed hae idee fcehms ut Majeflari Veftra, quam poftfe fieri breviflime, occasione & caufa quasdam abolitorum, privatarum Mifiarum apud nos, fumma cum observantia ut decept exponeremus: & adverfariorum aulium, quibus eum apud RegiVm Majeflatem Veftram, tum alias, undecemque quelfta & arrecta occafione, varius tecnhis & fig- mentis, doctrinem licemorem gravare & in odium omnium perdurere conanum, declinaremus.

Neque vero ambigimus, quin Maijetas Veftra, ut Rex eruditiissimus & veritatis Evangelice umanihissimus, facellasse judicabit, quod non temere privates Miflas apud nos abrogare fuit, fed juftiflimis & firmiflimis rationibus, ex Dei Verbo quod folum errare non potef, fincere & abufe fop- phitica deducit, pro confervanda & illustranda Christi Gloria, & homi- num falute id faenum: Et opponant quacelan: &eoguirai polluit Cavillationes & Sophismata, tamen adparuit noftrros hoc agere quod fit tutius, dum retinent modum & formam institutionis Christii. Ac maxima pars Sacerdotum fua iponte apud nos defult Miflas privatas celebrantie; pot- caquam intellexerunt ex Evangelica Do&rina, quantum in his erroris & impietatis effet: & plurimi ac doctifini quique, qui Sacerdota aut Paro- chias fub Magiftratibus alienis a fincera Evangelii Doctrina tenebant, ea deferuerunt, ne cogerentur facere contra ftas Confcienfias, foas ad ea loca in quibus Evangelii Doctrina libere praedicatur contulerunt: gra- viflimum enim eft quenquam in re praefertim tali, quae Dei gloriam labat, & Dei Verbo repugnant, tanquam ad cultum divinum adigi, & compelli.

Sed ne Sereniffime Regis Maijetati Veftrae proximitate literarum finus molefin, definenus plural de hoc articulo impraferintum differere.


Scriptura non minus Sacerdotibus, quam alterius fortis hominibus ma- trimonium liberum permittit, funt enim de cadae carne, que totum gen- us humanum vetit & cecinat, utai: non pollunt ifturar naturam fim mutare, non pollunt carem abjicere, nec abufe fingulari Dei dono calibes vivere, nam non quilibet, ut Christus inquit, capite Verbum hoc: & Paulus, propter Fornicationem unifiquoque fium Uxorem habeat; & peculiariter de Sacerdotibus ait, conftitutas per civitates Prebyteros fume difpofitis.
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disposing tibi, si quis sine crimine est, unius Uxoris vir, Filios habens sibi, deces, non in accusatione luxuriæ; item, oportet Episcopum, esse irreprehensibiem, unius Uxoris virtum: patet igitur hanc prohibitionem non ex jure Divino, sed potius contra Sacram Scripturam deceretum esse.

At folet a quibusdam Pontificis defenforibus opponi, quod licet coniugium Sacerdotionem non videatur vetitum Divinis Literis, tamen Sacerdotes a veteribus temporibus in hunc usu diem in calibato vixiisse, eae de causa addunt non esse discedendum, hac in re a tali exemplo, neq; permittendum coniugium Sacerdotionem. His, Serenissime ac Potentissime Rex, adperte refragantur historia, tum Ecclesiastica, tum alia, ex quibus clarum patet, Episcopus & Sacerdotes veteribus temporibus conjugatos sussisse.

Primum enim Spiridon Cyriacus Episcopus, vir unus ex ordine Prophetarum, ut Historia Ecclesiastica ait, Uxorem habuit ex qua filiam nomine Irenen susceperit; deinde ordine pæne omnes Episcopi Uxorati fuerunt, quorum plurimi Filii postea, tum Romani, tum alii Episcopi creata sunt; fuit enim Sylverius Papa Hormisdæ Episcopi Filius, Papa Theodorus Theodori Episcopi Hierofolymitani, Papa Adrianus secundus Talarius Episcopus, Ioannes decimus Papa Sergii Papæ, Gelasius Valerii Episcopi, Papa Joannes decimus quintus Leonis Prebyteri Filius; & ne omnes enumeremus, patet vel unica historia Polycratis, ex cujus parentibus sepet fuerunt per ordinem Episcopi, ipse vero futur octauus: at non est credible omnes illas ex illegitimis nuptiis progentis esse, cum ipsi canones & decreta Synodorum doceant, conjugia Sacerdotum esse licita; sic enim inquit Canon Apostolorum, si quis docuerit Sacerdoteum sub obedientia Religionis propriam Uxorem contemnere, Anathema sit.

Item extat praclarum exemplum de Paphnutio confessore, qui universae Synodo Nicenae prohibitionem conjugi diuina, & obtinuit ne hac in parte sancitum, sed hoc in uniufculaque voluntate non neceffitate permittu fuerit. Quae Historia etiam in jure Pontificio recentetur, extatque decretem quoddam seftæ Synodæ, in quo palam damnatur prohibito conjugi Sacerdotis.

Sed Objeitur iterum, propter votum causitatis, quod Sacerdotes praestiterunt, non poeieis permitti nuptias. Hoc quale votum fit, quamque obligationum, quod fine peccato fervari non potest, Serenissima Regia Majestas Vestra pro Summa Sapientia & Doctrina, facile æstimabiat: neque enim donum causitas omnibus datum est, idq; celibatus ipse Sacerdotum, & quotidana experientia eum nunc testatur; & quid de tali voto tentiendum sit, Sanctorum Patrum sententia declaravit, sic enim Augustinus ait, quidam nubentes post votum adserunt adulteros esse, ego autem di co vobis quod graviter peccant qui tales dividunt. Et Cyrianus de virginibus qui continentiam voverunt, sic inquit, sic prefervare nonunt, vel non potuunt, melius est ut nubant, quam ut in ignem delitiis suis cadant.

Cenfent itaque praediæ Sancti Patres tale votum non debere impediere Matrimonium, sicut revera etiam non potest obfrare quo minus hi quibus donum continetionem non contigisse, matrimonium contrahent: nam melius est nubere quam uri, ut inquit Paulus; Quid autem est impium coelibatu illo Sacerdoti? quan pauci vero continent? quam plurimos in fornicationibus, adulteris, & id genus similibus ac gravioribus peccatis & flagitiis pœne quotidice deprehenduntur, contra quod si leges fevere animadverterent, non habitu re effent, quo de illo ficto & hypocritico coelibatu adeo gloriantur.
Ac tradunt Historie in Germania triennium aut amplius, Sacerdotes acerrime reffittiffe Sanctioni Pontificis Hildebrandi de celibatu, qui summam vitis Uxores adimere conatus est, hique justissimae causis contra illam constitutionem ac tyrannidem Pontifici, pro Matrimonio defendendo allegarunt, in qua re cum nihil aequi obtinere potuerint, tandem ingens oris eft dentio contra Archiepiscopum Moguntiniun, qui decretum pontificium detulat, adeo ut is ab incepto defifterit; & vir tandem Papa post nullas datas Exercitiones & Bullas, quibus etiam Caedum ipsium expugnare conatus est, miliferis Sacerdotibus facultatem liberam conjugi, contra divina & humana justa aboluerit, & omnis generis libidinis & impuritatis exeucranda occasionem prebuerit: Extat quoque Epitola ad Nicolaum Episcopum Romanum I. Divi Udalrici Episcopi Augufentifi, qua est gravissimis & optimis argumentis diffuadet & damnat prohibitionem conjugii Sacerdotum.

Cum igitur Principes notri, & alii profidentes Evangelii Doctrinam, patefacat per Dei Gratiam itern veritate, intelloxerint quid de prohibitione illa Pontificia conjugi Sacerdotalis fenticendum effet, & palam viderent & experimurit, quod non potef calibus ille fine peccatis & scandalis confiftcre, ruperunt in ea etiam vincula Pontificia,ac Matrimonium Sacerdotibus, fictum hoc Scriptura Sacra & exempla Sanctorum Patrum ac veteris Ecclefiae exigunt & teftantur, liberum permiferunt. Exiftimatur enim hoc quoque ad faum officium pertinere, ut infinitorum scandalorum & fcelerum, quae necessario secum trahi calibus Sacerdotalis, occasionem & materiam praecipederent & auferrent, publicaque honestati hac quoque in re confiterent: maxime cum animadvertenter quantae etiam abominationes, & in ordine Sacerdotali, & in Monaftris Veftalium ac Monachorum evenerint, in quibus comptum est fapre infantes crudeliter necatos, pharmacis fætus depullos, &familia nefaria crimina commiffa, quos folos fructus calibus ille protulit: ideoque plurimi nune sunt conjugii Sacerdotes apud nos, multi etiam celibes, idque cujusque Conscientia ut vel ducat Uxorem vel a Conjugio abstineat, permititur: modo ita Vivat ne fit alius offendiculn, alioqui enim non minus in Sacerdotibus quam reliquum vulgus, hac quoque parte, secundum Leges politicas animadverfurur. Ac per Dei Gratiam, hoc inde fecutum eft, quod eorum Confiuentiis, quibus continenter donum non conjugerit, confultum fuerit, plurimorum flagitiorn & fcelerum occafio ceflaverit, matronis ac puellis quibus plerique ilorum ab specie Pietatis fapitium inhabitant, & laqueos necebat, nihil ejufmodi periculi fit; & in summa, quod quin tum Officia Ecclesiastica, tum politica majore reverentia & honestate tacentur, quodque ab univerfs in magno honorj & favore habeantur Sacerdotes, quam anteat in illo pleno scandalis celibatu acciderit, id quoque magna ex parte honestum conjugium Sacerdotum praefat.

Adhuc, nulli acerius & constantius oppugnant Romanum Pontificem, & tum Matrimonii libertatem, tum ibam Doctrinam ab illo obsecuratam & oppressent defendunt, quam hic qui ab ejus juga impuri illius calibus liberati sunt: & honeste etiam fuos liberos, quos ad conjugio fuipiant educare solent, quibus habuit dubie Deus etiam poft mortem parentum, ubi in timore Domini aliti & edoci fuerint, proficieret; gravis & vifimum enim effe, Sacerdotes ideo a conjugio accederet, quia fua munia five officia tantum ad vitam fuum, non autem jure hereditario tenent; cadem
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cadem ratione multis aliis qui sunt aut in publicis muneribus, aut in privatis Ministeriis, Matrimonium interdicendum foret. Quod quidem si fieret, Rep. plus incommodi quam boni allaturum esse; cum & Sacramentum Literarum Auctoritate, Sanctorum Patrum Sententias, Legum, Naturæ & Gentium testimonio, & omnium fapientissimarum virorum judicio ac suffragii conficter, Matrimonium semper is, qui calibes vivere non queant, ad vitanda graviora percilia, concessum & liberum esse deberet.

Hæc, Serenissime ac Invictissime Rex, coram Serenissima Regia Majestate Vestræ, breviter differenda duximus, ut Majestati Vestræ rationes quasdam commemoraremus, cur Illustriissimi Principes nostri, & alii Evangelii Doctrinam proficientes Principes & Status Imperii, in his tribus Articulis adeo diffidentant a Romano Pontificiæ, ut fictum in reliquis Doctrinæ Christianæ partibus, a veritate vel latum digitum non discernendum esse existiment, ita in his etiam decreverint, abjecta ejus Tyrannide, pro Gloria Evangelii, & ad vitanda infinita federa, perdurare: neque vero hic dicemus de aliis abusibus a Romano Pontificе introducit, in quos imprimes Confeffio Auricularis recenseri meretur, qua ille, & Potentatem clavium tantum ad turpissimum quaætum & Tyrannidem redeemit, & Confeffionem ipsam, quæ inforrandam & confolandarum Conscientiarum gratia falsbriter instituta fuit, carnisicinam tantum Conscientiarum reddidit, perque eam tum omnes Reges, Principes, & Potentatus sub suo judicium, tum multorum malorum auctor extitit; de qua quid nostræ sentiant, ac qua reverentia in Ecclesiis retinuet, edita iporum scripta tevantur.

Ac gratulamur nobis datam occasionem hæ Serenissimæ Regæ Majestæ Vestræ exponendi, ejsq.; censura committendi: Cum enim Majestæ Vestræ & summæ Doctrina, Sapientia ac studio Veritatis praditæ sit, & Romani Episcopi Tyrannidem (haud fine mente Deum, five numine Divum, ut Poeta inquit) itidem ex suis amplissimis Regnis externarni curaverit, neque amplius per Dei Gratiam illius impis opinionibus captiva tenetur; persuaclissimum nobis habemus Vestræ Serenissimæ Regæ Majestæs hisce de rebus maximis, quæ ad Dei Gloriam, salutem Ecclesiae, & perpetuam profligationem Romani Antichristi pertinent, æquissimum ac liberrimum fore judicium, quod fane ii, quibus vel Doctrina aut veritatis studium deceat, vel animum habent additionem Pontificis Opinionibus, vel metu interdum prohibentur, aut etiam ab affectibus diverse trahuntur, non adeo facile præfate possunt; & plurimi interdum intervenient temori, fingunt & eodiss Pontificem, simulanteque studium veritatis, quibus tamen revera alitud est cordis, hi vero quom non possint nec debant de hisce controversiis ferre sententiam, Serenissimæ Regæ Majestæs Vestræ nequaquam ignorat.

Non autem dubitamus, quin ut quisque est eruditissimus, & veritatis Evangelicæ amantissimus, ina facilitate eum cauam nostram, imo Christi & Ecclesiæ, adprobaturum esse, neque enim ea ulla commodum aut emolumentum privatum quiritur, sed folum agitur de abolendis impis abusibus in Christi Ecclesiâam per Antichristum invectis, & Christi Gloria illutrandâ, ac veris Cultibus refiituentibus, & ut hominum Conscientiae Jugo ac Tyrannide pontificia liberentur, ac scandalâ publica, quantum fieri possit, a medio tollantur. Quarum quidem rerum studium quo reprehendi queat, ut etiam magis favorc & imitatione dignum cenfendum
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dum sit: Cum enim omnium bene constitutarum Recurpum hic præcipue finis & fecopus esse debeat, ut & Dei Gloria ornemur, & publica fœlus, honestas, pac, & tranquillitas conservetur, quis dubitât eos qui se dent ad gubernaculâ Recurpum, & ad hæc tanquam ad Cynosuram ut dici folet, curfum finum & omnem rationem regendi Rempublicam insiti tuunt, maximis Laudibus dignos esse? Et quoniam Sereniflima Regia Veftra Majefîas, ut Rex sapientiflimus & eruditiflimus, hunc quoque fœump in gubernandis ampliflimis & laudatiflimis Regnis & Provinciis fuis, ob oculos habere Luce meridiana clarus adperecut, non pollimus non nobiflimis, quum in hac honestiflima caufa promovenda Christi Glorii & Publicæ utilitatis ad Serenifsimam Region Majefiætatem Veftram Oratores milii fumus, non gratulari; non pollimus etiam non felices judicaret universos subditos Majefîatis Veftras, quibus divina bonitate talis Rex & Princeps contigerit, qui cum aliis regis Virtutibus excellit, tum studio vera pietatis & veritatis Evangelica omniis modis admirandus conspicit.

Sunt quidem illa maxima Remp. certis & justis Legibus civilibus con fi tuære, bonos tueri & juvare, improbos pecunias adfìcre, arceræ injurias, Pacem & Concordiam subditorum conservare; quis enim non tanquam Deum aliquem talem Principem amplectendum & honorandum putet, a quo ifta prætentur: sed adhuc sunt majora, si vera pietas accépierit, si Christi Glorii ornemur, si Dei Verbum in pretio habeat, si cultus Divinae Voluntati confentanæ instituat, si hominum conscientis cons liatur, & publica fændala è medio tollatur; illa enim tantum hane civilem vitam attingunt, quam unumquecum; quam tempus præfinituma ad venérit, deférere oporet; hac vero ad externam falutem pertinent quæ bonos & pios, cœsante hac misera conditione humana: Viæ, expefet, quibus; & in hoc, & in futuro féculo, maxima premia propofita sunt. Hoc est cur Deus Reges honori fui nominis ornat, cum ait, ego dixi Dii ejus, maxime ut res divinas intelligent, & veram Religionem in Mundo conservent; hoc præcipue Scriptura hortatur, cum inquit, nunc Reges intelligente, & eruditini qui judicatu terram, fervite Domino, &c. hoc invitant exempla præfiantiflimorum Regum in Sacris Litteris, qui fumma cura, opera, ac studio veram Religionem promoverunt, & impios cultus abrogarunt: hoc David, hoc Josias, hoc Josaphat, hoc Ezechias, & deinœceps omnes Sanctifîmi Reges præfiterunt. Eadem cum Serenifff. R. M. Veftra haud dubie etiam cogitet, imo jam nunc in hoc totis viribus incumbat, ut sincera Evangelii Doctrina Pææ Tyrrannide oppræfa refütuat, Gloria Christii itidem a Pontifice obcurata iterum illufterret, & impii abusus ab illo ipfo Antiçhri òto in Ecclefiam tanquam venenum quoddam peftilentiflimum speri & introduci aboleantur, ac veri & Divinis Litris confentanæ Cultus & Ceremoniae consiliatur, non dubitamus quin Deus Opt. Max. Serenifff. R. Majefîatis Veftrae conatus & confiliâ, in hifice rebus Sanctifîsimis & Honestifîsimis fortunaturus sit, & pro sua bonitate elementer effecturus, ut inter Serenifff. R. M. Veftram & Principes noftrros, ac corum in caufa Religionis confederatos, talis concordia consiliatur, quam & Laudem Evangelii, & publicam totius Christiani Orbis utilitatem ceftarum, & majori excito Romanino Antiçhri futuram effe, minime ambiguum; eftque optima spe, ut volente Deo, plures Reges, Principes, & Potentatus, ad hanc Sanctifiﬁnam caufam accedant, ac Evangelicae veritatis Doctrinam agnoeat & X x x x recipiant.
recipiant, sicut etiam haec tenus per Dei Gratiam, maximi progressus facti sunt, & non tamum in Germania, verum etiam extra Germaniam, Potentissimi Reges, Principes & Civitates, Divini Verbi Doctrinam receperunt.

Ad partque homines passim agnita veritate, ex Scriptis eorum qui Evangelii Doctrinam profiten tur & docent, per totum peene orbem terrarum sparsis, fanitoris Doctrinæ admodum cupidos eflc, quorum preces aliquando Deus pro sua benignitate exaudiet, ac suum Verbum illuminatis mentibus Regum & Principum latissime propagat, ut si unus Pastor, hoc eft Dominus nostrer Iefus Christus, & unum Ovile quod erit Ecclesia Catholica, quæ profitetur fincerem Chrifti Evangelium, & illi consentaneum usum Sacramentorum retinet, non Papistica aut Romana, quæ utrumque reprobant, odit, & oppugnat.


Veftrae Serenissimæ Regiz
Majestatis
Addictissimi & obsequientissimi,

Franciscus Burgratus
Vicecancellarius.

Georgius a Boyneburgh
D. Oratores.

Friderichus Myconius
Ecclesiasfæs Gothanus.

VIII. The
VII. The King's Answer to the former Letter.

Iteras Vestras, Egregii ac præstantissimi Oratores, per ministrum vestrum super ad nos mittis, summam humanitate plenas, atque in-gentem erga nos benevolentiam epistolas, tum liberam acceptum, tum magna cum voluptate legimus; quibus significatis vos, post expostula nobis mandata, cum quibusdam Epistolas & Theologiae Doctoribus a nobis designatis de Christianæ Religionis nonnullis Articulis per duos menses contulisse; non dubitare quoque quin inter Principes vestrus & nos, atq; utrorumque Epistolas, Theologos & subditos, firma perpetua; concordia in Evangelii Doctrina ad laudem Dei, & Romani Antichristi perriciem fit sequiura: Verum quia reliquam disputacionem de absusibus expectaret non petitis, cum jam naves appulerint vos in patriam deporturum, ante dicistum vestrum eximiam vestri officii elect ut fentientiam vestrarum de quibusdam absusum Articulis nobis declaratis, de quibus nos post dictum vestrum cum Epistolas & Theologis nostris conferre postemus. Et quia tanta capita principia putatis quin fundamentum Pontificiæ Tyrannicus sustentare videtur, nempe Prohibitionem utriusque speciei in causa Domini, Millias privatæ, & Prohibitionem Conjugii Sacerdotum; de his Articulis fentientiam vestrarum ingenue aperitis, atque eam judicium nostrum quantuncum id sit, & censura committitis: Quis non hane vestrarum benevolentiam. Egregii Oratores, summopere amplectatur? Quis non hane Vestrarum Gratulatim modis omnibus admiratur? Quis nobilium ea communicare studet, quæ non modo ad praefentem vitam transfigendam, sed ad futurum quoque attiequandam conferunt? Enimvero si illos non abs re exilismamus amicos, qui in Regionum commerciis ea quæ sunt gratae atque commoda imporfunt, ne quid usquam defit quod ad praefentem vitam degendam pertinent; quantum magis illi sunt amici judicandi, qui ad aternam vitam conferunt impertiri non gravantur! nam quæ praefentis vita subidia paranur durabiliti diu non sunt, quæ vero ad aternam promovent nunquam interioriuntur; quinimum amicitia ipsa terre, quantumvis ingens, quantumvis firma, sincer habet & vita excessum, charitas vero quæ nunc quam excidit post hane vitam splendescit magis. Et quia nostrum judicium non apsperaristi videmini, quod nos ipsi indigimus exilismamus, ut de rebus tan arduis judicemus, atque ea propositis quæ putatis inprimis amplectenda, qua in re non vulgarem sed ingerem vim erga nos amoris ostendiris, ne nos non respondere hinc vester tante gratitudini videremur, si quæ nobis ad praefens videntur vobisce non communicaremus, decrivimus itidem de his tribus Articulis non nihil attingere; & peæ tus nostrum ingenue vobis aperire: Quo fiet ut mutuis inter nos & Principes vestrarum amor eo magis angustat, eo diutius foveatrus; si nihil occulsum inter amicos reteneretur, sed summa sinceritate gerantur omnia, id quod nos cum omnibus amicis temper facere conuicesmus; quod nostrum perpetuum instituamus in praefentia apud Amiciissimos, eoque quos habemus charitatem, mutare nequaquam libere. Verum de Articulis ipsis tamen agamas.
De utraque Specie.

Quod imprimis sub utraq; Speciei semper Eucharistiam populis secundum primarum Christi institutionem dandam esse exsistentem, & nullo pacto sub altera rantium, non possimus quovis pacto adduci egregii & praestantissimi Oratores, ut putemus vos id serio affirmasse, fed forfan probandi caufa nobis id potuisse, ut quid sentiamus intelligeretis; nam ipfa opinio tam aliena est a recta Scriptura intelligenda, ut vix quis id serio affirmare prafermeret, quod latius in hac Epistola declarabimus. Nec nobis persuadere possimus, etti occasio sit, vos non nobiscum credere, quod sub specie Panis sit realiter & substantialer verum & vivum Corpus Christi, & una cum Corpore Sanguinis verus, alioqui facendum estet Corpus ibi extingue efige, quod neaef est eticere, cum Caro illa Christi non modo viva, sed & vivificatrix sit  & quod sub specie vini non modo vivus & versus Christus Sanguis sit, sed etiam una cum vero Sanguine viva & vera etiam Corporis sit Caro. Quod cum ita sit, necellario conferquetur etiam eos qui sub altera specie communicant, & solum sub specie Panis Corpus Christi sunt, non fraudare Communione Sanguinis Christi, atque eos etiam qui sub specie vini Communicat non fraudare Communionem Corporis Domini; Quocircum cum sub alterutra specie utrumq; continatur, viz; & Corpus & Sanguis Christi, utravis solum species porrigatur populis, utrumque, id est tam Sanguinem quam Corpus Christi, per hoc eidem exhibeat. Nam Christus ipse sub altera specie dedisse legitur in Evangelio Luce Diicipulis duobus in Emaus cunctibus, quando agnitis est in fractione Panis; scribitur enim, quod cum recumberoet cum ets, accept Panem & benedixit, ac fregit & porrigebat illis, & aperit sunt ocuhi eorum, & cognoverunt eum fractione Panis. Ubifer de Eucharistia cum locum vetustissimi Authoris Chrysostomus, Theophylaetus, & Agustinus intelligent, & tamen de vini po culo nulla ibi sit mentio: Unde Christus qui in altera specie ministeriavit Eucharistiam, libertatem Ecclesia fponse sua reliquisse videtur, ut imitetur, fponsi fui veffigia, ac fimpliciter sub altera specie, licet sub utraque, communicare, libere posset. Nam Christus qui sub utraq; specie Communicationem docuit, etiam de Communione sub altera ipse exemplum resiliat, qui secum tamen nusquam vel in preceptis, vel in exemplis difludet.

Sunt idem Lucas in Actis Apoftolorum citate, quando ad adventum Spiritus Sancti, praelicante Petri, apposita sunt anima circiter tria milia, inquiens, Erant autem perseverantes in Doctrina Apoftolorum & Communicatione & fracione Panis & orationibus; Ubifer minister de Eucharistia cum locum intelligent vetereus, & de pociro nulla sit ibi mentio. Jam si Christum ipsum Autorem, si Apoftolos ab eo ad doecendum orbes millos Patrons habet, Communion sub una specie nementi Panis, ut in Ecclesia non est tamquam Evangelicii preceptis contraria; statim repudianda; nam Apoftoli, qui per adventum Spiritus edocti sunt omnem veritatem, nunquam in fractione Panis, Communionem dedissent; populo, si utraq; species de precepto Christi reman necellario finuit porrigenda; ne Christi jubentis parum memoris institutum ejus mutassie videreunt.

Porro ipse Christi Verba, quae post Evangelifas Paulus totam eam dominicam Corinthiis enarrans citat; nos admonent Christum separatim de
Eccle Christus de Corpore suo sub specie Panis fumendo separatim locutus est, inquit, Hoc faciete, primumque ul-lam de poculo faceret mentionem. Pollet autem de Calice aut Paulus, Similiter & Calicem postquam evanuit acceptit dicens, Hic Calix Novum Testamentum est in meo Sanguine, hoc faciete quotiescumque bibetis in mei Commemorationem: Nec dixit ficut de corpore dixerat simpliter, Hoc faciete in mei Commemorationem, sed dixit, Hoc faciete, cum hoc ad-jectione, nemoque quotiescumque bibetis in mei Commemorationem, per hoc nobis indicans, non temptet sub specie vini hunc locutum non conjunctim sub specie Vini in Commemorationem Christi id sacrificium.

Eccle rursum Christus post distributionem corporis sui, prædixit cena in qua corpus suum sub specie Panis separatim prius dederat, iterum separatim sub specie Vini Sanguinem suum offert, inquit, Hoc faciete quotiescumque bibetis; faciete in mei Commemorationem, signifícans nobis & fervorum nonnuntiam alterum perrogii poßile, & tamen cum ita fuit, utrinoque, in integrum Populis dari, aliquoi suffciciet semel duxerat de utrioque, utriusque dictum, Hoc faciete, nec de Calice adjecíffet Hoc faciete quotiescumque bibetis, cum prius de specie Panis simpliter dixisset, Hoc faciete, non separatim ea finni poíile judicaret.

Neque quifquam negare potest Dictpulos in cena sub specie Panis sumpsíse Corpus Christi, coenántibus illis, acceptit Panem & benedíxit, ac feretum dedígit illis, dicens, Hoc est Corpus meum; Calicem autem non nisi post intervallum ac perácta cena portecruit, nisi quis adeo superbus esse fset, ut crederet post funtionem specii Panis non prius eos sumpsíse Corpus Christi, quum postquam evanuit poísefset Calicem; quasi vero priora Verba Christi irrita suisissent, cum de specie Panis dicernet Hoc est Corpus meum, aut ipsa distributio facta Dicipulos nullam vim haberet, priusquam de Calice perácta Cena bibíssent; Quod cum impium sit ferere, tum ipsum Verbum & Factum Christi, proh nefas! evacuát. Denique ipse Paulus, postquam etiam de utraque specie con-junctum locutus est, rursum de ipsis speciebus disjunctum inferit, inquitens ergo, quia in ista ons tuo tuto, ut nunc de partibus tue in eeeo aut nostri, ut nunc de partibus tue in eeeo aut nostri.

Quod verba latine sic transtulit Erasmus, Itaq; quifquis ederit Panem hunc aut de Calice bibet in digna, reus evertit Corporis & Sanguinis Domini; ubi ex Pauli verbis aperte liuet, Quifquis indigne Panem hunc sumpsit, reum eft Corporis & Sanguinis Domini, aut ille de Calice bibet in dignitate, simile reum eft Sanguinis & Corporis Domini quod tamen nullo modo criminis daretur, nisi scorsum sub specie Panis effer & Corporis & Sanguinis Christi, atque itidem sub specie vini scorsum effer & Corporis & Sanguinis Christi; nec disjunctum de specie Panis locutus sinisset Paulus, si nunquam nisi conjunctum cum Calice sumeretur: Neque rur-sum disjunctum de Calice dixissent, si nunquam nisi conjunctum cum specie Panis effer sumendam. Quorum enim ea disjunctis ifi nunquam nisi conjuncta eft poíle. An Verba ipsa Scripturae singula sunt attendenda, nam Propheta inquit, Incline autem Vesticam in Verba oris mei; & Mobiñes in Deuteronimo ait, Ponite corda veltra in omnia Verba quæ ego testificor
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testificor vobis hodie, quia non incauti praecepta sunt vobis. Et iterum, non addetis ad verbum quod vobis loquor, nec auferetis ab eo. Verba igitur Domini atque iphus Pauli, & separatim de alterutra specie primum pofta, & poft utriusque conjunctionem etiam iterum disjuncta, significatione nobis videntur, & poft alterutrum speciem seorsum portrigi secundum Verbum Christi.

Nec per hoc quod Christus dixit, Bibite ex hoc omnes, statim consecutur Christum jusitisse Communionem cui litter de populo lepper sub utraq; specie & nunquam sub altera dandam efe : Nam illorum Verborum senum non alium efe apparat, quam quem ipsi Dominus Apóstolu-fum suum Paulum, qui a Domino de hoc Sacramento omnia fe accepisse teftatur, edocuit, nempe quod quotiescunt; de Calice hoc quiquam bibert, id in Christi memoriam facerat, lictui fecerunt Dileipuli, qui tunc aderant praefentes & de eo biberunt omnes: Itaque quotiescunque Sanguis Christi bibendus a quouam efe, in memoria Passio Christi recordanda est; sic similiter quisquis Corpus Christi sempiter ad memoriam passionem ejus revocare debet: Neque ex praecepto Christi toties bibendum efe de hoc Calice, quotiescunt; Corpus Christi sumendum est, apparat per ea quae de verbis & de exemplo Christi supradicta sunt. Certe quicquid Christus omnino observari praecept, non posse ulla humana fantaéione prohiberi putamus, cum humana Lex divinam abolere non poft. Similiter etiam exiftimamus, nec morem ullum, nec ulla confessionem tantopere apud homines valere, val Dei Verbum expugnet & Christi praeceptum subvertat.

Veruntamen cum Christus nobis libere reliquerit ut cum tribus modis corporaliter fumere possumus, & quarto spiritualiter, nempe primo sub utraque specie, secundo, sub Panis specie tantum; tertio, sub Vini quarto volantate & desiderio folo, cum alter neceffitate coadui cum fumere nequimus, & exiftimamus pro primo, ut fìquis fidelis ardentì in Deum amore flagranti, pietateq; ingenti affectu, magnopere desideraret Sacramentum sub utraq; specie fumere, aut nullum vel valetudinis vel imbecillitatis obfaret impedimentum, ei sub utraq; specie Communio præberi poftit, dummodo nequ posfultans nequ munitrans Sacramentum in can- dalum Populi, aut in contemptum Ecclesiae id faciat, neque fuo fure Leges Religionis in qua degit five Ecclesialiticas five Laicas infringere praefumat.

Pro secondo & tertio fie, Quod fi impedimentum aliquod hujsuscmodi intervenit, ut in utraque specie abiq; periculo fumi non poftit, ut fìquis Paralyfi correptus, aut ab alio quovis natura aut morborum impedimento utramq; speciem recipere commode non poftit, hic fi desideraret Sacram Communionem fumere, ei sub altera tantum specie porrigatur. Pro quarto autem, Quod fìquis naufrag, vel alia coporis molestia adeo fit infelatum, ut nihil in stomachum receptum non rejecket, huic fi id petat Sacramentum falem orendi poftet, ut vifo co mortem Christi redemptoris fu ciarius revocans in memoriam compunctus corde spiritualiter communiciet.

Plurimum igitur demiro, quod hi qui Christianae Libertatis afferentes & acerrimi propugnatores videri volunt, libertatem hanc obtinam in hoc uno Corporis & Sanguinis Domini Sacramento, quo nihil superrcellentius, nihil celebris, nihil incomparabilis, nihil deniq; ad confolandos fidelium animos solidius, Christus hinc abiturus Ecclesiae fuae reliquit, nobis
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nobilis tollere velit; quid enim majus donare potuit Christus in hoc Sacramentum sumendum quam seipsum? Deinde cum ipse omnino liberum nobis reliquiet, & posse aliquos sub utraque specie Communionem accipere, & posse alios sub altera, nonnullus quoque morborum necessitate impeditos, falsem in conspectum prolato Corporis Domini communio corde posse Spiritualiter communicare, quanta immodestia, quanta inclementia effet, libertate hac fraudare Christianos? Ut quibus sub utraque specie, ob impedimenta quae sunt innumera, Communio praeberi non posset, his summi boni fruitione privatis sub neutra daretur! Nunc adhuc fententur eft non corporaliter fumatur, falem Spiritualiter capi posse. Qua non servitute durior effet hanc conditionem, ut Christi redemptoris nostri corpus, quod ille a fidelibus sumi voluit, nobis id fummopere defideran-tibus violenter cripiatur? Quis ingenuus Christianus libertatem fruitionis hujus fibi extortam non omni morte intolerabiliorum putaret? Itaque libertas eae a Chrifto nobis relicta omni conatu retinenda eft, omnibus viribus amplectenda, nec ipfis mea opinione fidendum eft, qui eam nobilis tollere velit.

Praxerea, quid fiat apud septenttrionales Populos? quid apud Populos Aphrisci & qui intra Tropicos habitant? apud quos non ea vini copia eft ut Populii omnino sub specie vini praeberi poiffit, (nam his Populis cervisia ex frugibus eft potui) an idem quia sub utraque specie his ministrii Sacramentum non poelft, ab utraque arcendii effent? aut sub una non integrum Christum capere poiffent? id quod abfit.

Quando autem primum Populus primum popem deferere, & sub altera tantum Panis specie Communionem sacram sumere coepit, nobis est incompertum; credibile eft majores nostros auctoritate Scripturae motos, que alteram nonnuncum speciem per Christum & Apostolorum datum memorat, propter periculum effusionis in terram Sanguinis Christi, cum liquida omnia de membrorum trepidante motu facile eft infundatur, religiosa quidam & pia reverentia, non mediocrit. Dei timores abstinuifile in Sacramento a vini specie, nee Christi quem eum Ecclesiam ulque in finem omnibus diebus manifurum promisit, tot fæculis eam deferuiile, ut si necessarium preceptum de utraque specie fémper ab omnibus fumenda deferueret, in re tanti momenti eam permiffiile turpiter labi; fed magis Ecclesiae fæc liberam reliquiffe videtur, ut cum in altertria specie totius & integer Christiis continuerat, sub altera etiam fumi poiffit.

Qui vero eft mos hodie de utraque specie in Ecclesiis Graecis, que Romane Ecclesiæ Tyrannisim non quam admirerunt, non fatis nobis eft compertum, cum Graecia tota Turcarum fubfis imperio, nec liberam habet, facultatem Christum ut libet profiterendi, quando nec Verbum Dei publice predicar, nec ad Campanarum foment Populum convocare, nec publicas Litanias crueis vexillo præcunte facere, his ullo pacto eft conceffum.

Illud quoque inprimis eft obversandum, neque quod in Universis Eclesiis in die Paraæeves Sacerdos & omnis Populus sub una tantum specie Panis communicaret, non sub specie vini, ut eum is dies reprehendent mortem Christi in qua Sanguis ejus prætiosus pro nostra falomé efflus eft & separatus a corpore, separatum illo die sub altera folum specie communicarent omnes five Sacerdos five Populus; qui mos per univerfam Eclesiam nunquam fuisfet admiffus, nisi sub altera tantum specie integer Christus continuerat, atq{e} nisi sub altera Sacramentum Populi ministrii poiffet.
Per Missas autem privatæ multos abüsus introductos esse dicitis, quas velut Atlantem quemdam Papatum suffinuisti, indulgentias inveixiff, orbem expilas, utpote quaæ ad quæftum pateant, Monachorum turbas concurravi, Verbum Dei exterminasæ afferitis, atq; ideo Germanos Principes Synaxim veteri more reduxisse, quam Lingua vernacula facere, ritu fatis decoro atque decenti commemoratis; privatæ vero Missas apud vos in totum abolitæ esse, quaæ tot pepererunt abüsus & fœtus malignos. Qua de re nobilissimum diu multum cognitantes, consideramus inprinis nihil unquam in Ecclesia sua Chrif tum ordinasæ quos malignus ferox alioquando non fit abüsus, neque tamen properterea rejiendum est quicquid Sanætæ est ordinatum, alioqui Sacramenta omnia antiquanda efi sunt quin magis reputavimus longe fatius esse Missas omnès in totum removere, quaæ vero Sanætæ & pie introducta fin in Ecclesiæ, illa ipfi flabili manere.

Nam si idem Missæ privataæ abolenda sunt in totum, quia de illis Tho mas Aquinas, Gabriel, atque alii Doctrinas ut dicitis impias inducerunt, viz. Missæ ex opere operato gratiam mererí, & tollere peccata vivorum & mortuorum, & applicari posse alienum opus ad alterum, Quicquid fit, quod illi afferunt, hoc de omni Missa afferunt, non de privatæ duntaxat; Quapropter si ad tollendas illas opiniones quaæcunque Missa privatæ effet abroganda, eadem ratione abroganda effet Synaxis & Missæ publica, quam vos ipfi retinetis nec cenfetis abolumandam, quicquid de ea ali opinentur. Missa vero privatæ, velut privatæ quaedam est Communion & Synaxis, quae si recte atque ut decent fiat, quie nque fideles illi interesse decreverint, fi penitentes convenerint contributi de peccatis, Deiæ implorent Mi ßericordiam cum Filio prodigo diceantes, Pater peccavi in Coelum & coram te, haud dubie quin ipfi Spiritualiter cum Sacerdotio communicant, offerentes fe & animas suas, hoftias vivas & acceptabiles Deo, tametfi paui fuerint, atq; a coporalì Sacramenti funtioni abfìnuerint: ac per hoc Missa privatæ Ecclesiæ adeo non obfìt, ut non parum & ad vitam corrigendam, & ad fidem in Chrifi tum corrodorandam prodeflæ videatur; quippe Christiani per hoc peccatores fe ægnofoquent quotidianæ delinquentes, quotidie veniant postulantes, quotidianæ per peccatum in falebrofo vitæ hujus curfæ cadentes, quotidie penitentes refurgunt, & velut alacriores redditi, devicto fæpius hoftis, fin in pugnam audientiores.

Porro fi in exordio omnis Missæ privatæ publica èst peccatorum omnium generalis Confèlio, venia postulatur a Deo, absolutionis impartitur a Sacerdote fecundum Dei Verbum, quemadmodum in Missa publica.

Et si in Missæ publica & quantumcumque folenni nemo adìtus alius præter Sacerdotem qui communicare velit in eflæ Sacramenti, quid quæo differet Missæ publica a privatæ? An Sacerdos in folenni die populo ad Sacra conveniente, si nemo alius communicare velit, abstinent a Missa publica? Atque inter Graecos ipfos, ubi singulis dominiciis diebus fit una Missa publica uti afferitis, rardo admodum communicat in eflæ Sacramenti quisquam est Populo, uti a Fide dignis accepimus, qui ipfi Graecorum Sac ris interfuerunt.
Quod vero Epiphaniunm citatis qui singulis septimaniis ter celebratam Synaxim in Alia afferit, eumq; morem ab Apostolis inducatum, cum jam tantum in Graecia singulis Dominici sit Populi conventus ad Sacra, si mutari mos potuit ab Apostolis inducatus, ut rarius quam statuarent Apostoli Populus congregatur, cur non etiam mutari potuit ut sepsius convertiret, quando per hoc celebratìt fit mortis Christi memoria, id quod in Milia fit etiam privata.

Jam vero si Sacramentum hoc a fideilibus exercerì Christus in mortis sua memoriae praecepti, inquiens, Hoc facite in mean Commemoratiönem, ne mors ejus rario admodum commemorata in Oblivione transtret, quo crebris, quo frequentis, memoria ejus in Sacramento repetitur, eo mandatum ejus servatur magis: Etenim ficut rario admodum memorata Oblivionis sunt obnoxii, ita crebro frequentata radices in mente agunt altius, ne obliterari unquam poßint; itaq; ut mos Christi crebra memoria illustretur, Milia etiam privata non parum confert.

Certe Paulus Apostolus singulas domos privatas, ubi eredentium numerus alicuius erat, Ecclesias vocat, membra Majoris Ecclesiae, Civitatis illius in qua effent, ficut majores ipsas Civitatum Ecclesias, membra Catholicæ et universâlis Ecclesiae appellat, scribens ad Corinthios; at quæ Ecclesia arcenda est a Communione Corporis Domini? Christus etiam ipse instituendo Sacramentum hoc Corporis & Sanguinis fui, inquit, Hoc quotieecun, facitis, facite in mean Commemorationem; nec tempus nec locus ullum cohïbuit, quo fieri id non poterit, quonam modo igitur arcebimus quenquam a Milliis privatis? Et ad dies festos publicamq; Synaxim eum relegabimus? Cujus arbitrio Christus liberum reliquit, quando & ubi id vellet decenter execuüi, dum inquit quotiescumque? nam si certa tempora fervanda efit, non indefinitè locutus fuìtlet Christus ipsum Dei Verbum, ipfa fapientia Patris.

Jam vero ab initio nascentis Ecclesiae per singulas domos ubi erant fideles fiebat Communio, atq; id quotidie, tæte Luca in Apostolorum Actis, ubi ait, Quotidie quoq; perdurantes uninominiter in templo, & frangentes circa domos Panem; quem locum etiam de Communione verteres interpretes intelligunt, & tamen singulis diebus non agebant publicas dies festas, sed privatim per domos communicabant: Eti terrenorum Regum atq; Principum Miniftri pleriq; omnes nullum diem tranfigere cupiunt, quo non fruarent vel solo alseptu sibi Domini, tamen propri congruefuis non contingat, quis fidelis Christianus non omnibus optabit votis, ut quando in hac vita Christum Regem Regum, & Dominum Dominationem, in Majestate glorie regnantem cernere oculi non possint, saltem per Fidem in Sacramento Coporis Domini, quod ille fidelibus in memoriae futurumandam reliquit, interim quotidie Regem glorio videat?

Quod vero Chrysostomus Sacerdotem ad altare fłatere, & alios ad Communicationem acceperè, alios arcere scribit, enarrat morem publice Communionis, qui in initio nascentis Ecclesiae crebris quam nunc fit frequentabatur; qui mos nunc in Paschate, quando ubiq; communicant Populus, apud omnes servatur Ecclesias: Ceterum ille ipse expostulat cum fideilibus futuris temporis, quod rarius communicent, quam vel oportent, vel vetus mos erat; ceterum nunquam ip; privatæ Milliæ vetuit.

At Canon Nicenus Diaconis in Communione publica fium locum de-
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Sacramentum autem Eucharistiæ Sacrificium non esse arbitramini, quod unum Sacrifìciunm fit propitiatorìum mortis Christi, & cum is ultra non moritur, qui fêmel tantum pro nobis oblatus est, nullum reftat ultra Sacrificium, nisi cultus Spiritualis, hoc est, justitia Fidei & Fructus Fidei. Quid sibì velit justitia quæ ex Fide est scimus, quippe quam Paulus opponit Justitia quæ est ex Lege: Caeterum qui sunt fructus Fidei, nobis ex Scripturis non fatis licuet, ipfam Fidem ficut charitate, & multas alias virtutes scimus esse fructus Spiritus. Verum enimvero non fatis mirurum, cur quifquam agre ferat Miliam Sacrificium vocari, quando omnis veritatis & Græcorum & Latinorum sic eam apparelore confuevit, quim ibi fiat consecratio Corporis & Sanguinis Domini in memoriam mortis ejus, qui ut inquit Paulus, pro peccatis offerens hostiam, in fempiternum fede ad dextram Dei, una enim Oblatione consummavit in fempiternum fanctificatos; ita quì Christus & Sacerdos eflet, & Sacrificium, & Hoftia, ubicunq; est Christus, ibi est Hoftia nostra, ibi est Sacrificium nostrum; at sì in Sacramento altaris est verum Corpus Chrifti, & versus Sanguis Chrifti, quo pacto manente veritate Corporis & Sanguinis Domini, non est ibi Sacrificium nostrum?

Porro quia in Mifla est Chriftus Sacrificium nostrum, qui ipse ultra non moritur, ibi quì cum ipso capite noftro, nos illius Corpus & Membra noftra met iplos Deo Hoftias vivas offerimus, Graci id totum æqualeæt, id est, Sacrificium incurrentum vocant: ita veteres omnes intrepide Miliam Sacrificium vocaran, quod ibi sit Chriftus Sacrificium noftrum in Sacramento.

Sic Bafilius, sic Chryfostomus, sic Hieronymus, sic Augustinus, eam apparelore non dubitavit; Quocirca quid vetat Miliam, in qua consecration Parini in Corpus Chrifti, & Vinum in Sanguinem ejus, qui vere est Sacrificium noftrum, & hoc fieri in memoriam fui jufit, vocari Sacrificium: alioqui sì id negabimus, non parum verendum est, ne cum Sacramentariis quos nunc vocant, qui veritatem Corporis & Sanguinis in Sacramento negant, & cum Anabaptiftis confentire videamus, a qua fpicatione ficut in animo noftri nos profiterem longe abeatis, ita quos cum in Milia tum Sacerdos, tum Populus contribuus de peccatis fe, ut hortatur Paulus, Hoftiam vivam, fanctam atq; Deo placentem exhibeat, Laudes quas Deo canat & in gratiarum actione veretur, quis dubitare potefl, ea quos ratione, Miliam jure Sacrificium nominari, cum Propheta appellat Sacrificium Laudis, & Paulus omnes hortetur, ut fe Hoftias vivas exhibeat, id quod fit in Milia. Malachias etiam Propheta inquit, Ab ortu folis usq; ad occasum, magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, & in omni loco Sacrificatur, & offertur nominis meo Oblatio munda, qua magna est nomen meum in gentibus, did Dominus exercituum. At quæ altera Oblatio munda in omni loco inter gentes, nifi folum Chriftus, aut quod alius Sacrificium Chriftianorum, nifi Milia, ubi Commemoratio mortis Chrifti agitur? Nam aut aliquod inter gentes Chriftianorum oportet esse Sacrificium, aut mentitus est Propheta: quanam quæ fo est Oblatio munda, nifi folum Chriftus Hoftia nostra, qui in Sacramento altaris est sub Parini & Vini speciebus? quippe quantumcum nos ipfi nos Deo
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Deo offeramus, hostie mundae non meremur nomen, quorum omnis justitia velut pannus est menfrae: Itaque, confit Milliam Sacrificio vocari ex Verbo Dei per Malachiam enunciato, quod cum ita fuit, cur Miftae invidemus nomen Sacrificii, quod Propheta prædictus, & in quo Christus in Sacramento praefensus eft ipse mundi Sacrificium.

De Conjugio Sacerdotum.

Calicatum Sacerdotum contra Scripturam, contra Leges naturæ, contra honestatem, per Pontificem Romanum afferitis introducitum, cum Scriptura Sacerdotibus, ficut caters hominibus, conjugium permittat, nec posit naturam sium mutare, nec abhinc singulari dono calibes vivere: nam non omnes capiunt verbum hoc, & Paulus inquit, propter fornicationem unuqvisq; Uxorem hunc habebat.

Hic primum ordiri juvat, ut locum illum Evangelii de tribus Eunuchorum generibus consideremus, quandoquidem Christus alios a natura Eunuchos esse afferit, alios per vim fatos, quorum neutrum genus continentiae virtute splendet; quoniam alteros ad generandum natura, alteros violenda rediit intutiles. Tertium vero genus eorum eft, qui quamquam terrena generatione uti possunt, malunt continere, & fe castrare propter Regnum Coelorum; de quo genere Christus stam infort, qui potefc capere, capiat, id quod nec de primo, nec de secundo Eunuchorum generi intellegi potefc, quibus continentiae palma negata eft, cum descendere in certamen nequeunt: tertium vero genus eorum eft, qui continentiae student, & a licitis nuptiis abstinere malunt propter Regnum Coelorum, quo Christum libys atq; expeditius sequantur, ne terreni nuptiis implicati, cogitare cogantur, ut inquit Paulus, quod sunt mundi; ad quod genus Christus virginitas aiatur homines sapientissime invitat, invienis, Qui potefc capere, capiat: per hoc quod inquit, capiat, homines adhortans ad capecendum certamen ut palman arripiant, nempe Regnum Coelorum, ad quod neminem hortaretur, fì nemo car¬ nem posset vincere; per hoc vero quod ait, qui potefc capere, posse capi palman indicans; aliqui qui impossibile efset carmen superare, quorum attineret dicere, qui potefc, fì nemo id poscit.

Praterea per ea verba, Qui potefc capere, quosdam etiam effe declarat, qui non facile poßenfunt, nam nihil aliqui non facile poßenfunt capere, cur fecerneter eos qui poßenfunt; itaqu; confiderandas animi vires admonet, priuq; quam certamen aggregiare, ne temere arrepto certamine turpiter succumbas: Nee dixisset quodam effe, qui fe castraverunt propter Regnum Coelorum, si caro eser inuperabilis, & nemo fe castrare posset. Nee dubitandum est quin is qui hortatur ad subeundum certamen, gratiam suam define quis nihil posset, his non defuturam demonstrat, qui nomina sua in militia eie dederunt, quorum ille ipse dux futurus eft, qui non modo in periculis suos Militès invocatus nunquam deferit, fed itat ante Januam & pulfam, paratus cepit ad succurrendum, fecus ei aperiat: Nam Paulus tentationes infererati posse nos admonet, modo Dei auxillium in¬ ploremus, iniquiis, Tentatio vos non apprehendit nifi humana, fidelis autem Deus qui non patiatur vos tentari fupra id quod potefs, fed faci¬ etiam cum tentatione proventum ut possetis sustinere. Quamobrem his qui continentiam femel profitentur, & cæpum poßenfes turpiter deferunt, etiam atq; etiam considerandum eft, ne nomen Dei blasphemare videantur.
tur, Christum accusantes deserti auxilii, cum sint ipsi defertores militiae, & primo statim congregissi terga dantes hosti: ita quod Paulus liberum cuit; facit, ut propter fornicationem Uxorem tuam habeat, id de his intelligi, qui continentiam non sunt profalissi, Paulus ipse nos docet, inquiriens, de viduis adolescentioribus, quae cum luxuriatis fuerunt in Christo, nubere voluit, habentes damnationem qui prima sim decidit irritat fecern. Augustinus Pauli Doctrinam fecutus, ß. 83. inquit, alius ex Dei munere majus aliquid vovit, itatur, nee nuptias pati, qui non damnaretur si duxisset Uxorem; post votum quod Deo promisi, si duxerit damnabiur: sic virgo quae si nubaret non peccaret, Sanctimonialis si nupserit Christi adultera reputabitur, refpeet enim retro de loco quo acceperat, exemplo Uxor is Loth, & sic canis reverosus ad vomitum reputatur.

Ibidem Augustinus, ß. 75. ample afferit votum semem emissum ferandum esse. Hieronymus etiam adveros Jovinianum inquit, virgo quae se Deo dicavit, si nubat, damnationem habet; atq; alio loco adveros eundem, Virgines tue quas prudenter: consili (quod nemo unquam legerat, nec audiret de Apostolo) docui, melius esse nubere quam ur, occultos adulteros in apertos verterunt maritos; non suait hoc Apostolus, non Ecclesiam vas Virgiliamum consili esse, conjugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam. Verbum ipsum Dei palam adverosatur ubi ne rumpantur vota. Propheta inquit, vovete & reddite Domino Deus Veltro; in Deuteronomio quoq; scribatur, cum votum voveris Domino tuo, non tardabt reddere, quia requirit illud Dominus Deus tuus, & si moratus fueris, reputabitur tibi in peccatum & si nolueris pollizeri ab his; peccato eris, quod autem egressum est de lobis tuis, observabes & factes, sicut promotisti Domino Deo tuo & propria voluntate & ore locutus es. Ecclesias abeitas inquit, liquid vovitie ne moreris reddere, sed quodcumq; voveris reddete: Et in Numerorum libro scribatur, sicut virorem votum Domino volerit, aut se continereret juramenta, non faciat irritum Verbum suum, sed omne quod promisit implebit. Quocirca Ecclesia a principio sicut conjugatos Sacerdotes & Episcopos, qui sine crimine eiunt unius Uxoris viri, propter neceffitas tem admitti, cum tot ali quod poterit ad edocendum orbem suferere tune non re perir. incarcer doni un, & tamen Paulus ipse Timotheum calibem eleget; Ita quoq; sicut ad Sacerdotium calebis accerio, posse Uxorem duxerit, lem per a Sacerdotio deponebatur, secundum Canonem Neofaericum Concilii, quod fuit ante Nicenum. Similiter in Calcedonensi Concilio, in quibus primo capitae priora Concilia confermatar, itatur ut Diaconfla, fi se nuptias tradat, maneat sub Anachemate, & Virgo Deo dicata & Monachus jungentes se nuptias, maneant excommuni cati.

Hoc quoq; observandum est, quod in Canonibus Apostolorum habere, tantummodo Lectores Cantoresq; non conjugatos posse Uxores ducere. ceteris vero in Clerum admitti posset Uxorem ducere nunquam licuit.

Qui vero conjugati ad Sacerdotium admitti erant, Uxores suas prae textum Religionis abjicere nequaquam poterant, ut docet Canon Apostolicus; cumque in Niceno Concilio proponeretur de Presbyterorum jam ductis Uxoribus abjicendiis, refetit Paphnutius ne legitima Uxores pellerentur, cujus sententiam, cum Canone Apostolorum de non
non abiciendi Uxoribus concordantem, omnes sunt fecuti.

Ceterum in Niceno Concilio nihil unquam propositum fuit, ut Sacerdotes post Sacerdotium Uxores ducerent, quod jam ante sic erat prohibitum, ut siquis contrarium auderet, ducens potest Uxorem, deponeretur a Sacerdotio, ut supra dicitum est: itaq: Paphnutius de non abiciendi jam duibus ante Sacerdotium Uxoribus, non autem de ducendis post Sacerdotium aperte locutus est.


His concordat exta Synodus in qua sanctum est, quod sicut et Clero vellet Uxorem ducere, ante subdiaconatum id faceret, potest nequaqueam liceret, nec uia ultra libertas Sacerdotibus in exta Synodo datur post Sacerdotium Uxores ducenti, sicuti vos afficritis.

Itaq: a principio nafcentis Ecclesiae, plane compertum est nullo unquam tempore licuisti Sacerdoci post Sacerdotium Uxorem ducere: atq: ubique; id fuit attentatum, id non fuit impune, nam tantum nefas ausus deponebatur a Sacerdotio. Paulus Apostolus inquit, de conjugibus loquens, nolle fraudare invicem nisi forte ex conueniis ad tempor, ut vaetatis oratione. Hieronymus in Apologia ad Pammachium dicit, Paulus Apostolus dicit, Quando coimus cum Uxoribus non orare, si per coitum quod minus est impeditur, id est orare, quanta plus quod majus est, id est Corporis Christi, prohibetur accipere: idque late prosequitur exemplo Panum Propositionis, qui non dabat nius continentibus Davidi & Ministris, ut scribatur in libro Regum; Panes enim Propositions, quasi Corporis Christi, de Uxorum cubilibus consurgentes edere non poterant, ut inquit Hieronymus, atq: exemplo dationis legis veteris, ante cujus dationem filii Israel in Exodo triduo abstinenti sunt jussi ab Uxoribus.

Hieronymus etiam adversus Jovinianum inquit, si Laicus & quicunq; fideliis orare non potest, nisi careat officio conjugali, Sacerdoci cui semper pro Populo offerenda sunt sacrificia, semper orandum est: si semper orandum est, semper ergo caret Sacerdotio Matrimonio. Idem afferit Ambrosius ample in Epistola ad Timotheum prima, cum quo contentit Auguflinus.

Paulus Timotheus Dicteplum in Sacerdotali Officio eruditis, admoget necelitera negotia fugienda esse, inquiens, Labora ut bonus miles Christi Iefu, nemo militans implicat fe negotiiis secularibus, ut ei placeat cui fe probavit; & si Sacerdotes Uxores acciperent, curis secularibus necesse est in loquuntur, nam telle Paulo, qui cum Uxore est, sollicitus est quae sunt mundi, quomodo placeat Uxori; qui vero sine Uxore est, sollicitus est quae Domini sunt, quomodo placeat Deo: Ideoq: cundem ad calibatum hortatur, quando ait, Teipsum caufum cusfodi, nam Caftitas, ubi de conjugatis non fit sermo, calibatus intelligitur, suum enim Dicteplum pulti fumilem reddere cupibat; atque quodam in loco Corinthii feribens, omnes homines hortatur ad continentiam, ait enim, volo omnes homines esse sicut meipsum, & rurfus dico non-nuptis & viduis bonum est, si sic permanenteris sicut & ego. Alio in loco feribens eftlem, Ministros Ecclesiae fuit officii admoneet, adhortans ne in vacuum Gratiam Dei recipiant, & subdit, Nemini dantes ullam offensionem, ut non vituperetur ministerium, sed in omnibus exhibeamus nosmetipfos sicut Dei

Ministros,
Ministros, &c. in vigiliis, in jejuniiis, in caftitate, in scientia, in verbo veritatis. Quæ omnia ad Ministros Ecclesiae pertinent quos caftitatem maxime feclari convenit, ut impuri non appropiuuent altraribus, a quius falaces omnino arceri decet: Nam non nisi de Sacerdotibus ea intellegi poftunt, quando scientia divinae Legis & Populi institutio ad eos spectat, ut inquit Malachias, Labia Sacerdotis custodiunt Scientiam & Legem requirunt ex ore ejus. Et Paulus Timotheum vult ex exhibere operarii unconfufibilem, recte tractantem verbum veritatis, viz. in Doctrina populi; igitur Sacerdotes Domini, qui se Deo jampridem dedicauerunt, qui se castraverunt proper Regnum Caelorum, qui pro suis & populi peccatis orare affidue dabant; quonam pacto, deferto calibatux vexilliferum Christo, novis nuptiis operam dare secularibus; molefiis quibus scaturunt, fi implicare deceat quid enim est ad aratum manum mittere, retroq; recipere exemplo Uxoris Loth, si hoc non est? cujusmodi homines non aptos esse Regno Dei, Christus ipse pronunciat, etenim si nemoc potest Uxori pariter & Philosophia operam dare, ut mundana prudentia docet, quanto magis se est Deo dicavit, duobus Dominiis servire non poterit, nempe Deo pariter & mundo, quorum uterq; totum hominem, non dimidiatum, ad se raptat?

Quanquam autem & conjugati & cabiles in initio Ecclesiae admittebantur ad Sacerdotium, id tamen non ubi; ita fervabantur tute Hieronymo adversus Vigilantium, ubi inquit, quid facient Orientis Ecclesiae, quid Egyopi, & Sedis Apostolicae, quae aut Virgines clericos accipiant, aut continentae, aut si Uxores habuerint mariti esse desideris? Atque ad Pammachium Hieronymus inquit, Christus Virgo, Virgo Maria, utriusque Christi virginitate dedicauerunt, Apostoli vel Virgines, vel potest nuptiae continentae, Episcopi, Prefbyteri, Diaconi, aut Virgines eliguntur, aut vidui, aut certe post Sacerdotium in æternum pudiunt, in morem Ecclesiae veterem, cujus autor est haud dubie Paulus & Scriptura ipsa.

Jam vero uti Auguftinum citatis, qui ait, quidam nubentes poft votum afferunt adulteros esse, ego dico vobis quod graviter peccant qui tales dividunt: at ille ipse Auguftinus afferit, lapsus & ruinas a caftitate Sacerdotis etiamur, ut certe post Sacerdotium in æternum pudiunt, in morem Ecclesiae veterem, cujus autor est haud dubie Paulus & Scriptura ipsa.

Cyprianus quoque ipse quem citatis, in illa ipsa Epistola de Virginibus quæ continentiam vowederunt, ubi inquit, si perferverare nolunt, vel non possint, melius est ut nubant, quam ut in ignem delitiis suis ruant; ex quo infertis tale votum non impedi Matrimonium, longe aiunt fententiam confultus a Pomponio Sacerdote, quid libivideretur de Virginibus his, quæ cum fémel statuum suum continenter & ffirmiter tenere decreverint, deteccte sunt poleta in codem leto pariter mansiffe cum Manuchis; ea de re altius repetens Sermonem, periculofoam, esse Virginum & Malecularum cohabitationem, confirmans per Scripturas ac graves multorum ruinas ex hoc enatas, afferens generaliter de omnibus Virginibus inquit, quod se ex fide Christo se dicaverint caffe & pudice sine ulla fabula perferverent, ita fortes & stabiles præmium Virginitatis expectent; si autem perferverare nolunt, vel non possint, melius est ut nubant, quam ut in ignem delitiis suis cadant, certe nullum Fratrum aut Sororum scandalum faciant, cum fécipsum sit, &c. Et paulo post infert, Christus Dominus & Judex nofter, cum Virginem suam fibi dicatam & sanctitati suæ destinatam jacerem in alto cernant, quam indignatur & irascitur,
& quas poenas inceptis hujusmodi conjunctionibus comminatur! Deinde ad quasitum respondens, jubebat obstriceres adhiberi ut videatur an Virgines illae sint corruptae, ubi inquit, si autem alisque ex eis corruptae fuerunt deprænentes, agent præsentiam plenam, quia quae hoc crimen admitit, non mariti sed Christi adultera est, & ideo efferatur justo tempore & ex Homologei facta ad Ecclesiam redeant; quodsi obtinat perseverent, nec scab invicem separant, sciant se cum hac sua impudica obtinamenta nonquam a nobis admissi in Ecclesiam posse, ne exemplum ceteris in ruina delictis suis facere incipient. Ecco quid fentit Cyprianus de votis ruptis, incestuosis & Christi Adulteros hujusmodi flagitiosos appellat, & nisi separarent, nonquam admissi in Ecclesiam; quomodo erga tali vota non impedit Matrimonium, aut quis ad tale Matrimonium quemquam hortari audetur, quod fine violatone voti & transgressione divini mandati, ideoq, sine gravissimo fecelere contrahit non posset? Atqui quod Principes Germanici, feribitis, cum viderent multa flagitia de celibatu Sacerdotum provenire, Matrimonia Sacerdotibus libera permisit, si meum, Egregii Oratores, consilium requirissent vestri Principes, praequam tot Sacerdotes apud vos ruptis vinculis ad nuptias convocaissent, id in consilio dedisset quod vestri Principes arripuerunt hæc magnopere; nam si Sacerdotes qui continerent nollet, erumpere ad nuptias omnino voluerint, quantum fatius forte fuisset, exemplo vetustem depofitile tales a Sacerdotio, suum; de cetero Consistentiae quemquam reliquisset, ac deinde puriores altaribus admo visse, quam libere omnia permettendo peccatis alienis autores videri, atq; ea ratione aliena peccata nostra facere: Veruntamen nos qui in aliena Repub. curiatiu nonquam suimus nec esse voluimus, omnia Principum vestrorum acta atq; geta in optimam partem interpretamur, non dubitantes, quin ad tollendos abusus omnes sincerus his animus, atq; ad repurgandam Dei Ecclesiam appollitus non deficit.

Porro nos qui in Regno nostro Romani Episcopi Tyrannis proficere magna induhria studiatus, & Christi Gloriam sinceriter promovere curabimus Deo propitio, quantum humano conffilio fieri potest, ne quis abusus suae a Romano Episcopo suae, ad quos inductus non abolentur, & si quos competerent tempori infervientes, fingente qux odissesse Romanum Episcopum, atq; in Sermonem simulare veritatem, quam corde non amplectuntur, ejufmodi viris confilia nostra de rebus facere non communicabimus, nec eorum vel de Sacris vel de Prophanis expetabantur, sententiam.

Quae vero Christi puram atq; sinceram Doctrinam promovere, quae Christi Evangelium dilatam, quæ ad repurganda Ecclesiae Angelicana vita tendere, quæ ad extirpans abusus atq; errores omnes speçerant, quæ deniq; Ecclesia candorem exornare posse videbuntur, ea totis viribus eftabilimur, his studiabimus, his Deo volente in perpetuum incumbenus.

De Articleis vero quos jam differuimus maturius cum Theologis nostris quamprimum vacavit agemus, atq; ea demum statuentes quæ ad Christi Gloriam Ecclesiaeque sponse ejus decorum conducere exultimabimus.

Vobis autem, Praesentissimi Oratores qui tot labores terræ marique perpelii eftis, ut nos inviértis, qui cum Theologis nostris tandem confulitis, qui ob Evangelii negotium a Patria abivit multis menfibus, immensas atq; innumerabiles habemus gratias; nec miramur si dulcis amor Patris;
Patrie, post diurnam absentiam vestram, ad reditum vos invitat. Itaque post expleta Principum vestrorum mandata, post absoluta in toto negotia vestra, si non gravabimini nos inviæ, vester ad nos accessus admodum gratus erit, volque in Patriam non modo liberter dimittemus cum bona venia, sed ad Principes eiam vestros, literas dabimus summa diligentiae vestre in exequenda legatione Testimonium perhibentes. Valete.

IX. A Letter written by the King to his Bishops, directing them how to instruct the People. An Original.

By the KING.

HENRY R.

Rght Reverend Father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: And whereas for the Vertue, Learning, and good Qualities which we saw and perceived heretofore in you, judging you thereby a Personage that would sincerely, devoutly, purely, and plainly set forth the Word of God, and instruct our People in the truth of the same, after a simple and plain fort, for their better instruction, unity, quiet, and agreement in the Points thereof, we advanced you to the room and office of a Bishop within this our Realm; and so endowed you with great Revenues and Possessions; perceiving after, by the contrariety of preaching within this our Realm, our said People were brought into a diversity of Opinion, whereby there ensued Contention amongst them; which was only engendred by a certain contemptuous manner of speaking, against honest, laudable, and tolerable Ceremonies, Usages, and Customs of the Church; we were enforced, by our sundry Letters, to admonish and command you, amongst others, to preach God's Word sincerely, to declare Abusés plainly, and in no wise contentiously to treat of matters indifferent, which be neither necessary to our Salvation, as the good and vertuous Ceremonies of Holy Church, yet to be in any wise contemned and abrogated, for that they be incitements and motions to Vertue, and allurements to Devotion: All which our travail notwithstanding, so little regard was by some taken and adhibited to our Advertisements therein, that we were constrained to put our own Pen to the Book, and to conceive certain Articles, which were by all you the Bishops and whole Clergy of this our Realm in Convocation agreed on, as Catholick, meet, and necessary to be by our Authority for avoiding of all Contention set forth, read and taught to our Subjects, to bring the fame in unity, quietness, and good concord: supposing then that no Person having Authority under us, would either have presumed to have spoked any word, that might have offended the sentence and meaning of the fame, or have been any thing remiss, slack, or negligent in the plain setting forth of them as they be conceived, so as by that mean of abstinence such quiet and unity should not grow thereupon as we desired and looked for of the fame; and perceiving eft-foons, by credible report, that our labours, travail, and desire therein, is nevertheless defeated, and in manner by general and contemptuous words spoken,
spoken by sundry Light and seditious Persons, contemned and defpised, so that by the abstinence of direct and plain setting-forth of the said Articles, and by the fon and contentious manner of speaking, that the said light Personages do still use against the honest Rites, Custom, Uses, and ceremonial Things of the Church, our People be much more offended than they were before; and in a manner exclaim that we will suffer that injury at any Man's hand, whereby they think both God, Us, and our whole Realm highly offended, infomuch that principally upon that ground, and for the Reformation of those Follies and Abuses, they have made this Commotion and Insurrection, and have thereby grievously offended us, damned themselves, and troubled many of our good Subjects: We be now enforced, for our discharge towards God, and for the tender Love and Zeal we bear to the tranquillity and loving Unity of our said People and Subjects, again to readress these our Letters to all the Bishops of our Realm, and amongst other unto you, as a peremptory warming to admonish you, to demean and use your self for the redobbing of these things as shall be hereafter declared, upon pain of deprivation from the Bishoprick, and further to be punished for your contempt, if you shall offend in the contrary, as Justice shall require for your own Trespass.

And first, we strictly charge and command you, that plainly and distinctly, without any additions, ye shall every Holy day, wherover ye shall be within your Dioces, when ye may so do with your Health and convenient Commodity, openly, in your Cathedral Church, or the Parish Church of the place where ye shall for time be, read and declare our Articles; and in no wise, in the rest of your words which ye shall then speak of your self, if you speak any thing, utter any word that shall make the fame, or any word in the fame, doubtful to the People.

Secondly; We will and command you, That you shall in your Person travel from place to place in all your Dioces, as you may with your Commodity, and endeavour your selves every Holy-day to make a Collation to the People, and in the fame to set forth plainly the Texts of Scripture that you shall treat of; and with that also as well to declare the Obedience due by God's Laws to their Prince and Sovereign Lord, against whose Commandment they ought in no wise, though the fame were unjust, to use any violence, as to commend and praise honest Ceremonies of the Church as they be to be praised, in such plain and reverent fort, that the People may perceive they be not contemned, and yet learn how they were instituted, and how they ought to be observed and esteemed; using such a temperance therein, as our said People be not corrupted, by putting over-much affiance in them, which a part should more offend, than the clear silencing of the fame, and that our People may thereto the better know their Duties to us, being their King and Sovereign Lord.

Thirdly; We strictly charge and command you, That neither in your private Communications you shall use any Words that may found

Z z z z
to the contrary of this our Commandment, ye shall keep or retain any Man of any degree, that shall in his words privately or openly, directly or indirectly, speak in these matters of the Ceremonies, contentiously or contumaciously; but we will that in case ye have, or shall have towards you any such Person that will not better temper his Tongue, you shall, as an Offender and a Seductor of our People, fend the same in due custody to us and our Council, to be punished as shall appertain; and semblably to do with other Strangers whom ye shall hear to be notable Offenders in that part.

Fourthly; Our pleasure and commandment is, That you shall on your behalf, give strait commandment upon like pain of deprivation and further punishment, to all Parfons, Vicars, Curats, and Governors of Religious Houses, Colleges, and other places Ecclesiastical within your Diocefs, that they and every of them shall, touching the indifferent praise of Ceremonies, the avoiding of contentious and contumacious Communication, concerning any of the same, and the distinct and plain reading of our said Articles, observe and perform, in their Churches, Monasteries, and other Houses Ecclesiastical aforesaid, the very same order that is before to you prescribed. And further, that you permit nor suffer any Man, of what degree soever in Learning, Strangers or other, to preach in any place within your said Diocefs out of his own Church, by virtue of any Licence by us, or any other of our Ministers, granted before the fifteenth day of this Month, neither in your presence nor elsewhere, unless he be a Man of such Honesty, Vertue, Learning, and Judgment, as you shall thinkable for that purpose, and one whom in manner you dare answer for.

Finally; Whereas we be advertized that divers Priests have presumed to marry themselves, contrary to the custom of our Church of England, Our pleasure is, Ye shall make secret enquiry within your Diocefs, whether there be any such refiant within the same or not: And in case ye shall find that there be any Priests, that have so presumed to marry themselves, and have since that time used and exercized in any thing the Office of Priesthood, we charge you, as ye, will answer upon the pains aforesaid, not to conceal their doings therein, but rather to signify their demeanour to our Council, or to cause them to be apprehended, and so sent up unto us accordingly. Given under our Signet at our Castle of Windsor, the 19th day of November, in the 28th Year of our Reign.

X. Townshend's

Quod Confeflion Aureicularis fit de Jure Divino.

P. Robari videtur ex illo loco Matthæi 3. ubi Joanne Baptifita in defer- to praedicante paenitentiam, exibat ad eum Hierofolyma & omnis Judæa, & baptizabantur ab eo in Jordane confinentes peccata sua; quem locum Chriftofornus ita exponit, inquiens, Confeflion peccatorum et Testimonialium Confidentiæ confinentis Deum, qui enum timet Judicium Dei peccata sua non erubesceat confiteri; qui autem erubesceit non timet, perfecutus enim timor solvit omnem pudorem; illic enim turbiputo con- feffions apicatur, ubi futuri judiciæ poena non erubesceat. Nunc quid ne- scimus quia Confeflion peccatorum habet pudorem, & quia hoc ipsum erubescre poena est gravissimae fontes ille magis non jubet Deus confiteri pecca- ta nothra, ut verecum tiam pavum pro poena? nam & hoc ipsum pars ejus est judicium. O mifericordia Dei! quem toties ad iracundiam excitatum, sufficit ei * solus pudor pro poena.

Si verecum tiam pro poena est apud Deum, ea autem non contigent ex confeffione facia foli Deo, nam nemo rationis compos ignorat etiam ab- que Confeffione Deum peccata noftra ferit, de Confeffione facia homini necesse est intelligentur. Praeterea ipfa Verba demonftran quod Joanni Baptifte confiffi sunt peccata sua, nam dixit eis, facite ergo frument dum poenitentiam, quod apte dicere non poterat, nisi paenitentes eis ex confeffione fufci facia refciviflet.

Bedæ Marci. I.

Et Baptizabantur ab illo in Jordane flumine, confinentes peccata sua.

* Exemplum confitendum peccata ac meliores vitam promittendi datur.

Eis, qui Baptifma accipere defiderant, sicut etiam praedicante † Paulo in Ephesio multi credentium veniebant, confientes & annunciantes actus sui-

* Nona brevi " solus pudor."

Sciribitur quoq; in Evangelio Ioannis 21. Quorum remiferit peccata, remittuntur eis, & quorum returretis, retenta sunt: & Matth. 18. Que-

* Gravior poena, non paenitentiam.

cunq; ligaveritis super terram erunt ligata in Coelo, & quæcunq; solveri-

* Exemplum: " Alii, qui non posuerit."

tis super terram, erunt foluta in Coelo. Remittere autem & solvere ne-

* Eodem loco, non peccata cece.

mo potest id quod ignorat, occulta autem peccata prater peccantem no-

* Illustrum: " Alii, qui non posuerit."

vit nisi solus Deus, quare nisi peccata aperiantur Sacerdoti, nec ea ligare

* Adsummationem quod non posuerit, nisi reformatum eis.

tur solvere posset. Et * quæmmodum Sacratiffima tua Majestas, si

* Illustrum: " Alii, qui non posuerit."

comminationem aliquibus dedisset audiendi & terminandi negotium ali-

* Ecce caufam finire, viz propter culpam litigatorum non comparentium

quod, non posierunt judices rem ignorantium nisi negotio coram eis patefa-

* Exemplum: " Alii, qui non posuerit."

coram eis, & non Sacerdotis ligare & solvere posuerit peccata quæ igno-

* Ita quæcumque Deum Sacerdotem velit medium Spiritualum Eccle-

* Tamen de salute sua debet esse fidelem, quæ在于 Paulum ad Phil. 2. admoen, in-

sia dedere, liquis enim sua Vulnæa celat ipse tua Culpa pericit, cum tamen

* Origenes. Z z z z 2
Addenda.

Origenes in Lexit. Homilia 2. Ioquens de Remissionebus Peccatorum.

Eft adhuc & septima, licet dura & laboriosa, per pœnitentiam Remisi-
öio Peccatorum, cum lavat Peccator Lachrimis stratum suum, & sunt ei
Lachrimas sua Panis dic & nole, & cum non erubesceit Sacerdoti Domi-
ni indicare Peccatum suum, & quærere medicinam secundum eum qui
àit, * Dxi pronunciabo adversum me injustitiam meam Domino, & tu
remisisti impietatem cordis mei, in quo impletur & illud quod Jacobus
Apostolus dicit, Siquis autem infirmatur, vocet Presbyteros Ecclesia, &
imponat ei manus & ungentes eum oleo in nomine Domini, & oratio
Fidei salvat infirmum, & si in Peccatis fuerit remittentur ei.

Origenes Homilia 2. in Psal. 37.

Intellige mihi sifelem quidem hominem sed tamen infirmum, qui eti-
am vinci ab aliquo Peccato potuit, & propter hoc mugientem pro deli-
tis suis & omnimodo curam vulneris sui fanitatemp; requirantem, licet
præventus fit & lapitus, volentem tamen medelam ac fatum reparare; si
ergo hujusmodi homo memor delicti sui, confiteatur quod committit, & hu-
mana consitusione parvi pendat eos, qui exprobrant eum confitentem, &
notant vel irident, ille autem intelligens per hoc veniam sibi dari, & in
die Resurrectionis pro his quibus nunc confunditur coram hominibus,
tunc ante Angelos Dei consitusionem atq; opprobria evafurum, ut nolit te-
gere & occultare maculam suam, sed pronunciet delictum suum, nec velit
esse Sepulchrum dealbatum, quod deforis quidem appareat hominibus
speciosum, id est ut videntibus se quasi justus appareat, intus autem fit
repletus omni immundicie & odiosus mortuorum.

Et paulo post, Quoniam iniquitatem meam pronuncio. Pronunci-
tionem iniquitatis, id est confessionem Pecci, frequentius diximus, vide
ergo quid edocet nos scriptura divina, quia oportet Peccatum non cela-
re infræcuss; fortassis enim sicut ii qui habent intus inclusam esam in-
digentiam, aut humoris, vel phlegmatis ilomacho graviter & moleste immi-
nentem si vomuerunt relevantur; ita etiam hi qui peccarunt, si quidem
occultant & retinent intra & Peccatum intrÆcuss urgentur, & propo-
mendum suffocantur vel phlegmæ vel humore Pecci: Si autem ipse sui
accusator situm, dum accusat semetipsum, simul evomit & delictum, atq;
onmem morbi digerit cauæam. Tantummodo circumspice diligentius cui
debas confiteri Peccatum tuum, proba prius medicum cui debas cauamus
largioris exponere, qui sciat infringere cum infringante, sive cum siente,
cui condolendi & compatiendi noverit disciplinam, ut ita demum sicut
ille dixerit, qui se prius & eruditum medicum ostenderit & mifericordem,
siquid Conßilii dederit, facias & iギcaris, si intellexerit & præviderit
uliam esse languorem tuum, qui in conventu torius Ecclesiae exponi de-
beat & curari, ex quo fortassis & eæteri ædificari poterunt, & tu ipse fa-
cile simari, multa hac deliberacione & fatis perito medici illius Conßilio
procurandum est.

Cyprianus
Denique quando & fide maiore & timore meliores sunt, qui quamvis nullo Sacrificii aut Libelli faciitore contrafci, quoniam tamem de hoc vel cogitaverunt, hoc ipsum apud Sacerdotes Dei doletare & simpliciter confentire, Exomologein Confentienti faciunt, animi sui pondus exponunt, salutarem medelam parcis liet & modicis vulneribus exquirunt, scientes scriptum esse, Deus non deridetur; derideri & circumveniri Deus non potest, nec affulti aliqua fallete deladi: plus imo delinquit qui fecundum hominem Dei cogetalis evadere se paenam Criminis credit, si non palam Crimen admisit. Christus in praecipius suis dicit, qui confusus me fuerit confundare eum Filius Hominis, & Christianum se putat qui Christianus esse aut confunditur aut veretur: Quomodo potest esse cum Christo qui ad Chriftum pertinere aut erubesce aut mutetur? minus plane peccaverit non videndo idola, nec sub oculis circumstantis atq; infultantis Populi faniiteti Fidei profanando, non plolluendo manus suas functi Sacrificiis, nec fceleratis cibis ora maculando? hoc co proficit ut sit minor Culpa, non ut innocens Conscientia; facilis potest ad veriam Criminis pervenire, non esse tamen immensus a Crimine, nec effe in agenda poenitentia, atq; in Domini Mifericordia deprecanda, ne quod minus esse in qualitate delicti videtur, in neglece facta satisfactione cumulatur. Confessura fingu, quod vos fratres, delictum suam, dum adhuc qui deliquit in seculo est, dum admitte confessio eius potest, dum facta & remilfio facta per Sacerdotes apud Dominum grata est: convertamur ad Dominum mente tota, & poenitentiam Criminis veris doloribus exprimemus Dei Mifericordiam depreccamus; illi & anima proferenat, illi maxima satisfactione, illi spes omnis incumbar; rogare quale debeat eum ipse, Revertimini inquit, ad me ex teto corde vestro, fimiqs & jejunio, & altari, & planche, & fainide corde vestra & non velfinentia.

Pratera Efiias Peccatorem admonet Cap. 42. fecundum 70. inquicns, Die tu prior iniquitates tuas ut justificeris? & Solomon Prov. 18. ait, Justus prior est Acusator sui, atq; ideo ne Satan nos in judicio coram omnibus accuet, nos illum in hac Vita, per priorem confessionem delicii nostri factam alis pravenire debeat, nam Deum pravenire in nostris accufatione nequimus qui omnia facta nostra jam novit, imo vero antequam fierent ea praefciit; quare Confessio illa necelle est, intelligatur, de extraea confessione facta Dei Miniftri qui id ignoravit, nam Deum nihil unquam latuit, non modo jam faciun, sed ne futurum quidem fique quam.

Circa perfonas vero Miniftriurum quibus fieri debet Confessio, atq; circa tempora Ecclefiai nonnumquam aliquid immutatur, & varie pro regionibus flutuunt.

Et ne tuam folicitudinem, Sacratiffima Majeftas, circa publicam Regni qui tranquillitatem flabilendam faniiltiffe occupatum, longa multorum lectione, quae prater illa affirre poftem, remorari videat, plura adjun- gere superfedebi, illud tantummodo precatus, ut meam hanc ferhendi Tamoratisboni confiitum, quam ego totem perficacifsimo atq; eruditiffimo Majefstis tua judicio considerandam penfitandum commuto. Atq; ilia fceliffime valent Sacratiffima tua Majeftas ejus Requiem & prosperitatem & in fectum diuturnum vobis fore precanur.

XI A.
XI. A Letter of King Henry’s to Tonstall, Bishop of Duresme, against Auricular Confession being of Divine Institution. An Original.

Since me thought (my Lord of Durham) that both the Bishops of York, Winchester, and your Reasons and Texts were so fully answered this other day, in the House, as to my seeming and supposal, the most of the House was satisfied; I marvelled not a little why thef-tools you have sent to me this now your writing, being in a manner few other Texts or Reasons than there were declared both by the Bishop of Canterbury and me, to make finally or nothing to your intended purpose: but either I esteem that you do it to prove my simple judgment alone, which indeed doth not much use (tho not the wileft) to call in aid, the Judgments of other learned Men, and so by mine ignorant Answer, seem to win the Field; or else that you be too much blinded in your own Fancy and Judgment, to think that a Truth, which by learning you have not yet proved, nor I fear me cannot by Scriptures, nor any other Directors probable grounds, though I know mine unfficiency in Learning, if the matter were indifferent, and that the Ballance stood equal, since I take the verity of the Caufe rather to favorize the part I take than yours, it giveth me therefore great boldnefs, not presuming in Learning, but in justnefs of the Caufe, seeing by writing you have provoked me to it, to make answer to your Arguments: Therefore I beginning now to reply to your firft Allegation, shall effay to prove, if I can, that your own Author in place by you allledged, maketh plain against your Opinion; for as you allledged him, St. Chrysolum faith, \( \text{quod sufficit folus pudor pro pana,} \) then Auricular Confession is not by commandment necessary; for if it were, this word (\( \text{Solum} \)) is by your Author ill fet; therefore your Author in this place fuddereth you but little. To your Fallax Argument, I deny your confquent, founded only upon a small Reason, which is the ground of your Fallax Argument: which Reason I need not take away, for your allledged Author doth shew too plainly, in his 5. Homily, Tom. 5. that you gather wrong fence upon his Words; for he faith, with much more touching this matter, these few Words, \( \text{Non hominibus peccata detegere cego;} \) then this other Text before rehearsed, is not to be understood as you will by writing it. Further, me thinketh I need not (God thank you) too greatly study for Authors to conclude your wrong taking of Texts, for thofe your felf allledged ferveth me well to purpofe: for all your labour is to prove that Auricular Con- feffion were by God commanded, and both your Authorities of Bede and Paul, sheweth nothing but that they did confefs their Sins, and yet do not they affirm that it was by commandment; wherefore they make for mine Argument and not for yours. Your other Texts of John 21. and Matthew 10. were so throughly answered this other day, and so manifeftly declared not to appertain to our grounded Argument, that I marvel you be not ashamed elf-tools to put them in writing, and to found your Argument now fo fondly on them; for what fonder Argument can be made to prove thereby a neceffity of Confefion, than to fay, If you confefs not, I cannot forgive? Would a Thief which committeth
mitteth Fellony, think himself obliged by the Law to disclose his Felon-
ny, if the Law say no more, but if thou confess not I cannot forgive thee? or would Theif the sooner therefore be forgiven? This is mat-
ter so apparent, that none can but perceive except he would not see.
As touching Origens places by you alleged; as the first, in Leviticum, thoweth that we be as much bound lware stratum Larcinis, as there Sa-
cerdoti, which no Man, I think, will affirm that we be bound to do; and yet he affirmeth not that any of them is commanded: The Text al-
so whereby ye would approve his so saying, doth not yet speak quae
pronunciabo justitiam meam Sacerdoti, but Domino: The other of James
seemeth better to make for extrem Unction, than for Confession; for
when was ever the fce, that Folk coming only to Confession, were wont
to be anointed with Oyl, therefore this makes nothing to your Argu-
ment. As touching Origens in Psal. 37. he faith not, quod obligamus di-
ceere Sacerdoti, but si confiteantur; and seemeth rather to perwade Men
that they should not parvi pendere Confessionem, (as all good Folk would)
than that they were obliged to confess them to a Priest. Though Cypri-
an de Lapte, doth praise them which do confess their Faults to Priests,
yet doth he confess that we be not bound to do so; for he faith in the
highest of his praise these Words, How much be they then higher in Faith,
and better in Fear of God, which though they be not bound by any deed of
Sacrifice, or Book, yet be they content sorrowfully to confess to the Priest Sins!
He knowledgeth no bond in us by neither fact of Sacrifice or Libel, why
alledg you (tho he praise Auricular Confession) that we should be
bound by God and Law therto? This is no proof thereof, neither by
Reason nor by Scripture, nor any good Authority. And whereas he
faith further, Confiteantur singuli, quefio vos fratres, delitiium suum; this
doeth not argue a Precept: nor yet the saying of Esay, cap.43, 
seculum Septuaginta; nor Solomon in the Proverbs 10. for these speak rather of
knowing our Offence to God in our Heart, than of Auricular Confes-
sion; after David the Prophets saying and teaching, when he said,
Tibi facilit peccavit, that was not to a Priest. By the Text also which you
alledg, beginning, circa parvum vero Ministrorum, &c. you do openly
confess that the Church hath not accepted Auricular Confession to be
by God's Commandment; or else by your saying and Allegation, they
have long erred: for you confess that the Church hath divers times
changed both to whom Confession should be made, and times when;
and also they have changed divers ways for divers Regions; if it
were by God's Commandment they might not do thus: Wherefore, my
Lord, since I hear no other Allegations, I pray you blame not me tho I
be not of your Opinion; and of the both, I think that I have more
cause to think you obstinate, than you me, seeing your Authors and
Allegations make so little to your purpose. And thus fare you well.
XII. A Definition of the Church, corrected in the Margent by King Henry's own hand. An Original.

De Ecclesia.

E Eclesia prater alias acceptiones in Scripturis duas habet praeipuas: Unam, qua Eclesia accepitur pro Congregatione Sanctorum & vere fideliem quia Christo capiti vere credunt, & Sanctificantur Spiritu ejus; hac autem una est, & vere Sanctum Corpus Christi sed soli Deo * cognitum, qui hominum corda solus intuetur. Altera acceptio est, qua Eclesia accepitur pro Congregatione omnium Hominum qui baptizati sunt in Christo, & non palam abnegarint Christum, nec sunt excommunicati; quae Eclesiae acceptio congruit ejus Statui in hac vita duntaxat, ubi habet malos bonis simul admixtos (a), & debet esse cognita per Verbum & Legitimum usum Sacramentorum ut possit audiri: sed Christus, Qui Eclesiam non audierit. Porro ad veram unitatem Ecclesiae, requiritur ut sit consensus in recta Doctrina Fidei & administratione Sacramentorum.

Traditiones vero & Ritus atq; Ceremoniae que vel ad Decorem, vel Ordinem, vel Disciplinam Ecclesiae ab hominibus sunt instituta, non omnino necesse est, ut exadem sint ubiq; aut prorsus similes: hae enim & variae fuerunt & variari possunt * pro regionum atq; morum diversitate & commodo †; sic tamen ut sint consentientes Verbo Dei: & quamvis in Ecclesia secundum posteriorem acceptionem mali sunt bonis admixti, atq; etiam Ministerius Verbi & Sacramentorum nonnunquam praefint, tamen cum ministret non suo sed Christi nomine, mandato & authoritate, licet eorum Ministerio uti tam in verbo audiendo quam recipiendis Sacramentis, juxta illud, Qui vos audit me audit; nec per eorum malitiam imminuitur effectus aut gratia donorum Christi rite accepientibus, sunt enim efficac propter promissionem & ordinationem Christi ctiam si per malos exhibeantur.

The End of the Addenda:
A Table of the Records and Papers that are in the Collection, with which the places in the History to which they relate, are marked; the first number, with the Letter C. is the Page of the Collection; the second, with the Letter H. is the Page of the History.

1. The Record of Card. Adrian’s Oath of Fidelity to K. Henry the 7th for the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells.

2. P. Julius’s Letter to Arch-Bishop Warham, for giving K. Henry the 8th the Golden Rose.

3. A Writ for summoning Convocations.

4. A Writ for a Convocation summoned by Warham on an Ecclesiastical account.

5. The Preamble of an Act of Subsidy granted by the Clergy.


The Second Book.

1. The Bull for the Kings’s Marriage with Queen Katherine.

2. The King’s Protestation against the Marriage.


4. Two Letters of Secretary Knight’s to the Cardinal and the King, giving an account of his Conferences with the Pope concerning the Divorce.

5. A part of a Letter from Knight to Card. Wolley, that shews the Dispensation was then granted and sent over.

6. Gregory Caffali’s Letter concerning the Method in which the Pope desired the Divorce should be managed.

7. The King’s Letter to the College of Cardinals, from which it appears how much they favoured his Cause.

8. The Cardinal’s Letter to the Pope concerning the Divorce.


10. The Decretal Bull that was desired in the King’s Cause.


14. The Cardinal’s Letter to Caffali, desiring a Decretal Bull might be sent over.

15. The Breve of P. Julius for the King’s Marriage, suspected to be forged.

16. A part of the Cardinal’s Letter to G. Caffali, desiring leave to shew the Decretal Bull to some of the King’s Council.

17. John Caffali’s Letter concerning a Conference he had with the Pope.

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