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The History of the Reformation of
the church of England

By

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The preface

This work was carried on by a slow and unsteady progress by King Henry the 8th: It advanced in a fuller and freer course under the short, but blessed reign of King Edward the 6th, 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 King Charles the 1st: who fell with it, andHonoured it with his unexampled sufferings for it; and it was restored to its former beauty and order by King Charles the second; under King James the second it met with a disturbance; under King William the 3d it recovered its peace.

Germany produceth a Sleiden; France a Thuanus, and Italy Svier Paul; who have given the world an awful satisfaction in what was done beyond sea concerning the reformation as could be desired; and though the two last liued and dyed in the communion of the church of Rome, yet they have delivered things of perversity with so much candor and evenness, that their Authority is disputed by none but those of their own party.

But while foreign churches have such Historians, ours at one have not had the like fortune; most having been silent though much provoked by Sanders History, which he published to the world in Latine; yet either despising a writer, whoe did soe impudently deliver falsehoods, that from his own book many of them may be disproved, or expect...
ing a command from Authority they did not then set about it, by acount I can give of their silence is, that most of Sanders calumnies being Levelled at Queen Elisabeth, whose birth and parents he designed chiefly to disgrace; it was thought to tender a point by her wise counsellours to be much inquired into; it gave to great credit to his eyes to answer them; and an answer would draw forth a reply, by which those calumnies would still be kept alive and therefore it was not without good reason thought better to let them lie unanswered and disposed; from whence it is come ted with much assurance, most of all the writers in the church of the Generall History of that Age: Some of them transcribe his very words; one Pollini a Dominican Published an History of the changes that were made in England, in Italian at Rome, anno 1594. which he should have more ingeniously have called a translation or Paraphrase of Sanders History; and of late, more candidly, but noe less maliciously, one of the best pens of France hath been employed to translate him into their language; which hath created some prejudices in the minds of many there; that our reformation which generally was more modestly spoken of, ever by those whoe most against it; is now looked on by such as res Sanders, and believe him, as one of the foulest things that ever was made his collections, and designed only to discover the corruptions and cruelities of the Roman Clergy, and the sufferings and constancy of the reformers; that it can by noe means be called a compleat History of those times; though faithfully collected; Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, designed only his own See, in his British Antiquities, He was but a superficial writer; Halsingshede, Speed, and Stow, give bare relations of things that were publick, and commit any faults; Fuller and Heylin, write smoothly, but much led by passion, against some in those times, though 4 doubt not were sincere Protestants — things being delivered to us with so much alay and uncertainty; those of the church of Rome, doe confidently dispair age our reformation; the Short History of it, as it is put into th
mouths; being, that it was begun by the lusts and passions of
King Henry the 8th. carried on by the vaunness of the Duke
of somerset under Edward the 6th; and confirmed by the
Policy of queen Elizabeth and her counsell, to secure her title
these things being generally talked and spread abroad in foreign
parts, especially in France, by the new Translation of Sanders
and not being yet sufficiently cleared; many have desired to see
a fuller and better account of transactions, then hath been yet given
whereupon by many Encouraging the reuerend, I was engaged
in this work, and thereupon set about it; and began with the
Search of all publick records and offices: the Parliament and
treaty rolls; with all the patents rolls and registers of the
Sees of Canterbury, and London: and of the Augmentation
office: and all the manuscripts I could hear of, which I found
beyond expectation from the famous cotton library: from Dr
stillingfleet; and Mr Petyt, and others.
But in the search I made, I wondered much to miss sever
all commissions, patents, and other writings, which by clear evi-
dence I knew were granted, and yet none of them appeared
upon record; thin I could not impute to any thing but to the
omission of the clerkes: whoe failed in the invoking those com-
missions; though it was not likely that matters of so high
concernment should have been neglected; especially in such
critickall time, and under soe seuer a king; but as I con-
tinued down my search to the 4th year of queen Mary I
found in the 10th roll of that year, a commission, which
 cleared all my former Doubts; and by which I saw what was
became of the things I had soe anxiously searched after. we
have heard of the expurgation of books, practiced in the church
of Rome; but it might have been imagined that publick reg-
isters and records would have been safe; yet least these
should have been afterwards confessors; it was resolved they
should then be martyrs; for on the 29. day of December
in the fourth year of her reign; a comission was issued out
under the great seal to bonner, bishop of London; coaL, dean of St Paul
and Martin; a Doctor of the civil Law, which is of that em
portance, that I shall here insert the materiall words of it.
whereas it is came to our knowledge, that in the time of the late
schism, divers count books, sermons, instruments, and other writ
ings, were practised, devised, and made concerning profession
against the popes holiness; and the see apostolick, and all se
Sunday infamous scrutinyes, taken in abbes, and other religion
houses, tending rather to subvert and overthrow all good relig
on, and religion, house, then for any truth contained therein,
which being in the custody of divers registers, and wee intend
ing to have those writings brought to knowledge, whereby they
may be considered, and ordered according to our will and ple
sure; thereupon, those three, or any two of them, are empowere
to cite any persons before them, and examine them upon the pren
ses, upon oath; and to bring all such writings before them; and
certifie their diligence about it to cardinal pooll, what:

when I saw this, I soon knew which may see many writings we
gone; yet some few papers escaped their hand, as will appear in the
following worke.

The three chiefe periods of Henry the 8th, his reign in which rel
son is concern'd, are 1 from the beginning of his reign till the pro
cess of his divorce with queen catherine commenced, the 2 is
that till his total breaking of with Rome, and setting up his
premacy over all causes and persons. the 3 is from to his dea

In his time indeed the reformation was rather conceived
brought forth; and the parties were in the last 18 years of his
reign struggling in the womb, having now and then advantage
on either side; as the unconstant humour of the king chan
ed; and as his interest, and often as his passions swayed him

cardinal woolsey had soe dissolved his minde into pleasures
and pleased him up with flattery, and servile compliances;
it was not an easy thing to believe him: for being boisterous
impatient naturally, which was much Heightened by his extra
gant vanity, and high conceit of his own learning and wisdom he was one of the most unanswerable persons in the world.

The Book which he wrote against Luther, had engaged him deep in those controversies, and by perpetually altering he was brought to fancy it was written with some degrees of inspiration; and Luther in his answer had treated him so unmanly that it was only the necessity of his affairs that forced him to any correspondence with that party in Germany.

And though Cranmer and Cromwell improved every advantage the king's temper, on his affairs offered them as much as could be, yet they were to be pitied, having to doe with a prince whose upon the slightest pretences, threw down those whom he had most advanced, which Cromwell felt severely, and Cranmer was sometimes need it.

But if wee consider the great things that were done by him, wee must acknowledge that there was a signal providence of God in raising up a king of his temper for clearing the way to the blessed work that followed it, and that could hardly have been done but by a man of his humour, so that I may very fitly apply to him that witty simile of an ingenious writer whose compared Luther to a position in his waxed boots and oyled coat, lashing his horse through thick and thin, & bespattering all about him.

This character besits king Henry better (saving the reverence due to his crown) who, for the position of reformation, made way for it through a great deal of mire and filth; he abolished the pope's power, by which not only the tyranny was destroyed, which had been long a heavy burden on this oppressed nation; but all the opinions, rites, and constitutions, for which there was no better authority than papal decrees, were to fall to the ground; the foundation that supported them being thus sapped, he suppressed all the monasteries; in which though there were some inexcusable faults committed; yet he wanted not reason to doe what he did; for the foundations of those houses being laid on the superstitious conceit of redeeming souls out of purgatory by saying masses for them; they whose office that was, had bu
(6) counterfeiting relics, by forging of miracles, and other like impra-
uses, 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 withall their great vici-
ousness in some places; and in all their great abuse of the Chris-
an religion, made it seem unfit they should be continued; but
it was their dependance on the See of Rome, which as the face
of things then was made it necessary that they should be suppre-
se new foundations might have done well; and the scantling of
these; considering the number and wealth of those which were
suppressed, is one of the greatest blasphemies of that reign; but
it was in vain to amend the old ones, their numbers were so
great; their riches, and interest in the nation so considerable,
that a prince of ordinary mettall, would not have attempted
such a design; much less have compleated it in five yeares time
with these fell the suppression of Images, relics and the redem-
tion of souls out of Purgatory; and those extravagant adresses
to saints that are in the Roman offices, were thrown out; only an
our pro nobis, was kept up; and even that was left to the
liberty of Priests, to leave it out of the Letanyes as they saw
cause; these were great preparations for a reformation. but
it went further; and two things were done; upon which a
greater change was reasonably expected; the scriptures were
translated into the English tongue, and set up in all churches,
and every one was admeted to read them, and they alone were
declared the rule of faith; this could not but open the eyes of the
nation, whoe finding a profound silence in those writing
about many things, and a direct opposition to other things that
were still retained, must needs conclude, even without deep specu-
lation, or nice disputings; that many things that were still in the
church, had noe ground in scripture; and some of the very new
directly contrary to it; this Cranmer knew well would have
such an opposition, and therefore made it his chiefest business
to set it forwards, which in conclusion he happily effected.
The grounds of the new covenant between God and man in
christ, were all so truly stated; and the terms on which salvation
be hoped for, were faithfully hoped for according to the
Testament, and this being in the strict notion of the word, the Gospel, and
the Glad tidings preached, through our blessed Saviour and Lord, it
must be confessed that there was a great progress made, when the na-
tion was well instructed about it; though there was still an alloy
of other corruptions, embasing the purity of the faith; and in
deed in the whole progress of these changes, the kings design seem-
ed to have been to terrifie the court of Rome, and cudgel the
Pope into a compliance with what he desired; for in his hearth
continued addicted to some of the most extravagant opinions
of that church; such as transubstantiation, and the other cor-
rup tions in the mass; soe that he was to his lives end, more Pop
ist then Protestant.

There are two prejudices which men have generally drunk in ag-
ainst that time; the one is from the kings great enormities, both in his
personall departure and government, which make many thinke noe
good could be done by soe ill a man, and soe cruel a prince; I am
not to defend him, nor to lessen his faults; the vastness and free-
gularity of his expense procured many heavy exactions; and twice ex-
torted a publick discharge of his Debts, embossed the coin, with other
irregularities; his proud and impatient spirit occasioned many cruell
proceedings; the taking soe many lives only for denying his suprem-
acy; particularly Sirsers and moves; the one being extrem old,
and the other one of the Glories of his nation for probity & learn-
ing; the taking advantage from some eruptions in the north,
to break the independency he had before proclaimed to those in the
rebellion; even though they could not be proved Guilty of those
second disorders; his extrem seuerity to all cardinall poole=
family; his cruel using first Cromwell, and afterward the Duke
of north folke, and his son; besides his unexamplefied proceed-
ings against soe of his ninies; and that which was worst of all
the haying a president for the subversion of justice; and oppos-
ing the clearest Innocency, by attainting men without hearing
them; these are such remarkable blemishes, that as no man of
Ingenuity can goo about the whitning them: soe the poor re-
formers drunke soe deep off the bitter cup, that it very well
becomes any of their followers to Endeavor to give fair co-
lours to those red and bloody characters with which soe
much of his reign is stained.
Yet after all this sad enumeration, it was no new or unusual thing in the methods of God's providence to signify princes who had great mixture of very gross faults to doe signall things for his service; not to mention David and Solomon, whose sins were expiated with a seveuent repentance; It was the bloody Cyrus that sent back the jewes to their land, and gave them leave to rebuild the Temple; constantine the great by some of his enemies charged with many blamishes both in his life and Government; clovis of France, under whom that nation received the christian faith, was a monster of cruelty and persidiousness; as even Gregory of Tours represents him; who lived near his time; and nevertheless makes a saint of him charles the Great, whom some alfoe make a saint, doth put away his wife for a very slight cause; and is said to have lived in most unnatural lusts with his own Daughter: Irene whom the church of Rome magnifies as the restorer of their religion in the East, did both contrary to the impressions of nature, and of her sex; put out her own sons eyes, of which she dyed soon after, with many other execrable things; and what enes reproaches those of the church of Rome cast on the reformation upon the account of this kings faults; may be easily turned back on their own Pope, who have never failed to court and extoll princes that served their ends; how gross and scan dalous sooner their other faults have been; as Phocas, Brunichild, Irene, mathildas, Edgar of England, and many more but our church is not more so much concerned in the person of those princes under whom the reformation begun, as there is in the persons of their Popes, who are believed to have far higher charactars of a divine power and spirit in them then other princes pretend too; and yet is the tunes of the popes, who have made the greatest advances in their jurisdictions be examined particularly, Gregory the 7th and bo isace the 8ths; vices more eminent then any can be charge on King Henry, will be found in them; and if a Lewd and watch ed pope may yet have the Holy Ghost dwelling in him, and
directing of him insallibly, why may not any King doe soe good a
work as set forward a reformation; and if it were proper to enter
into a dissection of four of those popes, that sat 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 10th, was as prodigal and extra
vagant in his expence; which put him on baser shifts than ever
this king used to raise money, not by embasinf the coyn, or rais-
ing new and heavy taxes, but by embasinf the christian reli-
gion; and prostituting the pardon of sin, in that foull trade of
indulgences; clement the 7th was false to the hightest degree;
a vice which cannot be charged on this king; and Paul the 3d
was a vile and Lewd priest; whose not only kept his whore but
gloryed in it; and raised on of his bastards to an high digni-
ty; making him prince of parma and piazenza; and himselfe
said to have linned in grace, with others of them; and ex-
cept the short reign of Hadrian the 6th there was noe pope
at Rome all this while, whose example might make any other
prince blush for his faults; sir that Guicciardine, when he call
pope clement a good pope, adds, I mean not goodness Apostoli-
call; for in those days, he was esteemed a good pope that did not
exceed the wickedness of the worst men.

In sum Gods ways are a great deep, who hath often shewed his
Power and wisdom, in raising up unlikely and unpromising instru-
ments to doe great services in the world; not allways employing the
best men in them; lest good Instruments should have deep in the prai-
se of that which is only due to the Supream 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 ac-
ceptible service to God in destroying the Idolatry of Baal; though
neither the way of doing it he to be imitated, being guilty in
sincere; nor was the reformation compleat, since the worshipping
of the two calves was still kept up; and it is like his chiefe design
in it was to destroy all that party that foured Ahabs family,
yet the thing was good, and was rewarded by God; see what
ever thin kings other faults were; and how defective soever the
change he made was, and upon what ill motion soever it may
seem
to have proceeded, yet the things themselves being good, we ought not to thinke 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 part of Europe most tame under its oppressions; and was most deeply drenched in superstition; and this by the means of a prince who was the most devoted to the interest of Rome of any in Christendom; and seem ed to be so; upon knowledge being very leaerned; and continued to the last much leavened with superstition; and was the only king in the world, whom that See declared defender of the faith and this should have been carried on so far, with so little opposition: some risings, though numerous and formidable being scater ed and quieted without blood. And that a mighty prince whose victorious allmost in all his undertakings; charles, the 50th, and was provoked both in point of Honour and interest, yet could never finde one spare season to turn his armes upon England, are great Demonstrations of a particular Influence from Heaven in these al terations, and of its watchfull care of them.

But the other prejudice touches the reformation in a more vital tender part; and it is, that Cranmer, and the other Bishops, who promoted the reformation in the succeeding reign, did in this comple to servilely with king Henry; Humors, both in carrying on his faque devices; and in retaining those corruptions in the worship, which by their throwing them off in the beginning of king Edward; reign may conclude were then condemned by them; soe that they seem to have prenuricated against their consciences in that complaiance.

Yet were to joine a way of answering soe severene a charge to turn it back on the church of Rome, and to shew the base complaine of some, even of the best of their popes, as Gregory the great; whose congratulation to the usurper Phocas, are a stain of the meanest and indecentest flattery that ever was put in writing, and his compliance with Brunichilde; who was one of the greatest monstrous both for lust and cruelty that ever her sex produced.

Shew that there was never soe person soe wicked that he was ashamed to flatter; but the blemishing them will not. I confess excuse our reformers; therefore other things are to be considered for
their vindication: they did not at once attain the full knowledge of Divine truth; so that in some particulars, as in that of the corporal presence of the sacrament, both Cranmer and Ridley were themselves in the dark; Bertram's book first convinced Ridley, & he was the chief instrument in opening Cranmer's eyes: for if themselves were not then enlightened, they could not instruct others as for other things, such as 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, for all a persuasion of the necessity of these, as to think it a sin not to do them; the prophet's words to Naaman the Syrian, might give them some colour for the 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 ended by the appearing of the Gospel, seemed to excuse their compliance; they had also observed that as the Apostles were all things to all men that soe they might gain some; soe the primitive Christians had brought in many rites of Heathenism into their worship, upon which inducements they were wrought on to a compliance in some easy things; in which if soe excused doe not wholly clear them; yet they doe very much lessen their guilt. And after all this it must be confessed they were men, and had mixtures of fear and human infirmity with their other excellent qualities; and indeed Cranmer was in all other points soe 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 to high; if it had not been for these feeblenesses which upon some occasions appeared in him; but if wee examine the failings of some of the greatest of the primitive Fathers, as Athanasius, Cyril and others, whose were the most zealous assertors of the faith; wee must conclude them to have been nothing inferior to any that can be charged on Cranmer; whom if we consider narrowly, wee shall finde as eminent virtues, and as few faults in him as in any prelate that hath been in the Christian church.
For many Ages; and if he was prevailed on to deny his master through fear, he did wash of the stain by a sincere repentance, and a patient martyrdom; in which he expressed an eminent resentment of his former frailty with a pitch of constancy of mind, above the vace of modern example.

But their virtues as well as their faults are set before us for our instruction, and how frail soever the vessels were, they have conveyed to us a treasure of great value; the pure Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, which if we follow, and govern our hearts and lives by it, we may hope in easier and plainer paths, to attain the blessedness which they could not reach but through scathings and slights, and if we do not improve the advantages which this light affords, we may either look for some of those trials which were sent for the exercise of their faith and patience; and perhaps for the punishment of their former compliance; or if we escape these, we have cause to fear the worst in the conclusion.

The light of nature teacheth that those who are dedicated to the service of God, and for instructing the people, ought to be so well provided for, that they may be delivered from the distractions of secular law cares; and secured from the contempt which followeth poverty, and furnished with such means; as may both enable them to know that well wherein they are to instruct others; and to gain such interest in the affections of those among whom they labour, as mayHospitality and Almsgiving may procure; in this all nations of religions have agreed so generally; that it may be well called a habit of nations, as not of nature. But

The pastoral charge is now looked upon by too many rather as a duty only for instructing people, to which they may submit as much as they thinke fit; then as a care of souls, as indeed it is; and it is not to be denied, that the practise of not a few of the clergy has confirmed the people in this mistake; whose consider their function as a method of living by performing Divine offices; and making sermons rather than as a watching over the souls of the flock committed to us; visiting the sick, reproving scandalous persons; reconciling differences; and being strict at least in governing the poor; whose necessity will oblige them to submit to any good rules; and shall set them for the better conduct of their lives; in these things both the Pastoral care chiefly consist, and not only in the bare performing of offices, or pronouncing sermons, while
every one almost may learn to doe as in some tolerable fashion. nor could the dividences of this age, ever have grown to such a length, if the people had not been possessed with the impression of some of the clergy, or ministry from those inexcusable faults that are so conspicuous, in so many that are called shepherds, who cloath themselves with the wool, but have not fed the flock; that have not strengthened the diseased; nor healed the sick; nor bound up that which was broken; nor brought again that which was driven away; nor sought that which was lost, but have ruled them with force and cruelty; and if we would look up to God who is visibly angry with us, and has made us base and contemptible amongst the people, we should finde great reason to reflect on those words of Jeremiah: the pastors are become brutish; and have not sought the Lord; therefore they shall not prosper; and all their flocks shall be scattered.

For thus the Enemy, while the Watchmen have slept, hath sowed his Tares, even in the fruitful field, of which it may be expected if should give some account here; because in the search I have made, have seen some things of great importance, which are very little known; that give mee a clearer light into the beginings of these diversities that are now amongst us, then is commonly known; or to be had; of which I shall discourse, so as becomes one who has not blindly followed himself up to any party and is not afraid to speak the truth, even in the most critical matters.

There were many learned and pious Divines in the beginings of queen Elizabeths reign; who being Driven beyond sea, had observe the new models set up in Geneuva, and other places; for the censoring of scandalous persons; of mixed judicatories; of the ministry and laity; and these reflecting on the great looseness of life, which had been universally complained of in King Edwards time, thought such a platform might be an effectuall way for the keeping out a return of the like disorders; there were also some few rites observed in this church; that had been used either in the Primitive church; or though brount in of later times; yet seemed of excel lent use to beget reverence in holy performances; which had allsoe this, to be said for them; that the keeping those still was done in -
Imitation of what Christ and his Apostles did in symbolizing with Jewish rites, to gain the Jews thereby, as much as could be; for it was judged necessary to preserve these to let the world see that though corruptions were thrown out, yet the reformers did not lose to change only for change's sake, when it was not otherwise needful; and thus they hoped might draw in many, who otherwise would not easily have forsaken the Roman communion; yet these divines excepted to those as compliance with popery; and though they professed no great dislike to the ceremonies themselves; or doubt of their lawfulness, yet were they against their continuance upon the single account which was indeed the chief reason of their continuance; or why they were continued; but all the debate was modestly managed; and without violent heat or separation afterwards some of the queen's courtiers had an eye to the fair manners of some of the greater seers; and being otherwise men of great tempers and lives; and probably of no religion; would have persuaded the queen that nothing could unite all the reformed churches so effectually, as to bring the English church to the model beyond seas; and that it would much enrich the crown, if she took the revenues of bishoprics and cathedrals into her own hands; this made those on the other hand, who laid to heart the true interest of the Protestant religion, therefore endeavored to preserve this church in that strong and well modelled frame to which it was brought (particularly the Lord Burleigh, the wisest statesman of that age; and perhaps of any other) study how to engage the queen out of interest to support it, and they demonstrated to her, that these new models would certainly bring with them a great abatement of her prerogative; since if the conscience of religion came into popular hands, there would be a power set up distinct from hers, over which shee could have noe authority.

This shee perceived well; and therefore shee resolved to maintain the ancient government of the church; but by this mean, it became a matter of interest, and soe these differences which might have been more easily reconciled before, grew now into divided factions; soe that all the expedients were left unattempted which might have made up the breach, and it becoming the interest of some to put it past reconciling; this was to easily effect...
ed, these of the Division finding they could not carry their main
design, raised all the clamours they could against the church men
and put in bills into the Parliament against the abuses of Plu-
ralities, non residentes; and the excesses of the spiritual can-
but the queen being possessed with this, that the parliament-
medling in those matters tended to the lessening of her Au-
thority, of which she was extremely sensible; got all these bills
to be thrown out. — If the abuses that gave such occasion to the
male contented to complain had been effectually redressed, that
party must have had little to work on, but these things furn-
ished them with new complaints still; the market Towns, being
also so ill provided for, there were voluntary contributions
made for Lectures; in these places the lecturers were generally
men that overs topped the incumbent in diligence and zeal;
preaching; and they depending upon the bounty of the people;
for their subsistence; were engaged to follow the humours of
those who governed these voluntary contributions; all these
things tended to the increase of that party; which owed its chief
growth to the scandalous maintenance of the ministers of great
towns; for which reason they were seldom of great abilities, as
to the scandals given to the pluralities and nonresidentes of
others that were over provided; — If men had a just notion of
holy function of the ministry, and a right sense of it before they were
initiated into it; these scandalous abuses of pluralities of Benefices
with cure (except where they are too poor and contiguous, that both
can scarce maintain one incumbent; and one man can discharge
the Duty of both very well) nonresidentes, and the hiving out
the sacred trust to pittysfull mercionaries, at the cheapest rates
would soon fall off: these are things of soe crying a nature; that
noe wonder is the wrath of God be ready to break out upon us;
these are abuses that even the church of Rome, after all her im-
pudence is ashamed of; and are at this day commonly discounte-
nanced all France over; queen mary here in england in the
time of popery, set her selfe effectually to root them out; and
that they should be still found amongst Protestants, and in soe
reformed a church; is a scandal that may justly make us blush.
all the Honorable Prelates at the council of Trent, endeavoured to get residence declared to be of divine right; and so not to be dispensed with upon any consideration whatsoever; and there is nothing more apparently contrary to the most common impressions, which all men have about matters of religion, than that benefices are given for the offices to which they are annexed, and if in matters of mens estates, or of their wealth, it would be a thing of high scandal, for one to receive the fees; and commit the work to the care of some frivolous, or raw practitioner; how much worse is it to turn over so important a work and concernment as the care of souls, must be confessed to be to many hands; and to conclude, those who are guilty of such disorders, have much to answer for, both to God, for the neglect of these souls, for which they are to give an account, and to the world, for that reproach they have brought upon this church; & by sacred function by their evil practice.

But yet notwithstanding the government in civil matters, was so steady all the queens reign, that they could doe no great thing, after she once declared herself, so openly and resolutely against them.

But upon King James his coming to the crown, and the Divisions came to be afterwards in parliaments; between the too too often named parties for the court and country; and clergy men being linked to the interest of the crown; all those who in civil matters opposed the designs of the court, resolved to cherish those of the Division, under the colour of their being hearty protestants; and that it was the interest of the reformed religion to use them well; and that all protestants should unite; and indeed the differences then between them were so small; that if great art had not been used to keep them asunder; they had certainly united of their own accord; but the late unhappy wars engaged those whose before only complained of abuses into a forced separation, which still continues to the great danger and disgrace of the Protestant religion. I shall not make any observation on latter transactions; which fall within all mens view; but it is plain that from that beginning, there have been laboured designs to make tools of the several parties; and to make a great breach.
between them, which lays us now so open to our common enemy and it looks like a sad forerunner of ruin: when we cannot after soe long experience of the mischievous effects of these things, I mean of these contests) learn to be soe wise as to avoid the resting on those rocks, on which our fathers did soe unfortunately split but on the contrary, many seem as steadily toward them, as if they were the only safe harbours; where they may securely weather every storm —— this leads to the rest of the preface that remains, which you may find in the beginning of Mr Burnetts Abridgment of the History of the reformation.

of the beginning of reposi
mation in England from the days
of John Wycliffe.

From the days of John Wycliffe, there were many that disliked most of the received Doctrines in several parts of the nation; the clergy were at that time very haterfull to the people; for as the Pope did exact Heavily on them; soe they being oppressed took all means possible to make the people repay what the Pope rester from them: Wycliffe, being much encouraged and supported by the Duke of Lancaster, 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 whose proof of him with soe much passion that it discredits all they say; yet he dyed in peace, though his body was afterward burned he translated the Bible out of Latine into English with a Long Preface before it; in which he reflected severely on the corruptions of the clergy, and condemned the worshiping of saints and images; and denied the corporall presence of chrisie 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 made on them, than by any deep speculations, or study of sciences; for the followers of this Doctrine were flatevate and ignorant men; some few clerkes joyned to them; but they formed
not themselves into any body or association, and were scattered over
the kingdom, holding these opinions in private, without making
any publick profession of them; Generally they were known by their
disavowing the superstitious clergy; whose corruptions were then
soe notorious, and their cruelty soe enraged; that noe wonder
people were deeply prejudiced against them; nor were the methods
they used likely to prevail much upon them, being severe & cruel.
In the primitive church, though in their councils they were not
backward to pass anathematisms on every thing that they judged
Heresie; yet all capitoll proceeding against Hereticks were con-
demned; and when two Bishops doe prosecute Priscillian and his fol-
lowers before the Emperor maximus, upon which they were put to death, they
were generally soe blamed for it, that many refused to hold communion
with them; the Roman Emperours made many Laws against Hereticks for
the fining and banishing of them; and secluded them from the privi-
ledges of other subjects, such as making wills, and receiving legacies;
only the Maniches (who were a strange mixture between Heathen-
ism and christianity) were to suffer death for their errors; yet
the Bishops in those days, particularly in Africa, doubted much whe-
ther upon the Insolencies of Hereticks or Schismaticks, they might
desire the Emperour to execute those Laws for fining, banishing
and other restrains; and St. Austin was not easily prevailed on to
consent to it; but at length the Donatists were soe intolerable
that after several consultations about it, they were forced to con-
sent to those Insolent penalties; but still condemned the taking away
of their lives; and even in the execution of the imperial lawes
in those Insolent punishments, they were all ways interposing to mod-
evate the severity of the presects and Governours. The first instance
of severity on men's bodies that was not cenfured by the church, was
in the fifth century, under Justin the first, whoe ordered the tongue
of Severus, whom had been patrauarch of Antioch, that did daily
anathemsie the counsell of Chalcedon to be cut out. In the 8th cen-
tury, Justinian the 2d called Rhinotimetus, from his cropt nose, burnt
all the Maniches in Armenia; and in the end of the 11th century
the Bogmili, were condemned to be burnt by the Patrauarch and
counsell of Constantinople; but in the end of the 12th and the be-
ginning of the 13th century, a company of simple and Innocent
Persons in the southern parts of France, being disgusted with the corruptions of the Popish clergy, and of the publick worship, seperated from their assemblyes; and then Dominick, and his Brethren preach ers, who came among them to convince them; Finding their preaching did not prevail, betook themselves to that way that was sure to silence them; they persuaded the civill magistrate to burn all such as were adjudged obstinate hereticks; that they might doe this by a law; the fourth counsell of lateran did decreed, that all hereticks should be delivered to the secular power to be extirpated; they thought not fit to speak out; but by the practice it was known that burning was that which they meant; and if they did not they were to be excommunicated; and after that, if they still refused to doe their Duty, which was upon the matter to be the Inquiritors Hangmen; they were to deny Jesus Christ at their uttermost peril; for not only the Ecclesiastical censures, but Anathama's were thought to seale a Punishment for this omission; therefore a censure was found out as severe upon the prince as burning was to the poor heretick: he was to be depoosed by the Pope, his subjects to be absolved from their oaths of allegiance; and his Dominions to be given away to any other faithfull son of the church, such as pleased the Pope best; and all this by the Authority of a Synod that passed for a holy Generall counsell; this as it was fatal to the counts of Tholouse, whoe were great princes in the South of France; and first fell under the censures; soe it was terrible to all other princes; whoe thereupon to save themselves, delivered up their Subjects to the mercy of the ecclesiastical courts.

Burning was the death they made choice of; because witches, wizards, and sodomites, had been soe executed; therefore to make heresy appeare a terrible thing; this was thought the most pro per punishment of it; it had alsoe a resemblance of envelop ing burnings; to which they adjudged their soulls, as well as their bodies which were condemned to the fire; but with this signall difference, that they could finde noe such effectuall way to oblige God, to execute their sentence, as they continued a joint the civill magistrate; but howsoever they consistently gave it out that by vertue of the promise of our Saviour, whose sins
ye bind on earth they are bound in heaven, their decrees were ratified in heaven, and it being not easy to disprove what they said, people believed the one, as they saw the other sentence executed, for that what ever they condemned as heresie, was looked on as the worst thing in the world.

There was noe occasion for the execution of this law in England till the days of Wickliffe, and the favour he had from some great men, kept the proceedings against him, but in the 5th year of King Richard the 2d, a bill passed in the House of Lords, and was assented to by the King, and published for an act of parliament; though the bill was never sent to the House of Commons; by this pretended law, it appears Wickliffe's followers were then very numerous, that they had a certain Habit, and did preach in many places, both in the churches, churchyards, and marketts; without license from the ordinary; and did preach sundry doctryne 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 cannon law, and other of the clergy, that they would not submit to the admonition; nor censor 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 routes; therefore it was ordained that upon the Bishops certifying unto the chancery the names of such preachers and their Abettors, the Chancellor should issue forth commissions to the sheriffs, and other the kings ministerers, to hold them in arrest, and strong prison, till they should justly try them according to the law and reasons 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 to be proclaimed within their jurisdictions, and John Braibrook Bishop of London, then Lord Chancellor, sent this with the other acts of Parliament to be proclaimed; the writ bears date the 26th of May, the 5th year of the reign of King Richard the 2d, but in the next Parliament that was held in the 6th year of the King's reign, the Commons preferred a bill repealing the former act; and constantly affirmed that they had
ne'er asent to it, and therefore desir'd that it might be declared
to be void; for they protest'd that it was ne'er 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 signall assent; as if it were in the records of par-
liament; 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
swords were allways practis'd by the popish clergy; and were In
deed necessary for the supporting the credit of that church: when
Richard the Second was deposed; and the crown usurp'd by Henry
the 4th; then he in gratitude to the clergy, that assist'd him:
in his coming to the crown, granted them a knave 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
authority of the same; and did preach without authority, gath-
ered conventicles, taught schools; wro't books, against the catholick
faith; with many other heinous aggravations, upon which the
prelacy and clergy, and the commons of the realm, prayed the
king to provide a sufficient remedy to soe great an evil. there
fore the king by the assent of the state, and other discreet men of
the realm, being in the said parliament, did ordain that none
should preach without license, except persons priviledged; that
none should preach any Doctrine contrary to the catholick faith
on the determination of the Holy church, and that none should sa-
rve and abett them, nor keep their books, but deliver them to
the Diocesan of the place, within forty days after the proclam-
ation of the Statute; and that if any persons were defamed, or
suspected of doing against the 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
allways, that the proceedings against them were publicly and judici-
ally done and ended within three months after they had been soe
arrested; and if they were convict, the Diocesan or his commis-
saries might keep them in prison as long as to his discretion shall
Seem expedient, and right fine them as should seem competent to him certifying the same into the king's Exchequer; and if any being convict did refuse to absolve, or after abjuration did fall into relapse then he was to be left to the secular court, according to the Holy canons; and the maior, sheriffs, or bailiffs were to be personally present at the passing the sentence; when they should be required by the Diocesan, or his commissaries, and after the sentence they were to receive them, and that before the people, in a high place to be burnt. 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 counsellor addressed him to issue out a writ, de Hereticum combustuendo; upon what grounds of law I cannot tell; for in the same year, when William Sautier, (who was the first that was put to death upon the account of Heresie) was judged relapsed by Thomas Arundel, Archbishop 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 that writ is called the customary punishment (relating it is like to the customs beyond sea) but this writ was not necessary by the law; and therefore it seems these writs were not involved; for in the whole reign of King Henry the 8th, I have not been able to finde any of these writs in the rolls. But by warhams register, I see the common course of the law was to certify into the chancery, the conviction of an Heretic, 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 8th; but in the beginning of his sons reign, there was a conspiracy (as was pretended) by Sir John Oldcastle, and some others against the King and the clergy, upon which many were put in prison; and ag. were both attainted of treason, and condemned of Heresie; soe they were both hang and burnt; but as a writer that lived in the following age, saith certain affirmed, that these were but seigned causes, surmised of the spirituality; more of displeasure then truth; that conspiracy whether real or pretended, produced a severe act against those
Heresy, who were then best known by the name of Lollards; by which
all officers of State, Judges, Justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs,
and bailiffs, were to be sworn when they took their employments
to use their whole power and diligence to destroy all heresies,
errors called Lollardies, and to assist the ordinaries, and their
commissaries in their proceedings against them; and that the Loll
ards should forfeit all the lands they held in fee simple, and their
goods and chattels to the king.

The clergy, according to the Censure of that religion having their
Authority forseyed with such severe laws, were now more cruel
and insolent then ever; and if any man denied them any part
of that respect, or of those advantages to which they pretended he
was presently brought under the suspicion of heresy; and vexed with
imprisonments, and Articles were brought against him.

upon which great complaints followed; and the Judges, to con
vict this, granted Habeas corpus, upon their imprisonments, and
examined the warrants; and either bailed, or discharged the pri
soners as they saw cause; for though the decrees of the church had
made many things heresy; so that the clergy had much matter:
to work upon; yet when offenders against them in other things
could not be charged with any formall heresy; then by consequence
they studied to fix it on them; but were sometimes over ruled
by the Judges. Thus when Keyser in the 8th year of Edward the
4th. who was excommunicated by Thomas averychier, Arch bishop of
Canterbury, at the suit of another, said openly that the sentence
was not to be feared; for though the Arch bishop, or his commissary
had excommunicated him; yet he was not excommunicat
before God; who was upon this by the Arch bishops warrant as one
justly suspected of heresy; but the Judges, upon his moving for an
Habeas corpus, granted it; and the prisoner being brought to the
baire, 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 warren
of London, having said, that he was not bound to pay Tithes to
his curate, was also imprisoned by Edward vaughan, at the
command of the bishop of London; but he escaped out of prison, and
brought his action of false imprisonment against Vaughan, whereup
on Vaughan pleading the statute of Henry the 4th and that his opin
ion was an Heresie against the determination of the catholic faith
the court of common pleas, judged that the words were not within
the statute; and that his opinion was an errour, but noe Heresie
soe that the judges looking upon themselves, as Interpreters of the
law, thought that even in the case of Heresie; they had authority
to declare what was Heresie by the law and what not, but what
opposition the clergy made to this I doe not know.

I hope the reader will easily excuse this digression, it being soe-
materiall to the History that is to follow. I shall next set down what
I finde in the records about the proceedings against Hereticks in
the begining of this reign.

on the 10 of May, in the year 1571. Six men and four women, of
them being of Tenterden; appeared before Arch bishop warham
in his manor of Knoll; and abjured the following erroers: 1 that
in the Sacramento of the Aultar is not the body of Christ, but materials
bread. 2 that the Sacramento of baptism and confirmation are not
necessary nor profitable for mens soule. 3 that confession of sins
ought not to be made to a Priest. 4 that there is noe more power gi-
en by God to a Priest, then to a lay man. 5 that the sollemnization
of marriage is not profitable nor necessary for the weal of man
soule. 6 that the Sacramento of extreme unction, is not profitable
nor necessary for manes soule. 7 that Pilgrimages to holy and devout
place, be not profitable, neither meritorious for manes soule. 8 that
Images of Saints be not to be worshiped. 9 that a man should pray
to noe saint, but only to God. 10 that Holy water, and holy bread,
be not the better after the benediction made by the Priest, then
before. And as they abjured these opinions, soe they were made
to sweare that they should discover all whom they knew to hold =
these erroers, or whoe were suspected of them; or that did keep a
nyy Private Conventicles; or that were sautors or comforters of the
that published such Doctrines. Two other men of Tenterden did
that day in the afternoon abjure most of those opinions. the
court sate again the 8th of May; and the Arch-bishop enjoyned
them Penance; to weare the badge of a Raggot in flames on
their cloaths, during their lives, or till they were dispenced with for it; and that in the procession, both at the cathedral of canterbury, &c.
at their own parish churches they should carry a saggot on their shoul-
ders, which was looked on as a publick confession that they denied burning. — The same day, another of tenterdon, abjured the same
doctrine; on the 15th of may; the court sat at lambeth, where four
men, and one woman abjured; on the 19th four men more abjured
on the 3d of June a man and woman abjured; another woman the
26th of July; another woman the 29th of July; two women on the
second of August; three men on the 16th of August; a man on the
third; and a woman on the 8th of August; and three men and a
woman on the third of September. In these abjurations, some
were put to abjure move; some fewer of the former Doctrines
and in some of their abjurations two Articles more were added;
that the images of the crucifix of our lady and other saints
ought not to be worshipped, because they were made with mens hands
and were but stocks and stones. That labours and money spent
in pilgrimages were all in vain; all these persons (whether they were
unjustly accused, or were overcome with fear, or had but crude con-
ceptions of those Opinions, and so were easily frighted out of them)
abjured, and performed the penances that were enjoined them. Others
met with harder measure; for on the 29th of April, in the same year
1541. one william corder of tenterdon; being indicted on the former
articles, he denied them all but one; that he had said it was enough
to pray to almighty god alone; and therefore we needed not to
pray to saints for any mediation; upon which witnesses were brought
against him; who were all such as were then prisoners; but intended
to abjure; and were now made use of to convict others; they swore that
he had taught them these Opinions; when their deposition were pub-
lished, 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 a obstinate heretick
and he was deliver'd up to the secular power; upon the same day a woman—
agnes greville; was indicted upon the same articles; she pleaded not guilty
but by a strange hand of proceeding; her husband, and her two sons were
brought in witnesses against her; her husband deposed that in the end of
the reign of king Edward the 4th. John Fue, had persuaded her into these opinions, in which she had persisted ever since; her sons alsoe deposed, that she had been still instructing these Doctrines into them. one Robert Harrison, was alsoe indited, and pleading not Guilty, witnesses did prove the Articles against him; and on the 2d of May sentence was given against these two as obstinate Hereticks, and the same day the Arch Bishop signed the writ for certifying these sentences into the chancery; which conclude in these words: our Holy mother the church having nothing further that she can doe in this matter, wee leave of the aforesaid Hereticks, and every one of them to your royall highness, and to your secular counsel; and on the 8th of May John Brown and Edward Walker, being alsoe indited of Heresie, on the former points; they both pleaded not guilty; but the witnesses deposing against them, they were judged obstinate Hereticks, and the former a relapse, for he had abjured before cardinal Morton, and on the 19th of May; sentence was given; when, or how the sentences were executed, I cannot finde; sure I am there are noe pardons upon record for any of them; and it was the cause of the law, either to send a Pardon, or to hue out the writ for burning them.

Fox, mentions none of these proceedings; only he tells us that John Brown was taken for some woods laid, in discourse with a priest, about saying of masses for redeeming souls out of purgatory; upon which he was committed for suspicion of Heresie: but Fox seems to have been misinformed about the time of his burning; which he saith was anno. 1517. for they would not have kept a condemned Heretic six years out of the fire; I never finde them Guilty of any such delinquency; these severe sentences made the rest so apprehensive of their danger, that all the others who were indited abjured; and in the year 1510. on the 5th of June; two men, and one woman abjured the Article, that in the Sacrament of the Body, there was only materiall bread, and not the body of chap: and one the 4th & 13th of September two other women abjured the former Articles; and this is all, that is in warams regiser about Hereticks.

In what remains of fitz James Bishops of London's regiser, there are but three abjurations. In the year 1509. one Elisabeth Sampson
of Aldermanbury, was indicted, for having spoken reproachfully of the images of our Lady of 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 image, were but stocks and stones; and denying the virtue of the sacrament of the altar, when the priest was not in clean life; and seeing that it was but bread, and that Christ's body could not be both in heaven and in earth; and for denying Christ's assumption to heaven; and for saying that more should not go to heaven then were already in it, but shee to be free of further trouble, confessed herself to be guilty and abjured all those opinions. It is generally observed that in the proceedings against Hollanders, the clergy always mixed some capital errors, which all christians rejected, with those for which they accused them; and some particulars being proved, they gave it out that they were guilty of them all, to represent them the more odious; and in this case the thing is plain: for this woman is charged for denying Christ's assumption; and yet another of the articles was that she said that Christ's body could not be in the sacrament; because it could not be both in heaven and on earth, which two opinions are inconsistent. In the year 1511, William Potter, was indicted for saying there were three Gods, and that he knew not for what Christ's passion or baptism avail ed, and did abjure; whether he only spoke those things impiously or whether he held them in opinions, is not clear; but certainly he was noe Hollander; and Joan Baker, was alsoe made to abjure some words, that she had said, that images were but Idols, and not to be worshiped; and that they were set up by the priest out of conuerti on, that they might grow rich by them; and that pilgrimag es were not to be made; more is not in the register, but Fox gives an account of six others, who were burnt in fize James's time; on this I have been the longer, that it may appear what were the opinions of the Hollanders 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 did afterwards come out of Germany.
The progress of Luther's Doctrine

The first beginning 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 mony, any man might both preserve himself, and deliver his friends out of purgatory, many were ended at this merchandize, against which Luther revolted. But it concerning the see of Rome in so main a point of their purgatory—would all soe have out of a great branch of their revenue, he was proceeded against with extream severity; so small a spark as that collision made, could never have made, or raised soe 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 soe open to contempt and hatred; that any one that would set himselfe against them, could not but be kindly looked on by the people; they had ingrossed both the greatest part of the riches and power of Christendom; and lived at their ease and in much wealth; and the corruptions of their worship and doctrine were such, that aneuy small proportion of common sense; with but an overlooking on the new Testament discovered them; nor had they 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 deal of mixture of Sophisticated Stuffs that went under the ancient names; and was joyned to their true works, which critics have since discoverd 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 Ignovance had buried all the former Learning; only a little misguided Deuotion remained, and 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 Fryars; and the false counterfeits of Learning, which were amongst the cannonists, schoolmen, and casuists; so y it was incredible to see how men notwithstanding all the opposition
that princes every where made to the progress of these reputed new opinions; and the great advantage 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 being orders of strangers, who having received fragments from them from their interests, were fitter to discover & follow the truth; and that austere discipline they had been trained under, did prepare them to encounter these difficulties, that lay in their way; and the laity, that had long lookt on their pastors with an evil eye, did receive those opinions very easily, which did both discover the Imposters 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 necessary and genuine; the clergy who at first despised these new preachers, were at length made allured; 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 Hollanders, which had been now in England since the days of Wickliffe, for about 150 years, between which opinions and the doctrines of the reformers there was great affinity; and therefore to give the better bent to the books that came out of Germany; many of them were translated into the English tongue; and were much read and applauded; this quickened the proceedings against the Hollanders; and the inquiry became so severe that great numbers were brought into the toils of the bishops and their commissaries; if a man had spoken but a light word against any of the constitutions of the church, he was seized on by the bishops officers; and if any taught their children the Lords prayer, the ten commandments, and the Apostles creed in the vulgar tongue, that was crime enough to bring them to the stake.
as it did. Six men and a woman at Coventry, in the Passion week after
the 4th. 1519. Longland Bishop of Lincoln, was very cruel to all that
were suspected of Herejye in his Diocess; sevenall of them adjured, or
some were burnt.

But all this 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 the people, fears; and made them move cautious &
resolved; but did not at all remove the cause, now work either
on their reasons, or affection.

upon all this, the king to get himselfe 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 wrote
against Luther, in defence of the Sacraments; this book
was magnified by the clergy, as the most learned work that ever
the Sun saw; and he was compared to King Salammon, and to all the
Christian Emperours that had ever been; and it was the chiefest subject for slattery for many years; besides that glorious title of de
fender of the faith, which the pope bestowed on him for it; and
it must be acknowledged, that considering that age, and that it
was the work of a king, it did deserve some commendation, but
Luther was not at all daunted at it, but rather valued himselfe
upon it; that soe great a king had entered the List with him
and answered his book; and he replied, not without a large
mixture of Arimity, for which he was generally blamed, as
forgetting the great respect that is due to the persons of sovereign Princes.

But all would not doe, these opinions gained more footing; and will
iam Tindall, made a translation of the new testament in English
to which he added some short glosses; this was printed in Antwerp
and sent over into England in the year 1526, against which =
there was a Prohibition published by every Bishop in his Diocess
bearing that some of Luthers followers, had erroneously translated
the new Testament; and had corrupted the word of God, both by
a false translation, and Herejical glosses; therefore they requi
red all incumbents to charge all within their parishes, that had
any of these to bring them in to the vicar generall within 30
days after the premonition, under the pains of excommunication and incuring the suspicion of heresie; there were also many other books prohibited at that time; most of them written by Tindall. 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 of bishops license for keeping and reading them. He wrote according to the way of that Age with much bitterness, and though he had been not friend to the monks, and a great declaimer against the ignorance of the clergy, and had been ill used by the cardinall; 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; soe violently did the roman clergy hurry all their friends into those excesses of fire and sword.

When that party became soe considerable that it was known there were societies of them, not only in London, but in both the universities; then the cardinall 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 books and opinions; some bishops moved in the year 1523 that there might be a visitation appoointed to goe to cambridge for trying whoe were the authors for heresie there, but he as legate did inhibit it (upon what grounds I cannot imagine) which was brought against him afterwards in parliament (art 43. of his impeachment) yet when these doctrines were spread every where; he called a meeting of all the bishops & divines and cannonists about London, where Thomas Bilney, and Thomas Arthur, were brought before them; and Articles were brought in against them, set down at length by Foxe, in all points, when the cardinall asked Bilney, whether he had not taken an oath before, not to preach or defend any of Luthers doctrines; he confessed he had done it; but not judicially; that some of the proceedings of the court was, that after
examination of witnesses, and several other steps in the process when the cardinal left to the bishop of London and the other bishops to manage; Bilney fled out long, and seemed resolved to suffer for a good conscience; in the end when through Human Firmity, what through the great Impropriety of the Bishop of London, who set all his friends on him, he did abjure, on 7th of September, as Arthur had done on the 2d of that month and though Bilney was relapsed, and soe was to expect noe mercy by the Law, yet the Bishop of London enjoyned him penance, and let him goe; for Tottall being a man both of good Learning, and an unblemisht Life, these virtues produced one of their ordinary effects in him, great moderation; that was soe eminent in him, that at noe time did he dip his hand in blood. Geffry Loni, and Thomas Gerrard, all soe abjured, for having had Luthers Books, and defending his opinions.

These were the proceedings against Hereticks in the first Hafse of this vaign
of King Henry the 8th and the reformation that began during his reign

Chap. 1.
of the first 18 years of his reign until he questioned his marriage with his queen Catherine.

King Henry was bred with more care, then had been usually bestowed upon the education of princes for many ages, who had been only trained up in those exercises, that prepared them to war and if they could write and read, 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, soe other princes every where cherished the muse; — King Henry the 7th. though illiterate himselfe; yet took great care to have his children instructed in good letters; and it generally passeth current, that he bred his second son a scholar; having designed him to be Archbishop of Canterbury; but that hath now 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 the design had vanished with his life. For he being born, the 28th of June 1491. and Prince Arthur dying the 24 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 busi-ness; or their Pretending to the crown upon their mothers title; which might have been a dangerous competition to hin
that was so little beloved by his subjects, took this method for amusing them with other things, thence it was that his son was the most learned prince that had been in the world for many ages; and deserved the title Beauclerc; or a better account then his predecessor that long before had carried it. The learning then in credit was either that in schools about abstract questions of Divinity which from the days of Lombard were debated, and disserted on with much subtility and nicety; and exercised all speculative Divines; or the study of the cannon Law, which was the way to business and preferment; to the former of these the king was much addicted; and delighted to read often in Thomas Aquinas and this made cardinal Woolsey 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 defender of it; and to Polidoro Virgil; though neither of these made their court dexterously with the cardinal, which did much intercept the king's favour to them; so that the one left England; and the other was but roughly used in it, whose hath sufficiently reuenged himselfe on the cardinal's memory; the philosophy then in fashion was for intermingled with their Divinity, that the king understood it too; and was all for a good musician; as appears by two whole masses which he composed he never wrote well but scrawled, so that his hand was scarce legible.

Being thus inclined to learning, he was much courted by all hungry schollers, whoe generally owen Europe dedicated their books to him with such flattering Epistles, that it very much lessens him to see how he delighted in such stuffe; for if he had not taken pleasure in it and rewarde them, it is not likely that others should have been every year writing after such ill coppyes: of all things in the world, flattery wrought most on him; and noe sort of flattery pleased him better, then to have his great learning and wisdom commended, & in this his parliaments, his courtiers, his chaplains, soveraigners & naturall 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 then any king in England had ever done; he allso courted the pope with a constant submission, and upon all occasions made the popes interest his own, and made war and peace as they desired him; soe that had he dyed 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 saintship to kings for near 1000 years together; and had done more then they all did by writing a book of the Roman faith.

But the immunity of Ecclesiastical persons was a thing that occasioned great complaints; and good cause there was for them, for it was ordinary for persons after the greatest crimes to get into orders, so that 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 arose a great dispute in the beginning of this king's reign, of which none of our Historians have taken any notice. I shall give a full account of it.

King Henry the 7th in his 4th parliament, did a little lessen the privileges of the clergy; enacting that clerks convicted should be burnt in the hand; but this not proving a sufficient restraint, it was enacted in parliament in the 4th 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 provisos to it, the one for excepting all such as were within the Holy orders of Bishop, Priest or Deacon; the other that that act should only be in force till the next parliament; with these provisos, it was unanimously assented too by the Lords on the 26th of January, 1549, and being agreed to by the Commons, the royal assent made it a law, pursuant to which many murderers and felons were denied their clergy, and the law passed on them to great satisfaction of the whole nation; but this gave great offence to the clergy, who had no mind to have their immunities touched nor lessened; and judging that if the laity made bold with previous orders, they would proceed further, even against sacred orders; they saw as their opposition was such, that the act not being continued did determine at the next parliament (that was in the 5th year of his king) for they not satisfied with that, resolved to fix a confin upon the act as contrary to the franchises of the Holy church; and the Abbot of Winchell-cumb, being more forward then the rest during the session of parliament in the 7th year of this king's reign; in a sermon at
Pauls cross, said openly that that act was contrary to the law of God, & to the liberties of the Holy church; and that all whose consent to it, as well spiritual as temporal persons, had by so doing incurred the censure of the church: and for confirmation of his opinion, he published a book to prove, that all clerks, whether of the greater or lesser order, were saved, 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 insolence 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 friars in London (afterward Bishop of St. Asaph) the chiefe of the kings spiritual council, argued, that by the law, clerks had been just convinced and judged in the kings court for civil crimes and that there was nothing neither in the laws of God or the church inconsistent with it; and that the publick good of the society which was chiefly driven at by all laws, and ought to be preserved to all other things, required that crime should be punished. But the Abbot of Wincelcomb, being counsel for the clergy, excepted to this; and said there was a decree made by the church expressly to the contrary, to which all ought to pay obedience under the pain of mortall sin, and therefore the trying of clerks, in the civil courts, was sin in it selfe. Standish upon this turning to the king said: God forbid y all the decrees of the church should binde; it seems the bishops thinke not soe; for though there is a decree that they should decide at their cathedralls, at the feastfulls of the year, yet the greatest part of them doe it not; adding that noe decree could have any force in England, till it was received there; and that this decree was not yet received in England, but that as well since the making of it as before, clerks had been tryed for crimes in the civil courts; to this the abbot made noe answer; but brought a place of scripture to prove this exemption to have come from our Saviour's words, touch not mine annointed; and therefore princes ordaining clerks to be arrested; and brought before their courts, was contrary to scripture, against which noe custom can take place. Standish replied these words were never said by our Saviour, but were put by David in his Psalter, 1000 years before Christ.
and he said these words had no relation to the civil judication, but because the greatest part of the world was then wicked, but a small number believed the law, they were a charge to rest of the world not to doe them harm. But though the Abbot had been very violent, and confident of his being able to confound all that held the contrary opinion, yet he made noe an swes to this. The Laity that were present, being confirmed in their former opinion, by hearing the matter thus argued, moved the Bishops to order the Abbot, to renounce his former opinion, and recant his sermon at Paul's cross; but they flatly refused to doe it, and said they were bound by the laws of the Holy church, to maintain the Abbots opinion in every point of it. Great heats followed upon this, during the sittings of the parliament; of which there is a very partiall entry made in the Journall of the Lords house; and noe wonder, the clerke of the Parliament, Doctor Taylor, Doctor of the cannon 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 scribe; being the instrument and promoter of all the mischief.

But a passage fell out, that made this matter be more fully prosecuted, in the Michaelmas term 1515. one Richard Hunne, a merchant Tayler in London, was questioned by a clerke in Middlesex; for a mortuary pretended to be Due for a childe of his that died five weeks old; the clerke claimed the bearing sheet and Hunne refusing to give it; upon that he was sued; but his counsell advised him to sue the clerke in a prumunire, for bringing the kings subjects before a soveraigne court; the spiritual court sitting by Authority from the Legate; this touched the clergy sore in the quick, that they used all the Arts they could to stinge Heresie upon him; and understanding that he had Wicliff's Bible, upon that he was attached of Heresie, and put in the Hollards tower, at Pauls, and examined upon some article,
objected to him by Fitz James, the Bishop of London, he denied them as they were charged against him, but acknowledged that he had said some words sounding that way, for which he was sorry, & asked God's mercy, and submitted himselfe to the bishops correction upon which he ought to have been enjoyned penance and set at liberty; but he persisting still in his suit in the Kings court; they used him most cruelly. on the 4th of December he was found hanged in the chamber where he was kept prisoner; and Doctor Hoby chancellor to the Bishop of London, with the other officers who had the charge of the prison, gave it out that he had hanged himselfe; but the coroner of London, coming to hold an Inquest on the dead body, they found him hanging for loose, and in a Silke 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 freted and cut; they saw some streams of blood about his body; besides severall other evidences; which made it cleer he had not murdered himselfe, whereupon they did acquit the dead body, and laid the murder on the officers that had the charge of the prison; and by other proofs they found the bishops Summer, and the Bell ringer Guilty of it; and by the deposition of the Summer himselfe, it did appear that the chancellor and hee, and the bell ringer did murder him; and then Hung him up.

But as the Inquest proceeded in his trial; the bishop began a new process against the dead body of Richard Hunne for other points of Hespie, and Severall Articles were gathered out of Wickefis preface to the Bible with which he was charged; and having the book in his possession being taken for good evidence, he was judged an Heretick, and his body delivered to the secular power; when judgment was given, the Bishop of Duwesme and Lincoln with many Doctors both of Divinity and the cannon law, sat with the Bishop of London; soe that it was lookt on as an act of the whole clergy, and done by common consent; on the 20th of December, his body was burnt at Smithfield.

But this produced an effect very different from what was expected; for it was hoped that his being found an Heretick, noe body should appear for him any more; whereas on the contrary it occurr
ord a great outcry, the man having lived in very good reputation among his neighbours; so that after that day, the city of London was never well affected to the popish clergy; but declined to follow any body whose sake against them; and every one looked upon it as a cause of common concern, all exclaimed against the cruelty of the clergy; that for a man being a clerk according to the law, he should be long and hardly used in a severe imprisonment, and at last cruelly murdered, and all this laid on himself to desame him, and ruin his family; and then to burn the body which they had soe handled; was thought such a complicity of cruelties, as few barbarians had ever been guilty of: the bishop finding the inquest went on, and the whole matter was discovered, used all possible endeavors to stop their proceedings, and they were not brought before the king's council, where it was pretended that all proceeded from malice and heresie; the cardinal laboured to procure an order to sieb their going any further; but the thing was both soe foul and soe evident, that it could not be done; and the opposition made it more generally believed. In the parliament there was a bill sent up to the lords by the commons for restoring Hunny children, which was passed, and had they royally assert to it; but another bill being brought in about this murder, it occasioned great heats among them: The bishop of London said of Hunny, had hanged himself; that the inquest were false perjured caitiffes; and if they proceeded further he could not keep his house for heretics; soe that the bill which was sent up by the commons was but once read in the Houf of Lords, for the power of the clergy was great there; but the trial went on; and both the bishops chancellour, and the Sumner were indicted as principally in the murder.

The convocation that was then sitting finding soe great a stir made, and that all their liberties were now struck at; resolved to call Doctor Standish to an account for what he had said, and argued in that matter; soe he being summoned before them
Some Articles were objected to him by word of mouth concerning the judging of clergies 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 Council, but the clergy made their excuse to the King; that they were not to question him for any thing he had said as the Kings Council; but for some Lectures he read at St. Pauls, and elsewhere, contrary to the Law of God, and the Articles of the Holy Church, which they were bound to maintain, and desired the Kings Assistance, according to his Coronation Oath and as he would not know the Censures of the Holy Church, on the other hand, the Temporal Lords and Judges, with the Concurmance of the House of Commons, addressed to the King to maintain the Temporal Jurisdiction according to his Coronation Oath and to protect Standish from the Malice of his Enemies.

This put the King to 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 Dr. Vessey, then Dean of his Chappell, 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 and conscience and Allegiance, he did think that the convening of clerkes before the Secular Judge, which had been allways 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 House, to meet at Black Friars, and to hear the matter argued; the Bill against Dr. Standish, was read, which consisted of Six Articles that were objected to him. (1) that he had said the Lower Orders were not sacred (2) that the Exemption of Clerkes was not grounded on a Divine Right. (3) that the Laity might coerce Clerkes when the Prelates did not their Duty. (4) that no positio
ecclesiasticall law binds any but those who receive it (5) that of the canon law was needless (6) that of the whole volum of the Decretals, soe much as a man could hold in his fist, and noe move did oblige christians. To these D's standish answered, that for those things express in the third, the fifth and the sixth articles he had never taught them; as for his asserting them at any time in discourse as he did not remember it; doe he did not care whether he had done it or not, to the first, he said; lesser orders in one sense are sacred and in another they are not sacred; for the second and fourth he confessed he had taught them, and was ready to justify them; it was objected by the clergy; that as by the law of God noe man could judge his father, it being contrary to the commandment Honour thy father, noe church men being spiritual fathers; they could not be judged by the laity, whoe 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 genereall words, yet there are some exceptions to be admited; as though it be said thou shalt not kill; yet in some cases wee may lawfully kill; soe in the case of justice, a Judge may lawfully sit on his own father.

But D's Veysey's argument was that which took more with all that were present; he said, that it was certain the law of the church did not bind any but those whoe received them; to prove this he said, that in old times, all secular priests were married; but in the days of St. Augustine, the Apostle of England, there was a decree made to the contrary; which was received in England and in many other places; by virtue whereof the secular priests in England may not marry; but this law not being universally received; the Greek church never judged themselves bound by it; soe that to this day ye priests in that church have their wives, as well as other secu
men; if then the churches of the pop, not having received the law of
the celibate of the clergy, have never been condemned by the church
for not obeying it, then the coining clerks having been always
practised in England was not sin notwithstanding the Decree to
the contrary, which was never received here, nor is this to be
compared to those privileges that concern only a man's private
interest, for the common wealth of the whole realm was chiefly
to be looked at, and to be preferred to all other things.

When the matter was thus argued on both sides, all the judges
delivered their opinions in these words, that all those of the con-
vention, who did avoid the citation against Standish were
in the case of a prominent fact, and added, somewhat about
the constitution of the parliament, which I need not mention,
being sovereign to my business; and thus the court broke up:
but soon after, all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, with
many of the House of Commons, and all the judges, and the kings
council, were called before the king to Baynard's castle; and
in all their presence, the cardinal knelt down before his king
and in the name of the clergy said, that none of them intended
to do any thing that might derogate to his prerogatives;
and least of all himselfe, who owed his advancement only to
the kings favor. But this matter of coining of clerks, did
seem to them all to be contrary to the laws of God, and the
liberties of the church, which they were bound by their oaths
to maintain according to their power; therefore in their name
he humbly begged, that the king to avoid the censure 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 and
swore, it seems to us, that Dr. Standish, and others of our
Spiritual Council, have answered you fully in all points: y
Bishop of winchester replied, sir, I warrant you, Dr. Standish
will not abide by his opinion at his peril; but the Doctors said,
what should one poor stravag doe alone against all the bishops &
clergy of England; after a short silence, the Arch bishop of
canterbury said, that in former times holy fathers of the
church had opposed the execution of that law, divers of them
and some of them suffered martyrdom in the quarrell, to whom
Sineux, Lord chiefe Justice said, that many holy kings had main-
tained that law; and many holy fathers had given obedience
to it; which it is not to be presumed they would have done
had they known it to be contrary to the law of God; and
he desired to know by what law bishops could judge clerks
for felony, it being a thing only determined by the temporal
law; soe that either it was not at all to be tryed; or it was:
only in the Temporall court; soe that either clerks may do
as they please; or be tryed in the civil courts; to this noe
answer being made; the king said these words: by the per-
mission and ordinance of God, wee are king of England; &
the kings of England in times past, had neuer any superior
but God only; therefore know you well, that wee will main-
tain the right of our crown, and of our temporall juris-
diction, as well in this, as in all other points, in as ample
manner as any of our progenitours have done before our time
and as for your decrees, wee are well assured; that you of the
spiritualitie you expressly against the words of divers of them
as hath been shewed you by some of our counsell; and you in-
terpret your decrees at your pleasure; but wee will not agree
to them, more then our progenitours have done in souner
times. But the Arch bishop of canterbury made most Humble
Instance, that the matter might be so long resipted, till they
could get a resolution from the court of Rome, which they
should procure at their own charges; and if it did not con-
sist with the law of God, they should confound themselves
to the law of the Land, to this the king made noe answer.
But the warrants being out against Dr. Hosey, the bisho of londons
Chancellour, he did abscond in the Arch bishops House, though it
was pretended he was a prisoner there; till afterwards a
tempers was found, that Hosey should render himself a
prisoner in the kings bench and be tried; but the bishop
of londoon made earhest application to the cardinall that he
would move the king to command the attorney Generall to
confess the indictment was not true, that it might not be refered to a jury, since he said the cityzens of London did soe fauor Heresie, that if he were as innocent as Abell, they would finde any clerke Guilty; the king not willing to irritate the clergy too much, and judging he had maintained his prerogative by brining Horsey to the barre; ordered the Attorney to doe soe and accordingly when Horsey was brought to the barre and indited of murder; he pleaded not Guilty, which the Attorney acknowledging, he was dismissed and went and lived at Exeter; and neuer again came back to London, either out of fear or shame; and for Dr Standish, upon the kings command, he was dismissed out of the court of Convocation.

It doth not appear that the pope thought fit to interpose in this matter, for though upon less provocations, popes had proceeded to the highest censure against Princes; yet the king was otherwise soe necessary to the pope at this time, that he was not to be offended; the clergy suffered much in this businesse; besides the loss of their reputation with the people soe involved them all in the Guilt of Huns murder; for now their exemption being well examined, was found to have noe foundation at all, but in their own Decrees; and how were much concerned or convinced by that Authority, since upon y matter, it was but a judgment of their own, in their own matters; or in their own Jajuors; nor was the city of London at all satisfied with the proceedings in the kings bench, since there was noe justice done, and although the king seemed more careful to maintain his prerogative, then to doe Justice.

This I have related the more fully, because it seems to have had, great influence on Peoples minde, and to have dispos'd them much to the changes that followed afterwards.

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 faithfull son of the see of Rome. Pope Julius soon after his coming to the crown sent him a Golden Rose, with a letter to Archbishop Warham to deliever it; and though such presents might seem sifter
for young children, then for men of discretion; yet the king was much delighted with it; and April the 19th. 1512, sent the bishops of Worcester and Rochester to the Lateran council.

nor was there a worse understanding between this king and pope Leo that succeeded Julius, whose did alsoe complement him with these papall presents of roses; and at his desire made Wolsey a cardinal, and above all other things obliged him, by confering on him the title of defender of the faith (upon 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 severall of the former kings of England had carried the same title, as Spelman informs us; soe easy a thing it was for popes to oblige princes in those days, when a title, or a rose was thought a sufficient recompence for the greatest services.

But before I conclude this chapter, I shall set down the relation of cardinals Woolseyes procuring a bull from Rome for the reforming of the clergy; which proved of great use afterwards in the changes and alterations that ensued, as in the sequel will appear.

The cardinal governed all temporal affaires; and it is not to be doubted but his Authority was great in Ecclesiastical matters which seemed naturally to lie within his province.

But the cardinal drew the hatred of the clergy upon himself by a bull which he obtained from Rome, June 10th. 1519, 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 year after the Date of the Bull; the power was lodged in him by this Bull was not more indvidious, than the words in which it was conceived were offensive; for the preamble of it was full of severe reflections against the manners and ignorance of the clergy; which are said in it to be deliered over to a reprobate minde, thur as it was a publick desamming them; soe how true soeuer it might be; it did not become the cardinal, whose vices were notorious and scandalous to tax others whose faults were never soe great nor soe emminent as his were.

Therefore he intended to visit all the monasteries of England that soe discovering their corruptions he might the better suppi
the design he had to suppress most of them, and convert them into bishopricks, cathedrals, collegiate churches, and colleges; for which end he procured the Bull from Rome; but he was diverted from making any use of it by some, whose rather advised him to suppress monasteries by the pope's 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 advantage against it: yet the 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 monasteries.

From the days of Edgar, the state of monastery had been still growing in England; for most of the secular clergy being then married, and refusing to put away their wives, were by = Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, and Ethelwald bishop of Winchester, and Oswald bishop of Worcester, who were all = monks turned out of their livings: there is in the rolls of Sussexim, of king Edgars erecting the priory and convent of Worcester, which bears the date anno 964. Edgari 6 to st. innocents day, signed by the king, the queen, two archbishops five bishops, six abbots (but neither bishopricke nor Abbot are named) six dukes, and five knights, but there is noe seal to it. It bears that the king with the consent and councell of his princes and Gentry did confirm and establish the priory, and that he had erected, 47 monasteries, which he intended to increase to 50. the number of the jubilee; and that the former incumbents should be for ever excluded from all pretensions to their benefices, because they had rather chosen, with the Dangers of their order, and the prejudice of the ecclesiastical benefice to adhere to their virtues, then to serve God Chastely and canonically.

The monks being thus settled in most cathedrals of England gave themselves up to idleness and pleasure, which had been long complained of: but now that learning began to be restored, they being everywhere possessed of the best church benefices, were looked upon by all learned men with an evil eye; as having,
in their hands the chief encouragements of Learning, and yet doing nothing towards it, they on the contrary decaying and disparaging it all they could, saying it would bring in Hericie, & a great deal of mischief; and the restorers of Learning, such as Erasmus, Vives, and others did not spare them, but did expose their ignorance and ill manners to the world.

Now the King naturally loved learning; and therefore the cardinal, either to do a thing which he knew would be acceptable to the King; or that it was all so agreeable to his own inclination, resolved to set up some colleges; in which there should be both great encouragements for eminent Scholars to prosecute their studies; and good schools for teaching and training up of youth; thic he knew would be a great Honour to him, to be looked upon as a patron of Learning; and therefore he set his heart much on it, to have to colleges (the one at Oxford, the other at Ipswich & place of his birth) well constituted, and nobly endowed, but towards this it was necessary to suppress some monasteries, which was thought every whit as justifiable and lawful as it had been many ages before; to change Secular Prelates into canons regular; the endowed goods being still applied to a religious use; and it was hard to say, that if the Pope had the absolute power of dispensing the spiritual treasure of the church, and to translate the merits of one man and apply them to another; that he had not a much more absolute power over the temporal treasure of the church, to translate church lands from one use and apply them to another; and indeed the cardinal was then so much considered at Rome as a pope of another world, that whatever he desired, he easily obtained; therefore on the 3d of April, 1524, Pope Clement, by a Bull, gave him Authority, to suppress the monastery of St. Frideswide in Oxford, and in the Diocese of Lincoln, and to carry the monks elsewhere, with a very full monasticale; to this the King gave his assent, April 19th following; after this followed many other Bulls, for other religious House, and vectories that were Appropriated; these Houses being thus Suppressed by the Law they belonged to the King; whose thereupon made them over
to the cardinall, by new and speciall grants, which are all involved and soe he went on with these great foundations; and brought them to perfections; that at oxford in the 18th year, and that at

And thus have I opened the state of affairs both as to religious and civill concerns, for the first 13 years of this kings time, with what observations I could gather of the disposition, and tempers of the nation at the time which prepared them for the changes that followed afterwards.

Chap. 2.

of the process of divorce between king Henry and queen catherine, and of what passed from the 19th to the 28th year of his reign, in which he was declared supream head of the church of england

King Henry hitherto lived at ease, and enjoyed his pleasures; he made war with much Honour, and that alwayes produced a just and advantageous peace; he had noe trouble upon him in all his saires; except about the getting of money, and even in that, the cardinall eased him; but now a Domestick trouble arose, which perplexed all the rest of his Government, and drew after it consequences of an higher nature.

Henry the 9th upon wise and good considerations resolved to winke himselfe in a close confederacy with ferdinand and jabella, kings of castile and arragon, and with the house of burgundy against france, which was looked on as the lasting and dangerous enemy of england, and therefore a match was agreed on, between his son prince arthur and katherine the insanta of spain, whose eldest sister joan was married to phillip that was then duke of burgundy and earl of flanders, out of which arose a tripall alliance, between england spain and burgundy against the king of france, whoe was then become formidable to all about him: there was given with her 200000. dukets, the greatest portion that had been given for any age, with any princess, which made it not least acceptable with king henry.
The Infanta was brought into England, and on the 14th of November 1061 was married at St. Paul’s, to Prince Arthur, Prince of Wales; they lived together as man and wife, till the 2nd of April following 1061, and not only had their bed solemnly blessed, when they were put into it, on the night of their marriage, but also were seen published in bed several days after, and went down to dine at Ludlow Castle in Wales, where they still bedded together; but Prince Arthur, though a strong and healthful youth when he married her, yet dyed soon after, which some thought was hastened by his early marriage, and excess of the marriage bed; the Spanish Ambassador had by his masters order taken proofs of the consummation of the marriage, and sent them into Spain; the young prince also himself had by many expressions given his servants cause to believe that his marriage was consummated the first night, which in a youth of 16 years of age, that was vigorous and healthful was not at all judged strange; it was also 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 say for 6 months, and he was not created Prince of Wales till 20 months were elapsed, viz. in the February following, when it was apparent that his brothers wife was not with child by him; these things were afterwards looked on as a full demonstration (being as much as the thing was capable of) that the princess was not a virgin after Prince Arthur’s death. But the reason of state still standing for keeping up the alliance against France, and King Henry the 7th having no mind to let his great revenue as shee had in joynture be carried out of the kingdom; it was proposed that shee should be married to the younger brother, now Henry = Prince of Wales; the two Prelates that were then in greatest esteem with King Henry the 7th were Warrham Archbishop of Canterbury, and Fox Bishop of Winchester; the former delivered his opinion against it; and told the king that he thought it was neither honourable nor well pleasing to God; the Bishop of Winchester persuaded it, and for the objections that
were against it and the murmuring of the people who did not like a marriage that was disputable, left out of it new wars should afterwards rise about the right of the crown, the pope's dispensation was thought sufficient to answer all, and his authority was then so undisputed, that it did effectually see a bull was obtained on the 26th 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 Catherine, bearing that whereas, the princess was lawfully married to Prince Arthur (which was perhaps consummated by the carnal copula) who was dead without issue, but they being desirous to marry for preserving the peace between the crowns of England and Spain did petition his holiness for his dispensation; therefore the pope, out of his care to maintain peace among all catholick kings, did absolve them from all censures under which they might bee, and dispenced with the impediment of their affinity, notwithstanding any apostolical constitution or ordinances to the contrary, and gave them leave to marry; or if they were already married, he confirming it, required their confessor to injoin them some health full 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 the 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 warlike pope, who considered religion very little; therefore might be easily persuaded to perform 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 papall power in England; so strangely doth God make the devices of men become of noe 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 noe possessed the king with an anvers on to this marriage, that the same day that the prince was of age, June 27th 1505, 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 bishop of winchester, before a Publick notary, and read it himselfe, by which he declared, that where as he being under Age was married to the princess Katherine, yet now coming to be of Age, he did not confirm the marriage, but retracted an annulled it; and would not proceed in it; but intended in full form of law to void and break it, of which he declared he did freely and of his own accord.

Thus it stood during his fathers life, who continued to them last to be against it; and when he was just dying, he charged his son to break it off; though it is possible that noe consideration of religion might work soe much on him, as the apprehensions he had of the troubles that might follow on a controverted title to the crown of which the wars between the House of York and Lancaster, had given a fresh and sad demonstration. The king being dead, April 22nd. 1509, one of the first things that came under consultation was that the young king must either break his marriage totally, or conclude it; arguments were brought on both hands; but those for it prevailed most with the king; soe six weeks after he came to the crown, June 3rd, he was married again publicly; and soon after they were both crowned, which was June 24th. 1511. On the first day of the year, shee made him a very acceptable new years gift of a son, but he dyed February 22nd after; shee miscarried often; and another son dyed soon after he was born in November 1514. Only the lady mary lived to a perfect age; shee was born February 19th. 1516.

In this state was the kings family, when the queen lest bearing more children, and contracted some disease, that made her person
 unacceptable to him; but was as to her other qualities amorous and grace,
princess, much esteemed, and beloved both of the king and the whole
nation; the king being out of hopes of more children declared his
daughter princess of Wales, and sent her to Ludlow 1518. to hold
her court there, and projected divers matches for her; the first
was with the Dolphin, which was agreed too between the kings
France and him, the 9th of November, 1518, as appears by the
{treaty} yet extent, but this was broken afterwards upon the
kings confederating with the Emperor against France; and a
new match agreed, and sworn too, between the Emperor and the
king at Windsor, June and 1522. the Emperor being present in
person; this being afterwards neglected and broken by the Em-
peror by the advise of his counsellors and states; there followed some
overtures of a marriage with Scotland; but those also vanished
and there was a second treaty begun with France, the king of
France his daughter to Francis himselfe, which he gladly accept-
ing, a match was treated. April 30th 1527, and it was agreed
that the Lady Mary should be given in marriage either to
Francis himselfe, or to his second son, the Duke of Orleans. &
the alternative was to be determined by the two kings at an
interview that was to be between them soon after at Calais
with forfeiture on both sides, if the match went not one

But while this was in agitation, the Bishop of Ravbe, the French
Embassador, made a great Demure about the Princess Mary being
Illegitimate; as being begotten in a marriage that was con-
tracted against a divine Precept, with which no humane Au-
thority could dispencet: How far this was secretly concerted be-
tween the French court and ours; or between the cardinal &
Embassador, is not known; it is surmised that the King, or the
Cardinal, set on the French to make this exception Publicly
that the King might have a better colour to justify his
SUIT of Divorce; since other princes were already questioning
it; for if upon a marriage proposed of such infinite advan-
tage to France as that would be, with the Heirs 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 to his second son, by which either the children which the king might have by her, or the children of the Duke of Orleans 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; so if the Duke of Orleans by his brother's death should become king of France, as it afterwards fell out, or if the king of France had been once possessed of England, then according to the maxim of the French Government, that what ever their king acquired he held 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, y more effectually to exclude her from the succession; considering the aversion his subjects had to a French Government, that since he might more easily settle his bastard son, the Duke of Rich mond in the succession of the crown.

While this treaty went on, the king's scruples about his marriage began to take vent; it is said the cardinal did first insinuate them into him; and made Longland bishop of Lincoln that was the king's confess or, possess the king's minde with them in confession; if it was the king had according to the Religion of that time, a just cause of scruple, when his confessor judged his marriage sinfull; and the pope's legate was of the same minde; it is also said, that the cardinal being alienated from the emperor, that he might inevitably embroil the king and him, and write the king to the French interest, designed this out of spite; and that he was also dissatis fied towards the queen, whose hatred him for his lewd and dissolute life, and had oft admonished and chekht him for it and that he therefore designing to engage the king to marry
the French kings sister; the Duchess of Alenoon 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, whose did afterwards charge the cardinal as the cause of all her trouble; so I am inclined the kings scruples were much antienter; for the king declared to Simon Guineus four years after this, in the year 1531, in his letter to Bucer, 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 minde three years before the time. What were the kings secret motines, and the true grounds of his accession to the queen, is only known to God; and till the discovery of all secrets at the day of judgment must ye hide, but I reasons which he allwayes owned; of which all humane judicatorys must take notice, shall be now fully opened. He found by the law of Moses, that if a man took his brothers wife, they should dye childless; this made him reflect on the death of his children, which he now looked on as a curse from God for the unlawful marriage; upon this he set himselfe to study the case, and called for the judgment of the best divines and canonists for his own inquiry. Thomas Aquinas, being the writer, in whose books he took most pleasure, and to whose judgment he submitted most, did decide it clearly against him; for he both concluded that the lawes in Leviticus about the forbidden degree of marriage were morall and eternall, such as obliged all christians and that the pope could only dispence with the lawes of the church but could not dispence with the lawes of God, upon this reason, that no law can be dispenced with by any authority, but that which is equal to the authority that established it and enacted it; therefore he insers, that the pope indeed can dispence with the lawes of the church; but not with the lawes of God, to whose authority he could not pretend to be equall; but as the king found this from his own private study; soe having commanded the Archbishops 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 Fisher, the bishop of...
rochester, refus'd to set his hand to it; and though the Arch-bishop pressed him most earnestly to it; yet he persist'd in his refusal, saying that it was against his conscience, but all the other bishops did declare against the marriage; and as the king himselfe said after wards in the Legantine court, neither the cardinal, nor the bishop of Lincoln, did first suggest these scruples; but the king being possessed with them, did in confession propose them to the 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 concerned on him, for the interest of the kingdom required; that there should be no doubting about the succession of the crown; lest 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, and though this may seem a consideration too politick and sovereign to a matter of this nature yet the obligation that lies on a prince to provide for the happiness and quietude 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 all 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 Emperour's prisoner at Rome; and also for a project of peace between Francis and the Emperour; but a chiefest business was to reuire Francis to declare his resolutions concerning the alternatue about the Lady Mary; to which it was answered, that the Duke of Orleans was a fitter match in years was the French King's choice; but this matter fell to the ground upon the progress that followed soon after.

The king did much apprehend the opposition the Emperour was like to make to his designes, either out of a principle of nature and honour to protect his aunt; or out of a maxim of state to raise his enemy all the trouble he could at Home.
but on the other hand he had some cause to hope well even in that particular; for the question of the unlawfulness of the match had been debated first in the court, or assembly of the state, at madrid; and the Empeour then had shewed himselfe soe favorabel to it that he broke the match (to which he had bound himselfe) with the princess; therefore the king had reason to thinke, that this at least would mitigate his opposition; the Empeour alsoe had used the pope so hardy that it could not be doubted but that the pope hated him therefore he did not doubt but the pope would be compli ant with his desires; and in this he was much confirmed by the Hopes or rather assurances which the cardinall gave him of the popes favor; whoe either calculating what was to be expected from the court on that account of their own interest; or upon some promise made him, had undertaken to the king to bring the matter about to his heart = content; it is certain that the cardinall had caried over with him out of the kings treasury 24000 pound to be ployed 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 doth not appear; it is clear by many of his letters that he had undertaken to the king that the busines should be done; and it is not like that a man of his wisdom, would have adventured to doe that without some good warrant.

But now that the suit was to be moved in the court of Rome they were to devise such arguments as were like to be well heard there; it would have been unacceptable to have insist ed upon the nullity of the bull on this account; because the matter of it was unlawfull, and fell not within the popes power; for popes like other princes, doe not lose to hear the extent of their prerogative disputed or defined; and to condemn the bull of a former pope as unlawfull, was a dangerous presedent at a time when the popes authority was rejected by soe many in Germany; therefore the
cannonists as well as the Divines were consulted, to finde such
nullities in the bull of dispensation, as according to the cannon
law, and the proceedings of the rota, might serve to annul
date it, without any diminution of the Papall Power; which be
ing once done, the marriage that followed upon it must needs
be annulled; when the cannonists examined the bull, they-
found much matter to proceed upon; it is a maxim in law
that if the pope be surprized in any thing, and bulls be
procured upon false suggestions, and untrue premises, they
may be annulled afterwards, upon which foundation most
of all the processes against popes bulls were grounded. now
they found by the preamble of this bull, that it was said,
the king had desired that he might be dispensed with to
marry the princess; this was false; for the king had made
noe such desire, being of an age that was below such considera-
tions; but 12 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 Ferdinando, and Isabella
(called Elizabetha in the bull) the kings of Spain, to which they
excepted; that it was plain this was false; seeing the king
being then but 12 years old, could not be supposed to have
such deep speculations, and soe large a prospect as to desire
a match upon a politick account then; it being allsoe in the-
bull, that the popes dispensation was granted to keep peace-
between the crowns, if there was noe Hazard of any breach
or war between them; this was a false suggestion, by which
pope had been made believe that this match was necessary
for averting some great mischiefe; and it was known that there
was noe Danger at all of that, and soe 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, soe
the marriage could not be valiid by vertue of a bull that
was granted to maintain amity between princes, that were
dead before the marriage was consummated; and they allsoe
judged that the protestation which the king made when he came of age, did retract any such pretended desire that might have been expressed to the pope in his name, and that from that time forward that 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 the protestation after he was of age; so that a subsequent marriage founded upon the bull must needs be void.

These were the ground upon which cardinal Wolsey, and the canonists advanced the process at Rome, to be carried on August 1, 1527, but first to amuse, or once reach the Spaniard 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 he from the beginning was taken with the charms of Anne Boleyn, and that all the 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, is not easily to determine.

The learned Camden saith she was born in the year 1507, which was two years before the king came to the crown, her mother was the daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, and sister to the Duke that was at that time of the ducal seal, lord treasurer; her father's mother was one of the Daughters and Heirs of the Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond; and her great grandfather Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, who had been lord mayor of London married one of the Daughters and Heirs of the Lord Hastings, and their family, as they had mixed with so much great blood, she had married their daughters to very noble families. She being but seventeen years old was carried over to Flanders, with the king's sister, anno. 1544, and though upon the French king's death the queen Dowager came soon back to England, yet she was so liked in the French court, that the next king Francis, his queen, kept her about her selve for some years; and after her death the king's sister the Duchess of Alençon, kept her in her
court all the while she was in France, which as it shews there was somewhat extraordinary in her parts and person, for those princesses being much celebrated for their virtues, would not if she had been defamed, entertained her in their courts.

When she came into England is not so clear, it is said that in the year 1524, 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 King Francis; his sister, how long she continued in that service I do not finde, but it is probable she returned out of France with her father from her Embassy, in the year 1527, when as Story saith he brought with him the picture of her mistress, whose was offer'd in marriage to this King. If she came out of France before, as those authors before mentioned say; it appeares that the King had no design upon her then, because he suffered her to return; and when one mistress dy'd, to take another in place; but if she stayed there all this while, then it is probable she had not seen her till now at least, when she came out of the Prince's of Alençon's service; but whereas it was that she came to the court of England, it is certain she was much considered in it; and though the Queen, whose had taken her to be one of her maids of Honour, had afterwards just cause to be displeas'd with her as her vniall; yet she carryed her selfe so, that in the whole progress of the suit, I never finde the Queen her selfe, or any of her Agents, fix the least ill charactar on her; which would most certainly have been done, had there been a ny just cause, or good colour for it.

And so far was this lady, at least for some time, from any thought of marrying the King; that she had consented to marry the Lord Prince of Northumberland, eldest son; whom his father, by a strange compliance with the cardinall's vanity, had placed in his court, and made him one of his servants, the thing
is considerable, and clears many things that belong to this history, and the relater of it was an ear witness to the discourse upon it as himselfe informs us, (it is a causel in the life of wolsey) the cardinal hearing that the lord peircy, was making addresses to anne boleyn, one day as he came to the court, called for him before his servants (before us all faith— the relater including himselfe;) and chid him for it, pretending at first, that it was unworthy of him to match soe meanly; but he justified his choice, and reckoned up her birth and family and quality which he said was not inferior to his own, and the cardinall all insisting, severely, to make him lay down his pretensions he told him he would willingly submit to the king and him but that he had gone soe far before many witnesses, that he could not for sake it, and knew not how to discharge his conscience; and therefore he intreated the cardinal would procure him the kings favor in it; upon that the cardinal in great rage said, why, thinkest thou that the king and I know not what wee have to doe in soe weighty a matter; yes I warrant you, but I can see noe submission at all in the to the purpose; and said, you have matched your selfe to such an one, as neither the king, nor yet your father, will agree to it; and therefore I will send for thy father, whoe at his coming shall either make thee break this unadvised bar gain, or disinherit thee for ever; to which the lord peircy replied, that he would submit himselfe to him, if his conscience were discharged of the weighty burden that lay upon it; and soon after, his father coming to court, he was diverted another way.

Had the writer told us in what year this was done, it had given a greater light to direct us; but by this relation wee see, that shee was soe far from thinking of the king at that time, that shee had engaged her selfe 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 allsoe appears that there was a
design about her then formed between the king and the cardinal, all, yet how far that went, whether to make her queen, or only to corrupt her is not evident; it is said upon this she ever hated the cardinal, and that he never designed the divorce after he saw on whom the king had fixed his thoughts, but all this is a mistake, as afterwards will 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 itself. 1537.

The king resolving to put the matter home to the pope, sent Dr. knight Secretary of State to Rome, with instructions to prepare the pope for it.

S. Gregory Cassali, was his ordinary ambassador at Rome; and to him was the first dispatch sent by the cardinal, with high compliments and assurances of rewards, to engage him to follow the business very vigorously; and to open the king's case to the pope, which he did, and the pope grants it, being then a prisoner. But December the 9th. the pope made his escape; and being at liberty gives a bull for it; and Campegio was sent over as legate from the pope to join with cardinal Woolsey, who made no great haste, for he came not into England till October. But the pope had great policy in it.

In December. 1537. about this time I meet with the first evidence of the progress of the king's cause to Anne Boleyn; in two original letters of hers to the cardinal, from which it appears not only, that the king had then resolved to marry her, but that the cardinal was privy to it; they bear no date but the matter of them shews they were written after the end of May; when the sweating sickness began; and about the time that the legate was expected, they give such a light to the history that I shall here set them down.

Two letters of Anne Boleyn to Woolsey, with a postscript of the kings, to him.

my Lord. &c.
my lord in my most humbltest muse that my heart can think. I desire you to pardon mee that I am soe bold to trouble you with my simple and rude writings; seeming it to proceed from hes that is much desirous to know that your grace doth well, as I perceive by this heeren that you doe; the which I pray God long to continue; as I am most bound to pray for; I doe know the great pains and trouble you have taken for me both day and night, is never like to be recompence on my part; but alone, in knowing you next unto the Kings grace, above all creatures living; and I doe not doubt but the daily proofs of my deeds shall manifestly declare and confirm my writing to be true; and I doe trust you doe thinke the same. my lord y doe assure you, I doe long to hear from you of the legate, for I doe 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; for I know it is not; and thus remaining in a feedfast hope, I make an end of my letter, written with mine own hand, of her that is most bound to be.

A postscript of the kings

The writer of this letter, would not cease till hee had caused mee likewise to set to my hand, desiring you, all though it be short to take it in good part. I ensure you, there is neither of us, but that greatly desingh to see you; and much more joyous to hear, that you have escaped this plague; well trusting the fury therof to be passed, especially with them that keepeth good diet, as I trust you doe; the not hearing of the legates arrival in France, causeth us somewhat to muse notwithstanding wee trust by your diligence and vigilance (with the assurance of almighty God) shortly to be eased out of the trouble; noe move to you at this time, but that I pray God send you as good health and prosperity as the writer my by your loving soveraign, and friend. Henry king & your most humble, servant. Anne Boley.
my Lord, in my most humble wise, that my poor heart can thinke; I doe thanke your grace for your kinde letter and for your rich and goodly present, that which I shall never be able to deserve without your Helpes; of the which I have hitherto had soe great plenty: that all the dayes of my life, I am most bound of all creatures next the kings Grace, to serve, and love your Grace, of the which I beseech you never to doubt, that ever I shall vary from this thought, as long as any blood is in my body; and as touching your Grace, trouble with the sweet I thanke our Lord, that them that I desired and prayed for are escaped; and that is the king and you, not doubting, but that God hath preserved you both: for great cause, knowne alone of his high wisdom, and for the coming of the liegate, 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 of my good will, instead of the power, the which must proceed partly from God; 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 bee your humble and obedient servant Anne Boleyn.

The cardinall hearing that the campesing had the deservall Bull comitted to his trust, to be shewed only to the king himselfe, next to the embassador that it was necessary it should be shewed alsoe to some of the kings councell, not to make any use of it, but that they by they might understand how to manage the process the better by it; thus he begged might be trusted to his care and fidelity and he undertook to manage it soe that noe kindes of danger could arise out of it. The cardinals colleges were at this time finished at oxford, and ipswich; and more monastries were to be suppressed.
while matters went thus at 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, they having a mind to perplex the king's affairs, advised her by no means to yield, nor 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, whereupon there was a breve found out in Spain, but there were presumptions of its being forged, that they had consummated their marriage; but one thing was fatal in it, that the queen's petition in the Bull bore that perhaps she had consummated her marriage with the prince by carnali copula; but there appeared great grounds to reject this breve as a forged writing; for it was neither in the records of England nor Spain; but said to be found among the papers of D. de Puebla, the Spanish ambassador in England; at the time of the concluding of the match; many of the names were written false; and it bore date the 26th of December, 1503, on the same day that the Bull was granted.

When Campegio came into England he was received with the publick solemnities in such a case; and in his Speech at his first audience, he called the king the deliverer of the pope and of the city of Rome, with the highest complements that the occasion did deserve; 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, which the king took very ill; but the legate studied to qualify him; and spoofed the king the decreet all bull, but refused to let it be seen by the counsell; but Wolsey endeavoured at Rome that it might be shewed; but all in vain; which caused great discontent with the legate; thereupon the pope sent Campana into England to remove all mistakes, and new ambassadors were sent again to Rome with overtures; but the pope resolved to unite himself to the emperor, being frightened with the threats of the imperials and 1509. Report his granting the decreet all; which was to the effect
To give both parties leave to marry again, having annulled the marriage; notwithstanding any appealation or protestation; the pope making them his vicars with full and absolute power and authority, empowering them all to declare, the issue begotten in the former marriage good and legitimate if they saw cause for it; the pope binding himself to perform, or confirm whatsoever they should doe in that process; and neuer to revoke nor repeale what they should pronounce.

The king writes to the cardinall at Rome, whose seeds y' king with high promises, but the pope sickens, and cardinall = woolsey make intruage, for the papacy; and the king gives = instructions for the election; and new propositions were made about the divorcement, but the popes relapse but a stop to the busines; whereupon there was another dispatch to Rome; but, the pope recovered his health; he inclines to joyn with the Emperour; whoe protestes against the legates commission; whoe promiseth not to receive it, but confirm it; whereupon the legates write to the pope.

But all these things were to noe purpose, the pope had taken his measures; and was not to be moued by all the reasons or remonstrances, the embassador could lay before him; the king had absolutely gained campego to doe all he could for him without losing the popes favour; he led at this time a very dissolute life in England; hunting and gaming all the day long; and followed his whores all the night; and brought a bastard of his own into England with him; whom the king knighted; so that is the king sought his pleasure, it was noe strange thing, since he had such a doppy set by his two legates.

The imperialists being allarmed at the receiving of some of the english embassadors; and being informed by the queen means that they were forming the process for the divorcement in England, put in a memoriall for an auocation of the cause to Rome; which the kings embassadors opposed much; the pope disaffirmed
a great contest were about it; but the Legates, sit in
England, and May 31, 1529, the king gave the Legates leave
to execute the commission, whereupon the king and queen were
cited to appear. June 18, the queen appeared in person, and the
king by his proxies; and about this time there was a severe
charge brought against the queen, and exhibited against
her in Council, the substance of it was, that they were informed
some designed to kill the king or the cardinal, in which is
shee had any hand; shee must not expect to be spared; that shee
had not shewed such love to the king neither in bed, nor
out of bed as shee ought; and now that the king was very
pensive, and in much griesse, shee shewed great signes of joy;
setting on all people to Dancings and other diversions; this
it seemed shee did out of Spight to the king, since it was con-
trary to her temper and ordinary behaviour; and where
as shee ought rather to pray to God, to bring this matter
to a good conclusion; shee seemed not at all serious; and that
shee might corrupt the peoples affections to the king, shee shew-
ed her selfe much abroad; and by civilitiees and graciously
bowings her head, which had not been her custom severally
did study to work upon the people; and that having y pretended breache in her hand; shee would not shew it sooner; from
all which the king concluded that shee hated him; therefore;
his Council did not think it aduiseable for him to be any more
conversant with her, either in bed or at board; they all also thought
in their consciences that his life was in such danger, that shee
ought to withdraw herselfe from her company, and not suffer
the princess to be with her.

These things were to be told her, to induce her to enter into a
religious order; and to Perswade her to submit to the king; to
which paper the cardinal added in Latine, that shee played
the fool if shee contended with the king; that her children
had not been blessed, and somewhat of the evident suspici-
ons of the breche being forseid; but shee had a constant
mine, and was not to be threatened. to any thing.

On the 31 of June, 1529, the court sake; the king & queen
were present in person, camped to make a long speech of the errand they were come about; that it was a new unheard of vile and intollerable thing, for the king and queen to live in adultery, or rather grace which they must now try and proceed, as they saw just cause; and both the legates made deep protestations of the sincerity of their minds; and that they would proceed justly and fairly without any favor or partiality.

The Bishops of Rochester, and St. Asaphs, & Dr. Ridley, were the Queens counsell; when the king and queen were called on, the king answered, hear; but the queen left her seat, and went and knelt down before him, and made a speech, that had all the insinuation 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 counsell, nor indifferent judges; she had been long his wife; and desired to know where in she had offended him; she had been his wife twenty years and more; and had borne him several children; and had ever studied to please him; and protested he had found her a true maid, about which she appealed to his own conscience; if she had done any thing amiss, she was willing to be put away with shame; their parents were esteemed very wise princes; and no doubt had good counsellours, and learned men about them when the match was agreed; therefore she would not submit to the court; nor durst her lawyers, whose were his subjects, and assigned by him speak freely for her; so she desired to be excused till she heard from Spain: that said, she rose up and made the king a low reverence, and went out of the court; and though they called after her, she made no answer, but went away, and never again would appear in court.

She being gone the king did publicly declare, what a true and obedient wife she had always been, and commended her much for her excellent qualities; then the cardinal of Yorke desired the king would notness, whether he had been the first of chiefe 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 allways rather opposed it; and protested that it rose-
merely out of a scruple in his own 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 Orleans did except to her being legitimate, as begotten in unlawful marriage; upon which he resolved to try the lawfulness of it, both for the quietness of his conscience, and for clearing the succession of the Crown; and if it was found lawful he was very well satisfied to live still with the queen; but upon that he had first moved it in confession to the Bishop of Lincoln, then he had desired the Archbishop of Canterbury to gather the opinions of the bishops, who did all under their hands & seals declare against the marriage; this the Archbishop confirmed; but the Bishop of Rochester denied his hand was at it; and the Archbishop pretended he had his consent to make another write his name to the judgment of the rest, which he positively denied;

The court adjourned till the 29th. ordering Letters monitory to be issued out for citing the queen to appear under pain of contumacy; but on the 29th was brought in her appeal to the Pope; and desired her cause might be heard by him this being read, and her not appearing, she was declared contumax; then the Legates being to proceed ex officio drew up 12. Articles, upon which they were to examine witnesses, the substance of them was

That Prince Arthur and the king were brothers that Prince Arthur did marry the queen, and consummated the marriage; that upon his death the king, by virtue of a Dispensation had married her; that by marrying his brother’s wife was forbidden both by divine and Human Law, and that upon the complaint which the Pope had received, he had sent them now to try and judge it.

The king’s council insisted most on Prince Arthur’s having consummated the marriage; and that led them to so many things that seemed Indecent, of which the Bishop of Rochester complained, and said they were things detestable to be heard; but cardinal Wolsey checked him; and there passed some sharp words between them.
The sum of what was most material in that was that many violent presumptions appeared that the prince Arthur did carnally know the queen; and it cannot be imagined how greater proofs could be made 27 years after their marriage, that the court went on several days, examining witnesses, but the matter was going on to a conclusion; there came an accusation from Rome, which was procured by the emperor his brother, according to the desire of the queen, who protested she would suffer any thing, and even death itself rather than depart from her marriage; and according to their desire the pope agrees with the emperor, and grants an accusation; yet was greatly perplexed about it, for fear of the falling off of the king of England from the church of Rome and the legates proceeded, and all things being ready for a sentence for the divorce; and there being a great appearance and expectation, but by a strange surprise campogio, adjourned the court till October, which gave great offence.

The king was in a chamber very near, where he heard what passed, and was inexpressibly surprised at it; the Duke of Norfolk and Suffolk were in court, and complained much of this delay, and pressed the legates to give sentence; campogio answered that what they might then pronounce would be of no force as being in vacation time; but gave great hope of a favorable sentence in the beginning of October; upon which the Lords spake very high; and the Duke of Suffolk with great commotion, swore by the mass, that he saw it was true which was commonly said, that never cardinal did good in England; and so all the temporall lords went away in a fury; leaving the legates (Wolsey especially) in great perplexity who knew it would be suspect that he knew 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; whose resolves there should be no citation to another court; nor would he be cited to come out of his kingdom; this was the first step of the king, made for the lessening of the Pope's power.
Anne bolyn was now brought to the court again, out of which shee had been dismissed for some time, for the silencing of noise that her being at court during the process would have occasioned; it is said that shee took her dismissal for ill; that shee resolved neuer again to return, and that shee was very hardly brought to it afterward, not without threatening from her father, but of that nothing appeares to mee, only this I finde that all her former kindness to the cardinall, was now turned to enmity; soe that shee was not wanting in her endeavours to pull him down.

But the king was reconciled to her, and as it is ordinarily after some intermission between lovers, his affection increas- sing he was casing about overtures, how to compass what he so earnestly desired.

About this time there was a new proposition made about the kings divorce; that seemed the most reasonable and feasible of them all; and that was by Dr. Cranmer; of waltham, the king being on progress, took waltham in his way, & lay a night there; the hastingers having appointed Gardiner and Fox, the kings secretary and almoner, to lye at Mr. cressyse house; it soe hapened that cranmer was with them at supper, the whole discourse of England being then about the divorce; these two courtiers knowing cranmers learning and solid judgment, entertained him with it; and desired to hear his opinion concerning it; he modestly declined it but told them he judged it would be a shorter and safer way once to cleer it well; if the marriage was unlawfull in it selfe by vertue of any divine precept, for if that were proved, then it was certain that the popes dispension could be of noe force to make that lawfull, which God declared to be unlawfull; therefore he thought that instead of an- long fruitless negotiation to vome, it were better to consult all the learned men, and the universtities of christendom; for if they once declared it in the kings favor, then the pope must needs give judgment; or otherwise the bull being of it
selfe null and void, the marriage would be found sinnfull not
withstanding the popes dispensation; this seemed a very good
motion, which they resolved to offer to the king; for the next
night when they came to Greenwich, they proposed it to him,
but with this difference, that Gardiner had a minde to make
it pass for their own contrivance; but fox, whose way 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 saved him
a vast expence, and much trouble, saying in his course
way of speaking, that he had the sower by the right ear, for
he was sent for to court; and being brought before the king
he carried himselfe so; that the king conceived a high op
inion of his judgment and candour, which he preserved to
his death; and still payed a respect to him, beyond all the
other church men that were about him; and though he
made more use of Gardiner in his businesse, whom he found
to be a man of great Dexterity and cunning; yet he had
never 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 alwayes re
verenced him. And he was soon looked upon as a rising
church man; and the rather because the cardinal was now
declining; and his proud minde began to sink; for that a
deep melancholy overcame his spirits; yet the king still favor
ed him, by frequent assurances of his favor, which he receivd
with extravagant transports of joy; falling down on his
knees, in the dirt before the messenger that brought on of
them; and holding up his hands for joy, shewed what a mean
soul he had; and that as himselfe afterwards acknowledged
he preserved the kings favor to God Almighty; yet he was af
terward attainted of treason; he protested he had servd
the king faithfully; but had little regarded the service of God
to do him pleasure; but if he had served God as faithfully
as he had done him; he would not have given him over as
he did in his gray hairs; and he desired the king to re-
slect on all his past services; and in particular in his =
weighty matter (for by that phrase, he usually spoke of y
kings divorce) and then he would finde in his conscience
whether he had offended him or not. He dyed November
the twenty eighth 1530.

But now with the change of this great minister there followed
a change of councelly, and therefore the king resolved to hold a
parliament, and meet with his people, which he did; in which
parliament the House of commons complained of the bishop of
Rochester; and some bills passed for the reforming the abuse
of the clergy; and one act for the discharging the kings debts

And now the divorce was to be managed in another method
and the king by the advice of cranmer, resolved to consult his
universities about his divorce; and so begin at home; in both
which at Oxford, and Cambridge; they determined at length
though with great difficulty; and not without much opposition
that the kings marriage was against the law of God.

In the next place crowth was employed in a negotiation to ve-
nice and Italy; to consult with the Divines there, where were
found many that did write for the kings cause; though the pope
and Emperour discouraged them; neither was there any money
Given for preserptions; only some small acknowledgments, as to
kens of love for their pains; but great rewards were given by
the emperour to them that opposed it; they determined also
for the king at Bononia and Paris; and many other places.

And for a right understanding of the opinions of forreign Di-
vines about this matter, I shall here set down a letter of crook
to the king from venice about it.

A letter from crook out of venice concerning the opin-
ions of divines about king Henry the 8ths divorce from
his queen katherine to the king himselfse.
please it your Highness to be advertised, that at this day I obtained the common seal of the university of Padua, in substantial and good form; for all the doctors were assembled upon Sunday; and the case 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 hand and sign unto a instrument by Leonius and Simonetus devised in corroboration of your cause and thereby to testify that this instrument was their deed, devise, act, and conclusion; and for the more evidence to be given to the said instrument, they caused the chancellor of the potestate here to set his hand and seal for the approbation of the authority of the notary; a copy of all the which things I send unto your Highness by this bearer in most humble wise, beseeching the same to be advertised, that the general of the black Arvans, hath given a commandment, that no black Arvan dispute the pope power; notwithstanding prior Thoma, procureth daily new subscriptions, and will doe, till the brevise of contrary commandment shall come unto his hands, my fidelity bindeth me to advertise your Highness that all Lutherans be utterly against your Highness in this cause; and have betted as much as their wretched power, malice without reason or authority, as they could and might; as well here as in Padua and Ferrara, where be no small companies of them; I doubt not but all christian universities if they be well handled, will earnestly conclude with your Highness; and to obtain their assent as well through Italy France Almagn, Austria, Hungary and Scotland; I thinke it maruellous expedient for the preserment of this most Honourable and High cause, as well from the Signiory and Dominion
of Venice toward Rome, and beyond Romes, note of God there can be noe move done, then is done already, all be it (Gracious Lord) is that I had been in time sufficiently furnished with money, all be it I have be sides this seal procured unto you Highness an Hundred and ten subscriptions, yet it had been nothing in comparison of that that I might easily and would have done, nay at this hour assure you Highness that I have neither provison nor money, and have borrowed an hundred crownes, the which alfo are spent about the getting of this seal, of the which my need, and divers impediments in your Highness cause here. I have advertised your Highness by many and sundry letters, and with the same sent divers books and writings, whereas I am nothing assured, whether they be exhibited unto your Highness or not, to noe little discomfort unto me, notwithstanding I have reserved a copy of all things, letters and others, and herein enclosed a bill specifying by whom and to whom I directed my said letters, beseeching you not to let me destitute of money to my undoing and utter loss of your most High cause here from Venice, this year 1530.

Grineus was employed among the reformed churches in Switzerland, whose seemed to be of opinion that though the marriage was ill made, yet it ought not to be dissolued; and inclined rather to advise the King should take another wife, keeping the Queen still; but Zuinglius contested that, and said if the marriage be against the law of God it ought to be dissolued; but concludes the Queen should be put away. Honourably; calvins judgment was that the marriage was null; melanthon and others had noe minde to meddle with it, for fear of the emperor and because they judged the King was led away by dishonest affections; some of them condemned the Kings first marriage; but were against a second.
The king resolves to refuse appearing at Rome; and Cranmer offers to maintain the king's cause; and the nobility, clergy, and common of England write to the pope. To this the pope answers, but not to the content of the king nor nobles; whereupon apprehending that some bull might be brought to England from the pope; a proclamation was put out against bulls from Rome, and many books were written for the king's cause about the divorce.

The grounds of it from the old testament were, Ex. 18:20-18:24, 5:21, with verse 17, 24, 26; Ex. 18:16-20:21 and in the new testament, Matt. 19:4, as likewise from several authorities of popes and provincial councils; and the opinions of the fathers both Greek and Latin; and of modern writers and schoolmen and canonists; and that marriage is complicated by consent; and all from the violent presumption of the consummation of procreation marriage; and that the popes dispensations were of no force; and that several bishops in former times had refused to submit to the pope's decreetals; as likewise from the authority of tradition.

And many arguments that were brought for the marriage were also answered; but the queen was still intractable, and still refused to justify her marriage, and to stand to her appeal; but now there was a session of parliament January 16th 1532 and the matter was brought before the convocation; and the whole clergy was believed in a preeminence; and the prevotage of the kings of England in ecclesiastical affairs was asserted against the encroachments of the papacy; and that laws had been made against them in several kings reigns. Whereupon the clergy excuse themselves; but yet they compound, and acknowledge the king the supreme head of the church of England and prayed the king to accept of 100,000 pound in lieu of all punishments that they had incurred by going against the statutes of provisos; whereupon the king's pardon was brought into the house of commons; and the commons desire to be included in the king's pardon; which the king afterwards grants.

During this session of parliament and unheard of crime was committed by one Richard House a cook who on the 16th of February poisoned a vessel of yeast that was to be used in
pottage, in the Bishop of Rochester's kitchen, with which 15 persons of his family were mortally infected, and one of the Gentlemen dyed of it, and some poor people that were charitably fed with the remainder of it, were likewise infected: one woman dying: the person was apprehended, and by act of parliament poisoning was declared treason, and Rouse was attainted, and sentenced to be boiled to death; which was to be the punishment of poisoning. For all times to come that the terrour of this unheard of punishment might strike a terrour 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 Sandys malice whose faith this rouse was set on by Anne Boleyn, to make away the bishop of Rochester, of which there is nothing on record nor doth any writer of that time see much as is intimated it.

when the session of parliament was over, the king continued to ply the queen with all the application he could think of to depart from her appeal; he grew very melancholy, and used no sort of diversion; but was observed to be very pensive; yet nothing could prevail with the queen; she answered the lords of the council when they pressed her much to it; that she prayed God to send the king a quiet conscience; but that she was his lawful wife, and would abide by it till the court of Rome declared the contrary; upon which the king forbore to see her, or to receive any tokens from her; and sent her word to choose where she had a mind to live in any of his mansions; she answered that to which place sooner she was removed, nothing could remove her from being his wife. Upon this answer the king left her at Windsor, the 14th of July, 1533, and never saw her move; she removed first to Marham; then to Easthamstead; and at last to Amphilthorpe where she stayed longer.

The clergy went now about the raising of the 100000 pound for the king, 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 of St. Paul's, where designed to have had at first only a small number, among whom he hoped it would easily pass; and that being done by a few, others would more willingly follow but the matter was not so secretly carried, but that all the clergy about the city heard of it; went thither, they were not a little encouraged by many of the laity, who thought it no unpleasant diversion to see the clergy fall out amongst themselves; so when they came to the chapter House on the day appointed, the bishops' officers only would admit some few to enter; but the rest forced the door and rushed in; and the bishops' servants were beaten and hurt; but the bishop, seeing the tumult was such that it could not be easily quieted told them all, that as the fate of man in this life was frail, so the clergy through frailty and want of wisdom, had demeaned themselves towards the king; and had fallen in a preeminence; for which the king of his great clemency was pleased to pardon them; and to accept of a little in recompense the whole of their advices, which by the law had fallen into his hand; therefore he desired that they would patiently bear their share in this burden; but they answered that they had never meddled with any of the cardinals' faculties, and so had not fallen into the primum; and that their livings were so small, that they could hardly subsist by them, therefore since the bishops and abbots were only guilty, and had good preferments, they only ought to be punished and pay the tax but that for themselves, they needed not the king's pardon; and so would pay nothing for it; upon which the bishops' officers threatened them, but they on the other hand (being encouraged by some laymen that came along with them) persisted in their denial; all to pay any thing; so that from high words, the matter came to blows, and several of the bishops' servants were ill handled by them; but he to prevent a further
tumult, apprehending it might end upon himself; gave them good words, and dismissed the meeting with his blessing, and promised that nothing should be brought in question 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 favorer of the clergy, by whose order 15 prisoners and 5 laymen were committed to several prisons; but whether the most serious clergy payed their proportion of the tax or not, I have not been able to discover.

The pope now falls off to the French faction, and a match is projected between the pope's niece and the Duke of Orleanc; the parliament complains of the ecclesiastical courts; and their calling men before the ex officio, and laying Articles to their charge without any accuser; and then admitting no confutation, but causing the party accused either to absolve or to be burnt; an act was also made against annates, or first fruits to the court of Rome, which they extorted by restraints of Bulls or other writs.

January 25th, 1534, the pope writes to the king about the Queen's appeal; and the king sends a dispatch to the pope; and the pope desired the king would submit to him; in the mean time there was a session of Parliament; and one moves for bringing the Queen to court, at which the king is offended; and at this session the king sent to the Parliament to inform them that he found the prelates were but half his subjects, for at their consecration they swore an oath quite contrary to the oath they swore to be crowned; so that it seemed they were the pope's subjects rather than his; upon which the king remits the oath which the clergy swore to be considered by the House of Commons, which oath I shall here set down.

The oath to the pope

I, John bishop or abbot of A., from this hour forward shall be faithful and obedient to St Peter, and to the Holy church of Rome; and to my Lord the pope, and his successors canonically entering; I shall not be of the council nor consent, that they shall lose either life
or member, or shall be taken, or suffer any violence or any wrong by any means, their council to me credited by them; their messengers or letters shall not willingly discover to any person, the papacy of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the veneration of st Peter, shall help and maintain, and defend against all men; the legate of the see Apostolick going and coming shall honourably entertain the rights, honours, privileges, authoritie, of the church of Rome, and of the pope and his successors: I shall cause to be conserved and defended augmented and promoted. I shall not be in council, treaty or any act in the which any thing shall be imagined against him or the church of Rome, their writs, cities, honours, or powers; and if I know any to be moved or counselled or compassed, I shall resign it to my power; and as soon as I can I shall advise, advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge, the rules of holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, restoration, provisions and commandments Apostolicall to my power. I shall keep and cause to be kept: of others, heretic, schismaticks, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power; I shall come to the synod when called (except I be letted by a canonicall impediment) the threshold of the Apostles I shall visit yearly, personally, or by my Deputy I shall not alienate or sell my possessions without the Pope's council. See God help me and the holy Evangelists.

The oath to the King

I John bishop of A utterly renounce, and clearly for sake all such causes, words, and sentences, and grants which I have, or shall have hereafter of the Pope's holiness.
of and for the bishoprick of Apostle, that in any wise hath been, is, or hereafter may be hurtfull or prejudi
call to your Highness, your Heirs and Successors Dignity privilege or estate royall, and all doe I
doe swears, that I shall be faithfull and true, and
faith and truth shall bear to you my sovereign Lord, and to your Heirs, kings of the same, by
wife and limb, and yearly worship above all crea
tures; for to live and dye with you and yours a
gainst all people; and diligent shall be the
attendant to all your needs and businesse, after
my pit and Power; and your Council shall keep=
and hold, knowing my selfe to hold my bish
opricke of you only; beseeching you of restituti
on of the temperalities of the same, professing
as before, that I shall be a faithfull 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 temperalities of the same bish
oprick. I shall truly doe and obediently perform
for God help me and all saints.

The contradiction that was in this was soe visible that it
had soon produced a severe censur from the House, if the=
plague had not hindered both that and the bill of subsidy.

About this time more laid down the office of Lord chanceller
and an interview was made with the Sverch king; and the
king created Anne Boleyn marvioness of Pembroke, to bring
her by degrees up to the Heigth of which he had designe=
er; and Eliot was sent to come from the king with an
swow to a message that the Pope had sent him.

Soon after this the king married Anne Boleyn. November 14.
1533. it was done secretly in the presence of the Duke of
Norfolke, and her father, her mother and brother, and Dr
Cranmer, the grounds on which the king did this were y
his former marriage being of it selfe null; there was no need of a declarative sentence; after so many universities & doctors had given their judgments against it; soon after the marriage she was with child, which was looked on as a signal evidence of her chastity, that she had till then kept the king at a due distance.

An interview was now between the pope and the Emperor and some overtures about the divorce; and a session of parliament; and an act against appeals to Rome. And the king resolved to promote Cranmer; and sent to Rome for the bull for his consecration; March 13, 1533. he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury; and new endeavors were to make the queen submit; but in vain; whereupon Cranmer proceeds to a sentence of divorce, which was done, though many censures past upon it; and September the 7th. queen Anne, brought forth her daughter Elizabeth; all persons excused queen Katherine, for standing so stiffly to her grounds; only her denying so confidently that prince Arthur consummated the marriage, seems not capable of an excuse; and every body admired queen Anne's conduct, who had managed such a king's spirit so long; and had neither surfeited him with great freedom; nor provoked him by the other extremity; for the king, who was extremely nice in these matters; conceived still a 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 favored the reformation expected better days, under her protection; for they knew she favored them; but those who were not 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 in their sermons & discourses.

But the king little regarding the censure of the vulgar, sent embassadors to all the courts of Europe to give notice of his new marriage; and to justify it, he also sent the
Lord Montjoy, to the divorced queen, to let her know what was done; and that she was to be no more reputed a queen; but as princess Dowager; he was to mix promises with threats; particularly, concerning her daughters being put next the queen's issue in the succession; but the afflicted queen would not yield; and said she would not Damn her soul, nor submit to such an Insamy; that she was his wife, and would never call her selfe by any other name whatever might follow on it; since the process still depended at Rome. That Lord having written a relation of what had passed between him and her, shewed it to her, but she dashed with a pen all those places in which she was called princess Dowager; and would receive noe service at any one, hands but of those who called her queen; and she still continued to be served as queen by all about her; against which the king used all the endeavours he could; not without threatening and violence to some of the servants; yet he could never drive her from it; and what he did in that was far below the height of minde, which appeared in his other actions; so since he had spirted her of the real greatness of a queen, it seemed to much to vex her for keeping up the pageantry of it. The news of this made great Impressions elsewhere and the pope united himselfe to the French king; and condemning the kings proceedings in England, but queen Elizabeth being born, was declared princess of Wales.

About this time there was an Interece between the French king and the pope at Mayrtels; and the pope promises to give sentence to the king of Englands divorc, if in all other things he would own his obedience to the Apostolick See; and the French king prevails with the king of England to submit to the pope, which was well received at Rome. But God in his wise and unsearchable Providence, had designed to draw other great ends out of this rupture; and therefore suffered them that were the most concerned to hinder it; and to be the chief instruments of driving it on; for the Imperialists opposed it; and with great and with great Preparation procures a sentence against the
king, which when the king heard off; and understanding how he
was used with much contempt and scorn at Rome, resolves to abol-
ish the popes power yn England; whereupon arguments were
drawn up in writing for it; as allse arguments for the kings
supremacy, from the old and new Testament, and practices of
the Primitive Church; and from reason & from y laws of england.
The extent of the kings power was judged to be thus; to them spe-
cially and principally it pertaineth to defend the faith of christ
and his religion; to conserve and maintain the true Doctrine of chris
t and all such as be true preachers and setters forth thereof; &
to abolish abuses and Herejies and Idolatries; and to punish with
corporall pains, such as of mallice be the occasion of the same;
and finally to over see and cause that the said bishops and
priests doe execute their pastoall office faithfully and truly &
especially in these points which by chris and his apostles, were
given to them and committed to their hands; and in case they
shall be negligent in any part thereof, or would not diligently
execute the same; to cause them to be double and supply their
lack; and if they obstinately withstand their princes, hinde
monition, and will not amend their faults, then and in such
cases to put others in their houses and places; and God hath
soe commanded the bishops and priests to obey with all humble
ness and reverence both kings and princes and gouvernours
and all their laws not being contrary to the laws of God
whatsoever they be; and that not only for wrath, but for con
science sake; that is to say not only for fear of punishments
but allse for the discharge of conscience.

About this time at a convocation of the Bishops, this question among
others was proposed for solution the question was this.

Question

whether if it chanced a chrisian prince learned doth con
quer certain Dominions of Ensiolds, having none but ten
Povall learned men with him; if it be defended by Gods
law, that he and they should preach and teach the word
of God or pae; and allse make and constitute priests or not.

Answer.
Answer.

1. by the bishop of Canterbury; it is not against God's Law but contrary they ought indeed to do; and these be Histories that witness that some Christian princes, and other lay men unconsecrate have done the same.

2. your answer, wee thinke that lay men not ordered not only may, but must preach Christ, and his faith to infidels, as they shall see opportunity to doe the same; and must endeavor themselves to win the incredulous to the kingdom of God, if that they can; for as the wise man saith, God hath given charge to every man of his neighbours; and the Scripture of God chargeth every man, to doe all the good that he can to all men; and surely this is the highest alms to draw men from the Devil to the Worship, and to bring them to God the very owner; wherefore in this case every man and woman may be an Evangelist; and of this all three we have an example.

3. The bishop of London answers, that necessity might be a sufficient rule and warrant for it.

4. The bishop of Rochester answered, that in such a case necessity hath noe Law.

5. the bishop of Carlisle answered; it is to be thought, that Christ may call as he pleaseth, inwardly, outwardly, or both together; for that if noe Priest might be had; it cannot be thought but that a Christian prince, with other learned, inwardly moved and called, might most charitably and Godly, prosecute the 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.

6. Dr. Cox, answered, it is not against God's Law, that the Prince, and his learned temperall men, may teach and preach, and in all these cases, of extreme necessity make constitution ministers.

7. Dr. Day answered, in this case I thinke, the prince and other temperall 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.

8. Dr. Rodman, Answered, I thinke they might in such
case of necessity, for in this case the lay men made the whole church there, and the authority of preaching and administering the sacraments is given immediately to the church, and the church may appoint ministers as is thought convenient; there be stories good to be considered for this question which be written in the 10th book of the history Ecclesiastical, that one monuments was preached in India, and was a made priest and bishop by Athanasius; and the other story is of the king of the Thrasy, of whom vowing the priest of the story faith thus: et nonnum immititus Saccis sit Sue Apostolis gentis; yet nevertheless it is written there, that an ambassador was sent to Constantine, that he would send them priests, for the further establishment of the faith there.

9. Dr. Edgeworth, answered, the prince, and all learned men might and ought in that necessity to instruct the people in the faith of Christ, and to baptize them; and these be sufficient for the salvation of his subjects; but as concerning other sacraments he ought to abide, and look for a special commission from Almighty God, as Moses had, or else to send unto other regions, where priests or bishops may be had, or else not to meddle with.

10. Dr. Symons answered; y thinke that in such a necessity, a learned Christian prince, and all his temporal learned men, not only might, but all and every learned, be bound to preach, and ministers of sacraments either of them, so that the same ministers be orderly assigned by the higher powers and the congregation.

11. Dr. Treesham, Answered, that such a king, by his temporal learned men, not only might, but all his were bound to preach God's word in this case, and that if no bishop could be had to institute the prince might in that case of necessity doe it.

12. Dr. Leighson, Answered in the affirmative.
13. Dr Lowen answered, in such a case I do believe that God would illuminate the prince, so that either he himselfe should be made a bishop by internall 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 doe it himselfe, and other of his learened subjects, although they were not priests.

Concerning the first part, whether laymen might teach or preach God's word; they do all agree in such a case; that not only they may, but that they ought to teach; but in the second part, touching the constituting of priests of laymen, my Lord of York and Dr Edgworth doe not agree with the other, they say that laymen can in noe wise make priests or have such Authority: the bishops of Duresme, St Davids, Westminster, Dr Treffman, Cox Leyton, Crayford, Simons, Kedman, Robertson, say that laymen in such a case, have Authority to minister the sacraments, and to make priests; my Lords of Lound carlisle, and Hereford, and Dr Coven thinketh that God in such a case, would give the prince Authority to call him inwardly; and illuminate him, or one of his, as he did Saint Paul.

Thus it appeared that they limited obedience to the Kings Laws, with the Due caution of their not being contrary to the Law of God; and acknowledging the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the dis
charge of the Pastoral office, committed to the Passors of the Church by Christ; and his Apostles; and that the supremacy too was noe such extravagant power as some imagine upon the whole matter, all was concluded, that there was a necessity of extirpating the Popes power in England; and that it had noe good foundation; and had been managed with so much tyranny, as it had begun with usurpation; the execution
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 case; and all the laws about prouisio's were still defeated, and made ineffectual; therefore they saw it was impossible to moderate their proceedings; so that there was no remedy but to exterminate their pretended authority; and thence south to acknowledge the pope; only bishop of Rome with the jurisdiction about it, defined by the antient canons; and for the king to resume his own authority, and that privenging of his crown, from which kings of England had never formally departed, though they had for the last hundred yeares, committed at an invasion & usurpation upon them, which was no longer to be indued; these were the grounds of casting off the pope's power, which was consented too by most, except Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and much pains was taken to satisfy him about it. And on the 20th there was an act made for taking away the pope's power; and another act about the succession of the crown in the issue of the king's marriage with the present queen Anne, and an oath to be taken as to the succession.

There was an act alsoe made for the repeal of the statute of the second of Henry the 4th; by which bishops upon suspension of heresie might commit any to prison; but in the act there was no declaration what heresie was, except in the general words, of what was contrary to scripture; or cannonicall sanction this was liable to great ambiguity; by which men were in much danger; and not sufficiently instructed what was heresie; it was also complained, that they proceeded without presentment or accusacion; contrary to what was practised in all other cases even of treason it selfe; and many cannonicall sanctions had been established only by pope, without any Divine precept; therefore the parliament repealed the act of Henry the 4th, but left the statute of Richard the 2d, and Henry the 5th still in force with the following regula...
that Hereticks should be proceeded against upon presentments by two witnesses at least, and then be committed; but brought to answer to their inditements in open court; and if they were found guilty and would not abjure, or were relapse, to be adjudged to death; the kings writ, de Heretico combuvendo, 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 none committed for Heresy might be bailed.

It may easily be imagined, how acceptable this act was to the whole nation; since it was such an effectual limitation of the ecclesiastical power in one of the uneasiest parts of it; and this regulation of the arbitrary proceedings of the ecclesiastical court, was a peculiar blessing to all that owned the reformation, but as the parliament was going on with these good laws, there came a Submission from the clergy, then sitting in convocation, to be passed in parliament, with what opposition it went through the two house of convocation; and the house of commons it is not known: For as the registers of the convocation are burnt; so it doth not appear if there were any journals kept in the house of commons at that time; but however the clergy made their submission to the king; and it was confirmed by act of parliament, and by same act, all appeals to Rome were again condemned.

An act alsoe was made for the attainer of Elizabeth Burton, commonly called the Holy maid of Kent, and her complices; the matter was this, Elizabeth Burton of Kent, in the parish of Aldington, being sick and disempayed in her brain, fell in some trances; (it seems by the symptoms, they were historically) and spoke many words, that made great impression on some about her, who thought her inspired of God: and Richard master, parson of the parish, hoping to draw great advantages from this, went to Warham, arch-bishop of Canterbury, and gave him a large account of her speeches, whose
ordered him to attend her carefully, and bring him a further report upon any new trance she might afterward fall into; but she had forgot all she had said in her fits; yet the crafty priest would not let it go so; but persuaded her that what she had said was by the inspiration of the holy ghost and that she ought to own that it was so; upon which he taught her to counterfeit such trances; and to utter such speeches as she had done before; so that after a while practice she became very ready at it; the thing was much noised abroad and many came to see her; but the priest had the mind to raise the reputation of an image of the blessed virgin, which was in a chappell within his parish, that so pilgrimage being made to it, he might draw these advantages from that others made from their famed images; but chose for his associate, one Dr. Boecking a canon of Christ's church in Canterbury; upon which they instructed her to say in her fits, or counterfeit trances, that the blessed virgin had appeared to her, and told her that she could never recover till she went and visited her image in the 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 doctrine which were called heresies; as also against the king's suit of divorce; it was also noised abroad on what day she intended to goe abroad; and visit the image of the virgin so that about 2000 people were gathered together; and she being brought to the chappell fell into her fits, and made many strange gestures and alterations of her body and spake many words of great piety; saying that by the inspiration of God she was called to be a religious woman and that bocking was to be her ghostly father; and within a little while she seemed by the intercession of our lady to be perfectly recovered of her former diseases, and she afterwards professed a religious life; there were also
violent suspicions of her incontinency; and that boc king was a
carnall as well as a spirituall father; she fell into many raptures,
and pretended she saw strange visions; heard Heavenly melody;
and had the revelation of many things that were to come;
so that great credit was given to what she said; and people
generally looked on her as a propheteess; and among those late
Arch-bishop of canterbury was led away with the rest; a book
was writ of her revelation and prophesies; by one Deering
another monke; who was taken into the conspiracy with
many others; it was alsoe given out, that many magdalene
 gave her a letter that was written in Heaven, which was
 never to many being all writen in Golden letters:
 she pretended that when the king was last at calais; that
he being at mass, an Angell brought away the sacrament
and gave it to her; being then invisibly present; and she
was presently brought over the Sea, to her monastry again
but the design of all these trances; was to alienate the people
from their duty to the king; for the maide gave it out of
God revealed to her that if the king went on in the divorce
and married another wise; he should not be king a month
longer; and in the reputation of Almighty God not one hour
longer; but should dye a violent death; this she said was
revealed to her in answer to the prayers she put up to God;
to know whether he approved of the kings proceedings or
not; which coming to the knowledge of the bishop of ro
chepor, and some others; who adhered to the queens interest
they had frequent meetings with the maide; and concealed
what she spoke concerning the king; and some of them gave
such credit to what she said, that they practised on many o
thers to draw them from their allegiance; and prevailed
with several of the fathers and nuns of Sion of the chart
er house in London, and shee; and of the observants of
richmont, Greenwich, and canterbury with a great
many of other persons.

This appeared most signal at Greenwich, where the king
lived most in summer, for one Peto, being to preach in King's
chappell denounced Heavy judgments upon him to his face & told
him that many lying prophets had deceived him; but he as a
true micaiah, warned him that the Dogs should lick his blood
as they had done Ahab's (for the prophecy about Ahab was his
text) with many bitter words, and concluded that it was the
greatest misery of princes, to be daily so abused by slanders
as they were; the king bore it patiently; and expressed no signs of any commotion; but to undeceive the people he
took care that Dr. Corvin, or corvin, should preach next Sunday
who justified the kings proceedings; and condemned Peto, as
a rebel, a slanderer, a Dog, and a Traitor. Peto was gone to
Canterbury, but another observant fryar of the same house
Elston, interrupted him; and said he was one of the lying
prophets, that sought by Adultery to establish the succession to
the crown; and that he would justify all that Peto 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 Peto, or to him; was
the being called before the privy council, they were rebuked for
their insolence, by which it appears that King Henry was not
very easily inflamed against them, when a crime of so high a
nature was so slightly pass'd over.

Nor was this all; but the fathers that were in the confederacy
and conspiracy, had confederated to publish these revelations in
their sermons up and down the kingdom; they had also given
notice of them to the pope's embassadors; and had brought the
maid to declare her revelations to them; they had also sent an
account to Queen Katherine, for Encouraging her to stand out
and not to submit to the laws, of which confederacy Thomas
Abbey was likewise one; the thing that was in so many hands
could not be a secret; therefore the king whose had disjosed it
long, ordered that in November the former year, the maid
and her complices, Richard master, Doctor Boecking; Richard
Deering; Henry Cold, a Parson in London; Hugh Kich; an
obseruant syrar, Richard risby, thomas Gold, and Edward twaits
Gentlemen, and Thomas Lawrence, should be brought into the Star
chamber, where there was a great appearance of many lords;
they were examined upon the premises, and did all without
any rack or torture, confess the whole conspiracy; and were
adjudged to stand in Pauls all the sermon time, and a sermon,
the kings officers were to give every one of them his bill of
confession, to be openly read before the people, which was done
the next sunday, the bishop of bangor preaching; they being
all set on one scaffold before him; this publick manner was thought
upon good grounds to be the best way to satisfy the people
of the imposition 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 message
to the nun, to encourage her to deny all that she had said;
and it is very probable that the reports that went abroad
of her being forced, or cheated into a confession, made the
king think it necessary, to proceed more severely against her
the thing being considered in Parliament; it was judged a
conspiracy against the kings life and crown, for the nun
and no boking, deering, rich, risby, and Henry Gold, were at
tainted of high treason; and the bishop of rochester, Thomas:
Gold, Thomas Lawrence, Edward twaits; John seddon; Thomas
able, were judged Guilty of misprision of treason; and to for
feit their goods, and chattels to the king; and to be imprisoned
during his pleasure; and all the books that were written of
her revelation, were ordered to be sent in to some of the chief
officers of state under the pain of fine and imprisonment. It
had been all so sound that the letter which she pretended to
have got from one mary magdalener, was written by one Hank
kep of canterbury; and that the door of the dormitory, which
was given out to be made open by miracle, that she might
goe into the chappell for converse with god, was opened by some
of her complices for beastly and carnall ends; but in the
(93)

conclusion of the act, all others who had been corrupted in their allegiance by these impostures, except the persons before named were at the earnest intercession of Queen Anne pardoned.

The two Houses of Parliament having ended their business were prorogued on the 25th of March 1534, to the third of November, and before they broke up, all the members of both houses that they might give a good example to the King, other subjects swore the oath of succession, as appears from the act made about it in the next session of Parliament, the execution of these persons, was delayed for some time; it is like till the King had a return from Home of the messengers he had sent thither with his submission.

Soon after that on the 20th of April, the Nun and Baking, Page, Keeling, Kisby, and Gold (which is not named, being perhaps either dead or pardoned) were brought to Tyburn; the Nun spoke these words, 'Hither I am come to die; and I have not been, only the cause of mine own death, which most justly I have deserved, but also the cause of the death of all those persons which at this time have suffered and yet to say the truth, I am not so much to be blamed considering that it was well known to these learned men, that I was a poor wench without learning; and therefore they might easily have perceived, that the things that were done by mee, could not proceed in no such sort; but their capacities and learning could right well judge from whence they proceeded, and that they were altogether fain; but because the thing which I feigned was profitable for them, therefore they much praised mee; and bore me in hand that it was the Holy Ghost; and not that did them; and then being puffed up with their Praises, fell into a certain pride and selfish fancy with myself; and thought I might gain what I would, which delight hath brought mee to this case; and for that 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 mee and on them that have suffer with mee. The foulness, and the wicked designs of this imposture, did much alienate people from the interest of Home; and made the other acts both pass more easily; and the better received by the people; It was
asoe generally believed, that what was now discovered, was noe new
practises; but that many of the visions and miracles, by which reli-
gious orders had raised their credit so high, were of the same na-
ture: and it made way for the destroying of all the monasteries of
England: though all the severity which at this time followed on it
was that the obseruants fayers of richmont, greenwick, canterbury,
new-ark, and newcastle, were removed out of their houses, &
put with the other guye friers; and Augustine fyers were put
in their houses.

Fisher was gently dealt with, but remained obstinate and
intractable; but the oath for the succession was generally sworn
but move, and Fisher refuse the oath, and are proceeded against.
In the next session of parliament the kings supremacy was
declared: and 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 alsoc enacted that the king; his heirs, and
successors, should have power to visit, and reform all errors
hierachies, and other abuses, which in the spiritual jurisdiction
ought to be reformed: and the first fruits of benefices were
given to the king: and the oath about the succession to the
crown confirmed: and sundry things are declared treason;
the calling the king hevetick, schismatick, tyrant: and an
act for suffragan bishops within this realm, for the more
speedy administration of sacraments, and other devout things
and a subsidy granted: and more: & Fisher, were attainted.

This move, when he came into favor, pressed the king much to put
the lawes against heveticks in execution: and suggested that the
court of rorne would be more wrought upon by the kings
supporting the church, and defending the faith rigorously
then by threatnings: and therefore a long proclamation was
issued out against the heveticks: 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 at an tower, tindall; tayce, constantine with
a new more that were every year writing & preaching
and printing.
new books, chiefly against the corruption of the clergy, the super
position of pilgrimages; of worshipping images, saints, and relics; and against relying on these things, which were then call
ed in the common stale good works; in opposition to which they wrot much about faith in Christ, with a true Evangelical o
bedience, as the only means by which men could be saved. the
book that had the greatest authority and influence, was Tin
dall's Translation of the new Testament; of which the bishops
made great complaint; and said it was full of errors. But Ton
stall, then bishop of London, being a man of Invincible modera
tion, would doe noe body noe hurt; yet Indeavoued as he could,
to get their books into his hands; soe being at Antwerp in the year
1529, as he returned from his Embassy, at the treaty of cambray
he sent for one Packington, an English marchant there; and see
how many new Testaments of Tindall's translation, he might have
for money; Packington, who was a secret sauveur of Tindall, told
him what the bishop proposed; Tindal, was very glad of it; for be
ing convinced of some faults in his works, he was designing a
new, and more correct Edition; but he was poor; and the former
impression not being sold off; he could not goe about it; so he
gave Packington, all the coppies that lay in his hands; for which
the bishop payed the price, and brought them over, and burnt them
publicly in cheapside; this had such an Hatefull appearance in it,
being Generally called, a burning of the word of God; the people
from thence concluded; there must be a visible contrariety between
that book, and the Doctrines of those whoe doe handled it; by which
both their Prejudice against the clergy; and their desire of reading
the new Testament was increased; soe the next year, when the
Second Edition was finished, many more were brought over;
and constantine being taken in England, the lord chancellour in a private examination, promised him that noe hurt Should be done
him; if he would reveal whoe Encouraged and Supported them
at Antwerp; which he accepted off: and told that the greatest
encouragement that they had, was from the bishop of London,
whose had bought up halfe the impression; thia made all that
heard it laugh heartily; though more judicious persons discerned
the great tempest of that heauen bishop in it.
when the clergy condemned Tindall’s Translation of the new Testament they declared they intended to set out a true translation of it; which many thought was never designed by them; but only pretended, that they might restrain the curiosity of seeing Tindall’s works; with the hope of one that should be authorized; and as they made noe progress in it, see at length, on the 24th of May 1530, there was a paper drawn and agreed too, by Arch-bishop Warham, chancellor More, bishop Conrall, and many canons, and Divines, which every Incumbent was commanded to read to his Parish, as a warning to prevent the contagion of hereisie; the contents of which were, that the king having called together many of the Prelate, 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 severall points of hereisie 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 it had been sometyme done; yet it was not necessary and that the king did well, not to set it out at that time in the English tongue. See by this all the Hopes of a Translation of the Scripture vanisht.

There came out another book which took mightily; it was intituled the supplication of the beggars, written by one Simon Fish, of Graves 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 beggars; for supposing that each of the five mendicant orders, had but a penny a quarter, from every household, it did rise to a vast summe; of which the indigent and truly necessitous beggars were defrauded; they being unprofitable to the common wealth; with severall other things were also complained of; he also taxed the pope for cruelty and courteoueless; that did not deliver all persons out of purgatory; and that none but the rich who paid well for it, could be discharged out of that prison; this was written in a witty and taking style; and the king had it put in his hands by Anne boleyn, and liked it well; and would not suffer any thing to be done to the author.

chancellor moor, was the most zealous champion the clergy had, for I doe not find that any of them writ much; only the bishop of Rochester wrote for purgatory; but the rest left it wholly to him; either because few of them could write well, or that
he being much esteemed, and a disinterested person, things would be better received from him; then for them who were looked on as parties; for he answered this supplication by another in the name of the souls who were in purgatory, representing the misery they were in, and the great relief they found by the masses, the prayers said for them; and brought in every man's ancestors calling earnestly upon him to be freed; those poor suyars now when they had so many enemies; he confidently asserted it had been the doctrine of the church for many ages, and brought many places out of the scriptures to prove it; besides, several reasons that seemed to confirm it; this being part of a subject that would admit and allow, of a great deal of popular and moving eloquence, in which he was very eminent, it took with many.

But it discovered to others what was the foundation of those religious orders; and that if the belief of purgatory was once rooted out, all that was built upon that foundation must needs fall with it; so that John Strith, wrote an answer to moors supplication to show 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 kochesov's book; and some Dialogues were written on the same subject by rasall, a printer, and his men of moors; he discovered the fallacy of their reasonings which were built on the weakness or defects of our repentance in this life; and that therefore there must be another state in which we must be further punished; to this he answered, if our sins were not pardoned for our repentance, or the perfection of it; but only for the merits and sufferings of Christ, and that if our repentance is sincere God accepts of it; and sin being once pardoned, it could not be further punished; he shewed the difference between the punishments we may suffer in this life and those in purgatory; the one are either mediæval corrections for reforming us more and more; or for giving warning to others; the other are terrible punishments without any of these ends in them; therefore the one might well consist with the free pardon of sin; the other could not; so he argued from all those places of scripture in which we are said to have our sins freely pardoned by the blood of Christ, that no punishments
in another state could consist with it, he also argued from all those places in which it is said, that we shall at the day of Judgment receive according to what we have done in the body; that there was no state of purgatory beyond this life: for the places brought out of the Old Testament, he shewed, they could not be meant of purgatory, since according to the Doctrine of the Schoolmen there was no going to purgatory before Christ; for the places in the New Testament, he appealed to Moses great friend Erasimus, whose exposition on these places, differed much from his glosses; that place in the epistle to the Corinthians, about the fire that was to try every man's work, he said was plainly allegorical; and since the foundation, the building of Gold, Silver and precious Stones, of wood, hay, and stubble, were figuratively taken; there was no reason to take the fire in a literal sense; therefore by fire was to be understood, the persecution then near at hand, called in other places the fiery trial.

For the Antient Doctors, he shewed, that in the 4th century, Saint Ambrose, Jerome, and Austin; the three great Doctors of that age, did not believe it; and cited several places out of their writings. It is true St. Austin went further than the rest; for though in some passage, 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 time, it was not received in the Church and then the Benedictine monks, were beginning to spread and grow numerous; and then 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 even since it was kept up and improved, and what succeeded it, 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 trafficke. 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, when ever he was caught, for endeavoring to put out their imagined one.

The cruel proceedings against the Reformers, that there were...
were many brought into the bishops' courts; some for teaching their
children the Lord's prayer in English; some for reading the for-
biden books; some for harbouring the preachers; some for speak-
ing against pilgrimage; or the worshipping and adoring of imag-
ery; some for not observing the church feasts; some for not com-
ing to confession and the sacrament; and some for speaking
against the vices of the clergy.

Thomas Hitten, about this time suffered, and Thomas Bilney, of
whom see in my clark, marrow of ecclesiastical History, and in
his book of martyrs; in the life of Bilney Byfield, & fenwbury, see also the abridgment of the reformation, pag. 110.

Crome and Latimer, were brought before the convocation,
and accused of heresy; they both subscribed the article offered
to them; that there was a purgatory, that the souls in it were
profited by masses; said for them; that the saints are now in
heaven, and as mediators pray for us; that men ought to
pray to them and honour them; that pilgrimage were pious
and meritorious; that men who vowed chastity might not
marry without the pope, 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
were tried 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
church were good; that it was good and profitable to set up
the images of Christ, and the saints in the church, and to
adorn them, and burn candles before them; and that kings
were not obliged to give the people the scriptures in a vulgar
tongue: by these articles it may easily be collected, what were the doctrines then preached by the reformers.

There was yet no dispute about the presence of Christ in
the sacrament; which was first called in question by Smith,
for the books of Zuinglius, and ocelampadius came late 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 eminent instance of the clergy's cruelty against the dead bodies of those whom they suspected of heresy; the common custom of all wills and testaments at that time was, first, I bequeath my soul to Almighty God; and to our lady saint 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 whose intercession alone he trusted, without the help of any other saint; therefore he left no part of his goods to any to 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 chanceller of Worcester to raise his body; the officious chanceller went beyond his order, and burnt his 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 noe Authority to burn it; Soe two years after Tracy He was sued him for it, and he was turned out of his office of chanceller, and fined in four hundred pounds.

Another instance is of the sufferings of Thomas Harding of Buckinghamshire; at this time there was an indulgence of forty days pardon proclaimed to all that carried a saggot for the burning of an Heretick; Soe extremly did the clergy endeavor to infect the laity with their own cruelty and persecuting spirit; and that wrought upon this occasion a signall effect; for as the fire was kindled about old Harding one flung a saggot at the old mans head; which dash'd out his brains.

In the year 1538 it was thought fit by some signall 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 Cavinder and Winchester did prevail with the king to punish the Hereticks to convince the world that he was a Catholick king still; upon which followed the sufferings of John Frith whose life is recorded in the lives of the fathers by Samuel Clark in his marrow of ecclesiastical History.
For now the new preachers grew bolder, and more pub-
lrick in their assemblies; and John Frith being an excellent
shollar, was taken notice of some years before; and put in a
list of those whom the cardinal intended to bring from cam-
bridge, and put in his college at oxford; now he had offend-
ed them by severall writings, and by a discourse which he
wrot against the corporall presence of chris in the sacra-
ment, which provoked the king, whoe continued to his death
to believe that firmly.

The substance of Friths Argument was, that chris 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 christs presence there, was on-
yly felt by faith; thus he further owned, and proved, by the
fathers before chris, whoe did eat the same spiritual food
and dranke of that rock which was chris, according to st
paul; since then, they and wee communicate in the same-
thing; and it was certain they did not eat christs flesh cor-
porally; but fed by faith on a messiah to come; as chris
nee on a messiah already come; therefore wee now doe only
communicate by faith: he alsoe insisted much on the signi-
fication of the word sacrament; from whence he conclud-
ed, that the Elements must be the mysticall sence of chris
body and blood; for if they were truly the flesh and blood of
chris they should not be sacraments; he concluded that y
ends of the sacrament were 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 participating of them;
and to be remembrances to stir up men to bless God for that
unspakeable love, which in the death of chris appeare to
mankinde. To all these ends the corporall presence of chris
auailed nothing; they being sufficiently answered by a
mysticall presence; yet he drew noe other conclusion from these
mysticall presence; but the beliefe of the corporall presence in the sacra-
premises, but the beliefe of the corporall presence in the sacramen-
t, was noe necessary Article of our faith; thi neither slow-
ment, was noe necessary Article of our faith; thi neither slow-
ed from his fear, not having arrived at a sure peruswasion 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 prejudice against all he could say. Swith 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 Mores hands, who set himself to answer it in his ordinary style, treating Swith, with great contempt, calling him always young man; Swith was in prison before he saw Mores book; yet he wrote a reply to it, which I do not find was then published; but a copy of it afterwards was brought unto Cranmer, who acknowledged when he wrote his apology against Gardiner: that he had received great light in that matter from Swiths book; and drew most of his arguments out of it; it was afterwards printed with his works anno 1573 and by it may appear how much truth is stronger than error, for though Mores wrote with as much wit and eloquence as any man in that age did; and Swith 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 ascender of truth; Swith wrote with all the disadvantage that was possible, being then in the jail, where he could have no books, but some notes he might have collected formerly; he was also loaded with irons, that he could scarce sit with any ease, he began about confirming what he had delivered about the the fathers before Christ, their feeding on his body in the same manner the christians since his death; thus he proved from Scripture & several places of St. Aurems works; he proved all from Scripture that after the conservation, the elements were still bread & wine and were so called both by our Saviour, and his Apostle, that our senses shew they are not changed in their nature, 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 6th of John, cannot be applied to the sacrament since the wicked receive it who do not eat the flesh of Christ, otherwise they should have eternal life; he showed also that the sacrament coming into 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, the Lamb was the Lord's Passover; he confirmed this by many passages cited out of Tertullian, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Jerome, Austin, Fulgentius, Busschius, and some other writers, as Beda, Beutram, and Duthman; who did all assert that the elements did retain their former natures, and were only the mysteries, signs, and figures, of the body and blood of Christ; but Cælafringes's words seemed so remarkable; that they could not but determine the controversy; especially considering that he was bishop of Rome; he therefore writing against the Eutichians, whose thought the humane nature of Christ, was changed into the Divine; saith that as the elements of bread and wine being consecrated to the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, did not cease to be bread and wine in substance; but continued in their own proper natures, so the humane nature of Christ continued still though it was united to the Divine nature; this was a manifest indication of the belief of the church in that age; and ought to weigh more than a hundred high rhetorical expressions; he likewise brought 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 saith that the German divines believed a corporal presence; yet since that was only an opinion that reposed in their minds; and did not carry along with it any corruption of that worship, or idolatrous practice, it was to be born with, and the peace of the church was not to be broken for it; but the case of the church of Rome was very different, which had set up gross idolatry, building it upon the = doctrine
Thus I have given a short prospect of Smith'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 that received opinion of transubstantiation and with how much learning this controversy was managed by him whose first undertook it.

One thing was singular in Smith's opinion; that he thought there should be no contest made about the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament; for whatever opinion men held in speculation if it went not to a practical error (which was adoration of it, for that was idolatry in his opinion) there was no dispute to be made about it; therefore he was much against all heats between the Lutherans and Zuinglians; for he thought in such a matter that was wholly speculative, every man might hold his own opinion, without making breach in the unity of the church about it; see more of him in Samuel Clarke's view of others, and in the Abridgment of the Reformation pag. 112. 113. 114. He was apprehended, gave his opinion of the sacrament, and of purgatory; and was condemned; and was constant in his sufferings; the last that suffered was Phillips; this was the last instance of the clergy's cruelty against men's lives at this time.

For a stop was put to these cruel proceedings; for the queen favoured the reformation, and the reformers; and Cranmer 230 noted it; and was assisted by Cromwell; though the Duke of Norfolk and Gardiner opposed it; and put in reasons against the reformation; but Cranmer put in reasons to the king for it; and there was a resolution of some bishops about the calling of a General Council, and Cranmer made a speech about a General Council, which was put in writing: see the Abridgment of the Reformation pag. 117. 118.
Chap. 3.

The king having passed through the travestis, and tollings of his suit of divorce; the rest of the kings reign grown troublesome, by the practices of the monkes, and frayars against him; priviledges, of indulgences, were out of doors; and their arts of drawing in the people to enrich their churches and houses, were at an end; and they had a secret intimation, that the king and the councill had an eye on their lands; that they gave themselves for lost; if they could not soo embroil the kings affairs; that he should not adventure on soe indiduous a thing; which provoked the king to great severitie against them; nor did his severitie ly on one side only; but being addicted to some tenets of the old religion, and impatient of contradiction, or perhaps blown up either with the vanity of his new title of head of the church, or with the praise, which flatterers bestowed on him. hee thought all persons were bound to regulate their beliefe by his dictates, which made him persecute protestants, as well as proceed against popes; yet it doth not appear that cruelty was natural to him.

After the Parliament had ended their businesse, the bishops did all renew their allegiance to the king; and srove all so to maintain his supremacy in ecclesiastical matters; acknowledging that he was the supreme head of the church of England, though there was yet noe law for the requiring any such oath; the first act of the kings supremacy, was his naming cowmwell vicar generall; and generall visiter of all the monastries, and other priviledged places, and allsoe, lord vicegerent, in all ecclesiastical matters.

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; but the franciscans, frayars refuse it.

The next thing was a generall visitation of monastries that was designed; and cranner makes his metropolitan vi
and the king begineth his by severall commissioners, and the
instructions for the visitation of them that were given to the vi-
sitours were (1) whether divine service was kept up day &
night in the right orders of Hours, and how many were
commonly present. (2) whether the full number according to
the foundation, was in every house; whose were founders w
additions have been made since the foundation; and what
were their revenues; and whether it were ever changed
from one order to another, by whom, and for what cause
and whose were frequently absent: (3) what monstarily they
had, and whether their founders were authorized to make
such donations. (4) upon what suggestions, and for what
cause, they were exempted from their diocesans. (5) their
local statutes were all the more to be seen, and examined. (6) the
election of their head was to be inquired into (7) whether
they knew their rules, and observed it (8) whether
they observed the rules of silence, fasting, abstinence, &
Hair shirts; or by what warrant they were dispensed with
in any of these. (9) whether they did eat, sleep, wear their hab-
its, and stay within the monastery according to their rules;
(10) whether the master were to cruell, or to remiss; and whe-
ther he used the brethren without partiality or malice. (11)
whether any of the brethren were incorrigible. (12) whether
the master made his accounts faithfully once a year. (13) whether
all the other officers made their accounts truly, and whether
the whole revenue of the house was employed according to the
intention of the founders. (14) whether the fabric was kept
up, and the plate and furniture carefully preserved. (15)
whether the covent seals, and the writings of the house were
kept well, and whether leases were made by the master of the
house to his kindred and friends; to the damage of the house
whether hospitality was kept; and whether at the receiv-
ing of novices any money or reward was demanded, or pro-
mised; what care was taken to instruct the novices. (16) whe-
ther any had entered into the house in hope to be once the master
of it.
whether in giving presentations to livings, the master had reserved a pension out of them, or what sort of bargains he made concerning them. (18) 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 house of monks and friars, and in the visitation of nunneries, they were to search. (19) whether the house had a good inclosure; and if the doors and windows were kept shut, so that no man could enter at inconvenient hours. (20) whether any man conversed with the sisters alone, without the Abbesse, leave. (21) whether any sister were forced to profess, either by her kindred, or by the Abess. (22) whether they went out of their precincts without leave, and whether they wore their habit then. (23) what employment they had out of the times of Divine Service, what familiarity they had with religious men, whether they writ love letters, or sent, and received tokens or presents. (24) 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, and as they were to visit according to these instructions, so they were to give some injunctions in the king's name. (1) that they should endeavour all that in them lay, that the act of the king's succession should be observed (where it is said that they had under their hands, and sealed, confirmed it, this news, that all the religious house, acknowledged it) and they should teach the people, that the king's power was supreme on earth under God; and that the bishop of Rome, power was usurped by craft and policy; and by his ill cannons and decrees, which had been long tolerated by that prince, but was now justly taken away. (2) the Abbot, and Brethren are declared
to be absolved from any oath they had sworn to the pope, or to any foreign potentate; and the statutes of any order that did bind them to a foreign subjection were abrogated, and ordered to be razed out of their books. (3) that noe monk should goe out of the precinct, nor any woman from within it without leave from the king, or the visitor, and that there should be noe entry to it but one. (4) Some rules were giuen 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 feasted with common meats; and not with delicate and strange dishes, and either he or one of the seniors, were to be alwayes there to entertain strangers. (5) Some other rules follow, about the distribution of their moneys, their accomodation 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. (6) the Abbot, or head, was every day to explain some part of the rule and apply it, according to christian law; and to show them that their ceremonies were but elements introductory to true christianity; and that religion consisted not in habits, or in such like rites; but in cleanness of heart, pureness of living, unseniled faith, brotherly charity and true Honouring of God in spiritt and in truth; that there fore they must not rest in their ceremonies; but ascend by them to true religion. (7) other rules are added, about the revenues of the house; and against wastes; and that none be entered into their house; nor admited under 24 years of age. (8) every priest in the house was to say mass daily and in it to pray for the king and queen. If any break any of these injunctions, he was to be accountable to the king or his visitor generall; the visitor had authority also to pun ish any whom he should finde guilty of any crime; and to bring the visitor generall, such of their books and writings as he thought fit. But before I give account of this visitation I presume it will not be ingrateful to the reader, to offer him some short view of the rise and progress of monastic orders in England
and of the state that they were now in at this time of visitation
what the antient brittish monks were; or by what rule they were
governed; whether it was from the estern churches, that this con-
stitution was brought into brittain; and was suited either
to the rule of st. anthony, st. pachum, or st. basil; or whether
they had it from france, (where sulpitius tells us st. martin-
set up monastries) must be left to conjecture; but from that
little that remains of them, wee finde they were very num-
erous; and were obedient to the bishop of caerleon; as all the
monks of the primitve times were to their bishops, according
to the canons of the council of chalcedon.

But upon the confusions which the Gothick wars brought into
italy; benedict and others set up religous houses; and more
Artificiall rules and methods were found out for their Govern-
ment; not long after that austin the monk came into england
and having baptized ethelbert, he persuaded him to found a
monastery at canturbury; which the king by his charter exem-
pted from the jurisdiction of the archbishop and his success-
ers; this was not only done by austin's consent, but he by ano-
ther writing confirms this foundation; and exempted both the
monastery and all the churches belonging to it from his, or his-
successors jurisdiction; and most earnestly conjure, his succes-
sors, never to give any trouble to the monks, whose were only
to be subject to their own abbot; and this was granted that
they might have noe disturbance in the service of God; but
(whether this with many other foundations antient were-
not latter forgeries, which I vehemently suspect, I leave to
criticks to discuss) the next exemption that I finde was
granted in the year 630. to the abby of peterborough, by
pope agashe; and was signed by theode archbishop of can-
turbury, called the pope's legate, (this I doubt was forged-
afterwards) in the year 728. king ethelwulf, charter to the abby
of clarenbury, relates to their antient charters; and exempt
them from the bishops jurisdiction; king offa, founded &
exempted the monastery of st. albany, in the year 793. which
pope honorius the 3d confirmed, anno 1218. kenulfpkng
of mercia, founded and exempted Abington in the year 821. Knut
founded and exempted St. Edmundsbury in the year 1020.

About the end of the 8th century, the Danes began to make
their descent into England; and made every where great depre-
dations; 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 richest spoil was to be found; and they did soe waste
and ruin these houses, that they were generally abandoned
by the monks; who, as they loved the ease and wealth they
had formerly enjoyed in their houses, soe had noe minde to
expose themselves to the persecution of these Heathen vra-
ders; but when they had deserted their seats, the secular
clergy came and possessed them: soe that in King Edwar
's time, there was scarce a monk in all England; he was a most
dissolute and lewd prince; but being persuaded by Dunstan
and other monks, that what he did towards the reposing
of that decayed state would be a matter of great merit;
became the great promoter of the monastical state in eng-
land; for he converted most of the chapters into monastries
and by his foundation of the Priory of Worcester it appears
he had then founded noe fewer then 47, which he intend
ed to increase to 50 the number of pardon.

All the antient foundations were subscribed by the king and
queen, and prince, with many bishops and abbots, and Dukes
and Earles consenting; the abbeyes being exempted from all
jurisdiction both civil and spiritual; and from all impo-
sitions; and having Generally the privilidge of sanctu
ary for all that fled to them; were at ease and accountable
to none, soe they might doe what they pleased, they found
all soe means to enrich themselves; (1) by the belief of pur-
gatory, for they Perswaded all people, that the souls de-
pated went generally thither; few were soe holy as to
Joe strait to Heaven; and few Joe had as to be cast to Hell; then people were made believe, that the saying of masses for their souls, gave them great reliefe in their tormentes, and did at length deliver them out of them; this being generally receiued; 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 furnishing 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 Joe spread that if some laws had not restrained their profuseness, the greater part of all the estates of England, had been given to these Houses; but the statute of mortmain were not very effectual restraints, for what’s King Joener had refused to grant a mortmain, was sure to have an uneasy reign even after.

yet this did not satisfy the monkys, 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; soe that what Joener respect they put upon the shrines and images, but chiefly on the reliques of saints, they would finde their account in it, and the saints would take it kindly at their hands; and intercede the more earnestly for them, and people whose saw courtiers much wrought on by presents; imagined the saints were of the same temper, only with this difference, that courtiers were suborne to have presents put in their own hands; but the saints were satisfied if they were given to others; and as in courts of princes, the new favorite commonly had greatest credit, for every new saint was believed to have a greater force in his addresses, and therefore every body was to run to their shrines, and make great presents to them; this being infused into the credulous multitude, they brought y richest things they had, to the places where the bodies, or relics
of those saints were laid, some images were all soe believed to have a peculiar excellency in them; and pilgrimages and presents to these were much magnified. But to quicken all this, the monks found the means, either by dreams, or visions, and strange miraculous stories to feed the devotion of the people reliefs without number, were every where discovered; and most wonderful relation of the martyrdoms, 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 invinch them all; yet there was strange envying not only among the severall orders, but the house of the same order; the monks, especially of Clesenbury, St. Albans, and St. Esmunsbury, vied one with another; whose could tell most extravagant stories for the honour of their house; and of the reliefs of it.

The monks in these houses, abounding in wealth, and living at ease, and in idleness, did soe degenerate; that from the 12th century downwards, their reputation abated much; and the privileges of sanctuaries were a general grievance and oft complained of in parliament; for they received all that filed to them, which put a great stop to justice; and did encourage the most criminal offenders; they became lewd and dissolute, and soe impudent in it; that some of their farms were lett, for bringing in a yearly tribute to their lusts; now did they keep hospitality; and relieve the poor, but rather encouraged vagabonds and beggars, against whom laws were made; both in Edward the 3d. and king Henry the 7th; and this kings reign.

But from the 12th century the order of begging friars were set up; and they by the appearance of severity and mortification gained great esteem; at first, they would have nothing, new real estate; but the ground on which their house stood, but
afterwards distinctions were made And sound, for satisfying their consciences in larger possessions, they were not so idle and lazy as the monks; but went about and preached, and heard confessions, and carried about indulgences; with many other pretty little things; Signus Dei's, vestaries, and Bibles, which they made the world believe had great virtue in them: and they had the esteem of the people wholly ingrossed to them selves; they were all so more formidable to princes then the monks, because they were poorer, and by consequence more hardy and bold; there was all so a more firmer union of their whole order; they having a General at Rome, and being divided into many provinces; Subject to their Provincially, they had likewise the School Learning wholly in their hands; and were great Preachers; soe that many things concurred to raise their esteem with the people very high; yet great complaints lay against them; for they went more abroad then the monks did and were believed guilty of corrupting families; the scandal that went on them, upon the relaxing the primitive strictness of their orders, were a little justified by some reformation 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 concurred with their secret practices against the king, both in the matter of his divorce and supremacy; made him more willing to examine the truth of these reports; that if they were found guilty of such scandals; they might lose their credit with the people; and occasions be ministered to the king to justify the suppression of them.

There was all soe two other motives that inclined 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 parts of the 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 re-
solved to encourage it; for which end he intended to build many
Hauens and Harbours; this was a matter of great charge, and as
his own revenue could not defray it; so he had now mind to lay
heavy taxes on his subjects; therefore the suppression of monas-
tries was thought the easiest way of raising money.

But now I come to consider how the visitours carried on their
visitation: by their letters to Cromwell it appears, that in most
houses they found monstrous disorders; that many fell down on
their knees, and prayed that they might be discharged; since
they had been forced to make vows against their will; with
these the visitors dispenc’d; and set them at liberty; they found
great factions in the houses; and barbarous cruelty by one
faction against another, as either of them prevailed, in ma-
ny places; when they gave them the kings injunctions, many of
them cried out, that the severity of them was intolerable; and
they desired rather to be suppressed then for reformed; they
were all extremely addicted to Idolatry and Superstition
in some they found the instruments and tools for multiply-
ing and coyning of money.

But for the hewnedness of the confessors of nunnery, and
the great corruption of that state; whole houses being found
almost all with childe; for the dissolewness of the Abbots and
the other monks and Fryars, not only with whome, but marry-
ed women; and for their unnatural Lys, and other brutall
practices, these are not fit to be spoked of; much less enlarg-
ed on, in a work of this nature; the full report of this vis-
itation is lost; yet I have seen an abstract of one part of it
concerning 144. houses that contains abominations in it equal to
any that were in Sodom.

One passage that is more remarkable, I shall only set down
because upon it followed the first resignation of any religious
house that ever I found, or could finde: Dr. Leighton be set
the Abbot of Langdons house; and broke open his door of a
suddain; and found his whore with him; and in the Abbot’s
coffe there was an habit for he, for she went for a young
Brother; whether the shame of this discovery, or any other consideration prevailed with him, I know not; but on the 13th of November, he and ten monks, signed a resignation, which hath an odd kind of preamble to be found in the collection. It saith that the revenue of the House was so much decayed, and engaged in so much Debt, that they considering this, and what remedies might be found for it, saw that except the King, of whose foundation the House was did speedily relieve them, it must be very quickly ruined; both as to its spiritual and temporal conveniences; therefore they surrender'd up their House to the King; they were of the order of premonstre; and their House was dedicated to the honour of the blessed Virgin, and St Thomas Becket; this President was sol low'd with the same preamble of many others.

But before that the afflicted Queen Catherine dy'd, at Kimbolton 1536. 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 compliance, but she stood her ground, and said, since the Pope had judged her marriage good; she would lose her life, before she would do any thing in prejudice of it; she became more cheerful then she had wont to be; and the country people came much to her, whom she receiv'd, and used very obligingly; the King had a mind she should go to Fotheringhay Castle, but when it was proposed to her, she plainly said she would never go thither, unless she was carried as a prisoner bound with ropes; she desired leave to come neverer London; but that was not granted; she had the joynture that was assign'd her as princess Dowager, and was treated with the respect due to that dignity; but all the women about her still called her Queen, she doe not, since she had any thoughts of going out of England, though her life in it was but melancholy; yet her care to
maintain and support her Daughter's title, made her bear all the disgrace she lay under; the officious and practising clergy that were for the court of Rome, looked on her as the head of their party, and asserted her interest much; yet she was so watched, that she could not hold any great correspondence with them; though in the matter of the maid of Kent, she had some meddling. When she sickened, she made her will, and appointed her body to be buried in a convent of observant nuns (who had done and suffered most for her) and ordered 500 masses to be said for her soul; and that one should goe a pilgrimage to our lady of Walsingham, and give 200 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 kinde message to her; and the emperour's envoys went to see her, and to cheer her up; but when she found her sickness like to prove mortal, she made one about her write a Letter in her name to the king; in the title, she called him her deare lord, king, and husband; she assured him to look to the health of her soul; she for gave him all the troubles she had cast her into; she recommended their Daughter Mary to him; and desired he would be a loving father to her; she also desired that he would provide matches for her maids, whose were but three, and if he would give her servants one year's wages, more than was due to them; and concluded lastly, I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things; by another letter she recommended her Daughter to the Emperour's care on the 8th of January she dyed, in the 50th year of her age. 33 years after she came to England, she was a devout and pious princess; and led a severe and mortified life, in her greatness she wrought much with her own hands; and kept her women well employed about her, as appeared when the two legates came once to speak with her, she came out to them with a shain of silke about her necke, and told them she had been within at work.
with her women, she was most passionately devoted to the interest of the court of Rome, they being soe fateful women with her own and in a word she is represented as a most wonderfull good woman; only I finde on many occasions that the King complained much of her uneasiness and peevishness; but whether the fault was in her humours, 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 soe decently, for she expressed too much joy at it, both in her carriage and dress.

On the 4th of February, 1536, there was a new Session of Parliament, and the great business of it was the suppressions of the lesser monasteries; for though there were but a small number of persons in them; they entered into confederacy together, and their poverty set them on to use many ill arts to grow rich, when this was passing in Parliament, Buckley Bishop of London, said these lesser houses were as thorns soon plucked up; but the great abbots were like purified old oaks, yet they must needs follow, and she would others doe in chriftendom, before many years were passed.

By another act all their House, churches, lands, and all their goods, were given to the king, his heirs, and successors, together with all other Houses, which within a year before the making of the act, had been dissolved, or suppressed. Thus fell the lesser Abbeys to the number of 376, and the Parliament soon after dissolved.

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 had first condemned Wiclifft's translation, and then in dally, and though they ought to teach men the word of God yet they had done all they could to suppress it.
The reasons for the Translation of it were, that in the times of
the old Testament the Scripture were not in the Vulgar tongue
and all were charged to read and remember the Law, the Ap
cally written in Greek, which was then the most common language in the world; Christ did all see appeal to the Scriptures, &
sent the people to them; and by what St. Paul saith of Timothy it appears that children were then trained up and early in the study of the Scripture. In the primitive church
as nations were converted to the faith, the Bible was trans
lated into their tongue; the Latin translation was very
antient; the Bible was afterwards put into the Scithian &
Dalmatian and Gothick tongues; it continuing thus for
several ages, till the State of monarchy rose; and then, when
they engrossed the riches, and the Popes assumed the Domin
ion of the world, it was not consistent with these designs
now with the arts used to promote them to let the Scripture
be much known; therefore Legends, and Strange Stories of vi
sions, with other devises, were thought more proper for keep
ing up their credit, and carrying on their ends.

But Cardinal and all his party opposed it. And Hollander
by pairs were burnt in severall places, and the having the
Scriptures in English, was said would be the cause of all e
vils; but others petitioned the King that he would give
order to some to set about it; and that nothing would prove
more effectual to extirpate the Popes Authority; and the
Queen much encouraged the work, and set it forwards; &
three years after it was printed at Paris.

But this was the last publike good act of this unfortunate
queen, whoe the neever shee grew to her end, grew more full
of good worke; In January shee brought forth a dead son
this was thought to have made her impressions on the
king; and that as he concluded by the death of his sons
by the former queen, the marriage was displeasing to God
for he might upon this misfortune begin to make his like
judgment of the marriage; sure enough the popes party
were earnestly set against the queen, looking on her as a great sup-
porter of heresy.
At that time Fox Bishop of Hereford was in Germany, and Gardiner
embassador in France; and they both thought there might easily be
found a mean to accomodate the queen 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 house for Jane Seymour
who had all the charms, both of beauty and youth in her
person, and her Humour was tempered, between the severe
gravity of Queen Katherine, and the gay Gallantness of Queen
Anne; the queen perceiving this alienation of the king's
heart, used all possible arts to recover that affection, of whose
decay she was sadly sensible; but the success was quite contrary
to what she designed; for the king saw her no more with
those eyes which she had formerly captivated; but grew
jealous, and ascribed these caresses, to some other criminal
affection; of which he began to suspect her, this being one
of the most memorable passage, of this reign, I was at more
then 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 catched
at every thing that fell from her, and sent it to the court;
but have also seen an account of it, which the learned
spellman, whose was a judge at that time) wrote within his
own hand, in his common place book; and another account
of it wrote by one Anthony a surveyor of the ordinance
in the Tower; from all which I shall give a just and
faithfull relation of it, without concealing the least cir-
cumstance that may either seem favorable or unfavorable to her
she was of a very pleasant and cheerful temper, which was not always limited within the bounds of exact decency and discretion; she had rallied some of the king's servants more than became her; her brother the Lord Rochford, was her friend as well as brother; but his Sightfull 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) she carried many stories to the king, or some about him, that there was a similiarity between the queen and her brother, beyond what noe neck 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 sole, went on and Breveton, that were of the king's private chamber, and one mark smeton a musician, were well observed to have much of her favor; and their zeal in serving her was thought to warm and diligent to show from a less active principle then houe; many circumstances were brought to the king, which working upon his auesion to the queen together with his affection to Mistress Seymour, made him conclude her Guilty; yet somewhat which himselfe observ'd, or fancied at a tilting at Greenwich, is believed to have given the crisis to her ruin; it is said that he spied her let her hand kerchief fall to one of her gallants, to wipe his face, being hot after a course; whether she dropt it carelessly, or of design; or whether there be a my truth in the story; the letters concerning her fall making noe mention of it, I cannot determine; for Spellman makes noe 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 Whigfield, whoe had been a servant to the queen, and becoming on a sudain inform; some time before her death did sweav this matter to one of her __________ and hereby unluckily the rest
If 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, whose deposed what they heard the lady Whittingfield swear, whoe this person was wee know not, nor in what temper of minde the lady Whittingfield might be when she swore it, the safest sort of forcery to one whose conscience can swallow it, is to lay a thing on a dead person's name, when there is noe feare of discovery before the great day; and when it was understood that the queen had lost the king's heart; many either out of their zeal to popery, or design to make their fortune, might be easily induced to carry a story of this nature; and this it seems was that which was brought to the king at Greenwich, whoe did thereupon immediately return to Whitehall, it being the first of May, the queen was immediately restrained to her chamber; the other five were all likewise seized on; but none of them would confess any thing; but mark Smeton, as to any thing actually (Soe Cromwell wrote) upon this they were carried to the Tower; the poor queen was in a sad condition; she must not only fall under the king's displeasure, but be both defamed and destroyed at once; at first she smiled and carried it cheerfully; she said she believed the king did thin 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 siti of the mother, which those about her did not seem to understand; but three or foure letters which were wrote concerning her to court, say, that she was at sometime very devout, and cried much; and on a sudden would burst out into laughter, which are evident signes of
when she heard that these that were accused with her were sent to the Tower, she then concluded her selfe to be lost, and said she should be sent thither next; and talked idly; saying, that if her bishops were about the king they would all speak for her. She also said that she would be a saint in Heaven; for she had done many good deeds; and that there should be no rain, but heavy judgments on the land, for what they were now doing to her enemies. Her enemies had now gone so 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 he offence were; upon which she made deep protestations of her innocency; and begged leave to see the king; but that was not to be expected when she was carried into the Tower. She fell down on her knees, and prayed God to help her; as she was not guilty of the thing for which she was accused; the same day the king wrote to Cranmer to come to Lambeth; but ordered him not to come into his presence, which was ordered by the queen's enemies; who took care that none whose had such credit with the king should not come at him; till they had fully persuaded 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 every thing that was true with a great deal more, for persons in that condition; not only have noe command of themselves, but are apt to say any thing that come 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 Maitke had accused her; but when they were gone she fell down on her knees, and prayed of Jesu, have mercy on mee, and then fell a laughing; when
Shee desired to have the sacrament still by her, that shee might cry for mercy, and shee said to the Lieutenent of the tower, that shee was as clear of the company of all men as to sin, as shee was clear from him, and that shee was the kings true wedded wife; and shee cried out oh Norris, hast thou accused mee; thou art in the Tower with mee, and thou and I shall dye together; and mark, noe shalt thou too. Shee apprehended they were to put her into a dungeon & sadly bemoaned her own and her mothers misery, and asked them whether shee must dye without justice; but they told her, the poorest subject had justice, much more would shee have it the same better faith, that Norris had not accused her, and that he said to her Almoner, that he could swear for her, that shee was a good woman, but shee being made believe that he had accused her, and not being then noe, shee in her thoughts, to consider the ordinary artifice for drawing out confession; told all shee 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: Shee told them that shee once asked Norris why he did not goe on with his marriage, whoe answered that he would yet tarry some time, to which shee replied, you look for dead mens shoes, noe is ought come to the king but good, you would look to have mee, he answered, if he had any such thought, he would his head were cut off, upon which shee said, shee could undoe him if shee pleased, and thenceupon shee fell out with him, as for mark, whoe was then laid in yeoms, shee said, he was never in her chamber; but when the king was last at Winchester; and then he came in to play on the virginals, shee said if shee never spoke to him after that, but on Saterday before may day, when shee saw him standing in the window; and then shee asked him why he was soe sad; he said, it was noe matter shee answered you may not look to have mee speake to you.
as if you were a noble man; since you are an insenious person, noe, noe, madam, saith she, a look sufficeth mee; shee seemed more apprehensive of wefton, then of any body; for on whitsunday, munday last, he said to her, that now he came more to her chamber upon her account then for any body else that way there shee had observed that he loved a kingswoman of hers, and challenged him for it; and for not loving his wife; but he answered her, that there women in the house whom he loved better then them both; she asked whose is that, your selfe said shee; upon which shee said shee desyed him.

This misery of the queenes drew after it the common effects that follow persons under such a disgrace; for now all the court was a gainst her; and every one was counting the rising queen; but cramer had not learned these arts; and had a better soul in him then to be capable of such baseress and ingratitude; he had been much obliged by her; and had conceived an high opinion of her; and soe could not easily receive the impressions of her, yet he knew the kings temper, and that a down right justification of her would provoke him; therefore he wrot the following letter on the 7th of may; with all the softness that soe tender a point required, in which he justified her as far as was consistent with prudence and charity; the letter shews of a constitution he was that wrot it, and contains soe many things that tend highly to her Honour, that I shall insert it here as I copyed it from the original.

pleaseth it your most noble Grace to be aduertised, that at your Graces commandment, by m r secretary, his letters written in your Graces name, I came to lambeth yesterday, and doe ther remain to know your Graces further pleasure, and for soe much as without your Graces commandment, I doe not contrary to the contents of the said letters, presume to come unto your Graces presence; nevertheless of my most bounden Duty, I can doe noe less then most Humbly to desire your Grace, by your great wisdom, and by the assistance of Gods help, somewhat to suppress the deep sorrowes of your Graces heart, and to take all adversities at Gods hand
both patiently and thankfully, I cannot deny but your Grace hath great causes many ways of lamentable Heauines, and alse that in the wrongfull estimation of the world your Gracees Honour of every part is soe highly touched (whether the thing that commonly be spoken of be true or not) that I remember not, that ever Almighty God, sent unto you Grace any like occasion to try your Gracees constancy throughout, whether your Highness can be content to take at Gods Hand, as well things displeasent, as pleasant, & if he send in your most noble heart, such an obedience into his will, that your grace without murmuration, & your much heauines, accept all adversities, not lesse thank ing him when all things succeed after your Graces will and pleasure; nor less procuring his Glory and Honour; then I suppose your Grace did never thing more acceptable unto him, since your first Governance of this your realm, and moreover your Grace shall give unto him occasion to multiply and increase his Graces and benefits unto your Highness, as he did in to his most faithfull servant Job; unto whom after his great calamities and heavines, for his obedient and willing acceptation of Gods Scourge and Vot, the Lord added twice as much, 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 clearly to be dispaughtered; and jam in such a perplexity, that my minde is cleane amazed; for I never had better opinion in woman, then I had in her, which maketh me to thinke that shee should not be culpable; and againe I thinke your Highness would not have gone soe far, except shee had surely been culpable; now I thinke that your Grace best knoweth that next unto your Grace, I was most bound unto.
her of all creatures living; wherefore I most humbly be
seek your Grace, to suffer me in that which both by god's
law and nature; and all for her kindness; bindeth me
unto; that is, that I may with your Grace's favor wish
and pray for her, that she may declare her selfe in
culpable and innocent; and is she be found culpable
considering your Graces goodness towards her; and from
what condition your Grace, of your only meere goodness
took her, and set the crown upon her head; ye repute
him not your Graces faithfull servant and subject
nor true unto the realm; that would not deserve the of-
sence without mercy to be punished, to the example
of all others; and as I loved her not a little, for that
love which I judged her to bear towards God and
his Gospell; soe if she be proved culpable; there is not one
that loueth God and his Gospell that euer will hauer
her; but must hate her above all other; and the more
they hauor the Gospell, the more they will hate her; for
then there was never creature in our time, that Soe-
much hindered the Gospell; and God hath sent her this
punishment, for that she seignedly hath profesed his
Gospell in her mouth, and not in heart and deed; &
though she have offended Soe that she hath deserved no
new to be reconciled unto your Grace, fauor; yet Almigh-
ty God hath manifoldsly declared, his goodness towards
your Grace; and never offended you; but your Grace I
am sure, acknowledgeth that you have offended him, where
soe I trust that your Grace will bear no less grudge
fauor unto the truth of the Gospell, then you did before
soe much as your Grace's fauor to the Gospell, was
not led by affection unto her, but by zeal unto the truth
and thy I beseech Almighty God; whose Gospell he hath
ordained you to be the defender of! Euer to preserve
your Grace from all Euil; and give you at the end.
the promise of his Gospel from Lambeth the third day of May

After I had written this letter unto your Grace, my lord chancellour, my Lord of Oxford, my Lord of Sussex, & my Lord chamberlain of your Graces house, sent for mee to come unto the Star chamber, and there declared unto mee such things as your Graces pleasure was they should make mee privy unto; for which I am most bounden unto your Grace; and what communication wee 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, and am your Graces most humble subject and chaplain

Thomas canterbury

But jealousies, and the kings new affections had quite defaced all the remainders of esteem, for his late beloved queen; yet the ministers continued practicing to get further evidence for the saidall, which was not brought on till the 12th of May; and then Norris, Weston, Breveton, and Smeton, were tryed by a commission of oyer and terminer in westminster Hall; they were twice Indicted, and the indictments were found by two Grand Juries in the counties of Kent, and Middlesex; the crime with which they were charged; being said to be done in both these counties. Mark Smeton confessed he had known the queen carnally three times; the other three pleaded not Guilty; but the jury upon the evidence formerly mentioned found them all Guilty; and judgment was given them, 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 19th of May, the queen and her brother, the Lord Rochf ord, whose was a Peer; having been made a viscount, when his father
was created Earl of wiltshire, were brought to triall by their peers; the Duke of norfolke being Lord High Steward for that occasion; those by whom she was tried were the Duke of suffolk, the marquess of Exeter, the earles of Arundell, northumberland, westmorland, derby, worcester, Rutland, Sussex, and Huntington; and the lords Audley, Delaware, mountgomery, Davies, cobham, maltravers, poins, mount-Eagle, clinton sands, windsor, wentworth, Burg, and novalant: in all 26. the records mention one particular concerning the earl of northumberland, that he was taken with a sudden fit of sickness and was forced to leave the court, before the lord Rochford was tryed; this might have been but only casual; but since he was once in love with the queen, and had a design to marry her, it is not wonder if she had a change in her condition did raise an unusual disorder in him.

Here was an unheard of president, the queen of England 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 lye 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 (soe that now 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 against the death; but this it seems was put in only 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 25th year of the reign of Edward the 3d. had been sufficient: when the indictment was read, she held up her hand, and pleaded not guilty; and soe did her brother, and did
answer the evidence that was brought against her discreetly, one thing is remarkable, that no person that confessed anything, 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 wrong on to confess, yet they did not think he had confidence enough to aver it to the queen's face; therefore the evidence they brought (as Spelman saith) was the oath of a woman if 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 Spellman 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 either she should die, or be beheaded, but the judges complained of this way of proceeding, and said such a disposition in judgment of treason had never been seen. The Lord Rochford, was also condemned to be beheaded and quartered; yet all this did not satisfy the enraged king; but the marriage between him and her, must be annulled; and the issue illegitimated; the king remembered an intrigue, that had been between her, and the Earl of Northumberland; which hath been mentioned in the former discourse; and that he, then Lord Percy, had said to the cardinal, that he had gone so far before witness, that it lay upon his conscience that he could not go back, this is like might be some promise he made to marry her, per do uxoriae de futuro, which though it was no precontract in itself, yet it seems the poor queen, was either so ignorant, or so ill advised, as to be persuaded afterwards it was one, though it is certain that nothing but a contract pre uxoriae de tuo senti, could be of any force to annul the subsequent marriage; the king and his council reflecting it seems upon
what the cardinal had told him; resolved to try what could be made of it; and pressed the earl of northumberland, to confess a contract between him and her, but he took his oath before the two archbishops, that there was no contract, nor promise of marriage ever between them; and received the sacrament upon it, before the Duke of norfolk and others of the king's privy council; wishing it might be to his damnation if there were any such a thing (concerning which I have seen the original declaration under his own hand) nor could they draw any confession from the queen before the sentence, for certainly if they could have done that, the diuorce had gone before the trial, and then she must have been tried only as marchoinesse of pembroke, but now she lying under so terrible a sentence, it is most probable, that either some hopes of life were given her; or at least she was wrought on by the assurances of mitigating the 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 precontract; and on the 17th of may was brought to lambeth, and in court the afflicted archbishop sitting judge, some persons of quality being present, she confessed some just and lawful impediments, by which it was evident, that her marriage with the king was not valid; upon which confession, her marriage between the king and her was judged to be 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; as spellman writes of it; thus it was said there was a diuorce made between the king & her upon her confessing a precontract with another before her marriage with the king; so that it was then talked off; but not generally known.

The two sentences that were past upon the queen; the one of attainted for adultery; the other of diuorce, because of a precontract, did soe contradict one another.
that it was apparent, one, if not both of them, must be unjust; for if the marriage between the king and her was null from the beginning, then since she was the king's wedded wife, there could be no adultery; and her marriage to the king was either a true marriage, or not. If it was true, then the annuling of it was unjust; and if it was no true marriage, then the attainder was unjust. For there could be no breach of that faith which was never given; so that it is plain the king was resolved to be rid of her; and to legitimize her daughter, and in transport of his fury, did not consider that the very method he took discovery the injustice of his proceedings against her. Two days after this, she was ordained to be executed in the green on Tower Hill; how she received these tidings, and how presently she continued in the protestation of her innocence, will best appear by the following circumstances; the day before she suffered upon a strict search of her past life, she called to mind that she had played the stepmother to severely with Lady Mary; and had done her many injuries; upon which she made the Lieutenants of the towers lady sit down in the chair of state, which the other after some ceremony doing; she fell down on her knees, and with many tears charged the lady as she would answer it to God, to goe in her name, and doe as she had done to y Lady Mary; and ask her forgiuence for the wrong she had done her; and she said she had noe quiet in her conscience till she had done that; but though she did in this what became a christian, the lady Mary could not so easily pardon these injuries, but retained the sentiments of them her whole life.

This ingenuity, and the tenderness of conscience about lesser things and matters in her, is a great presumption that if she had been guilty of more eminent faults she had not continued to the last denying them & making