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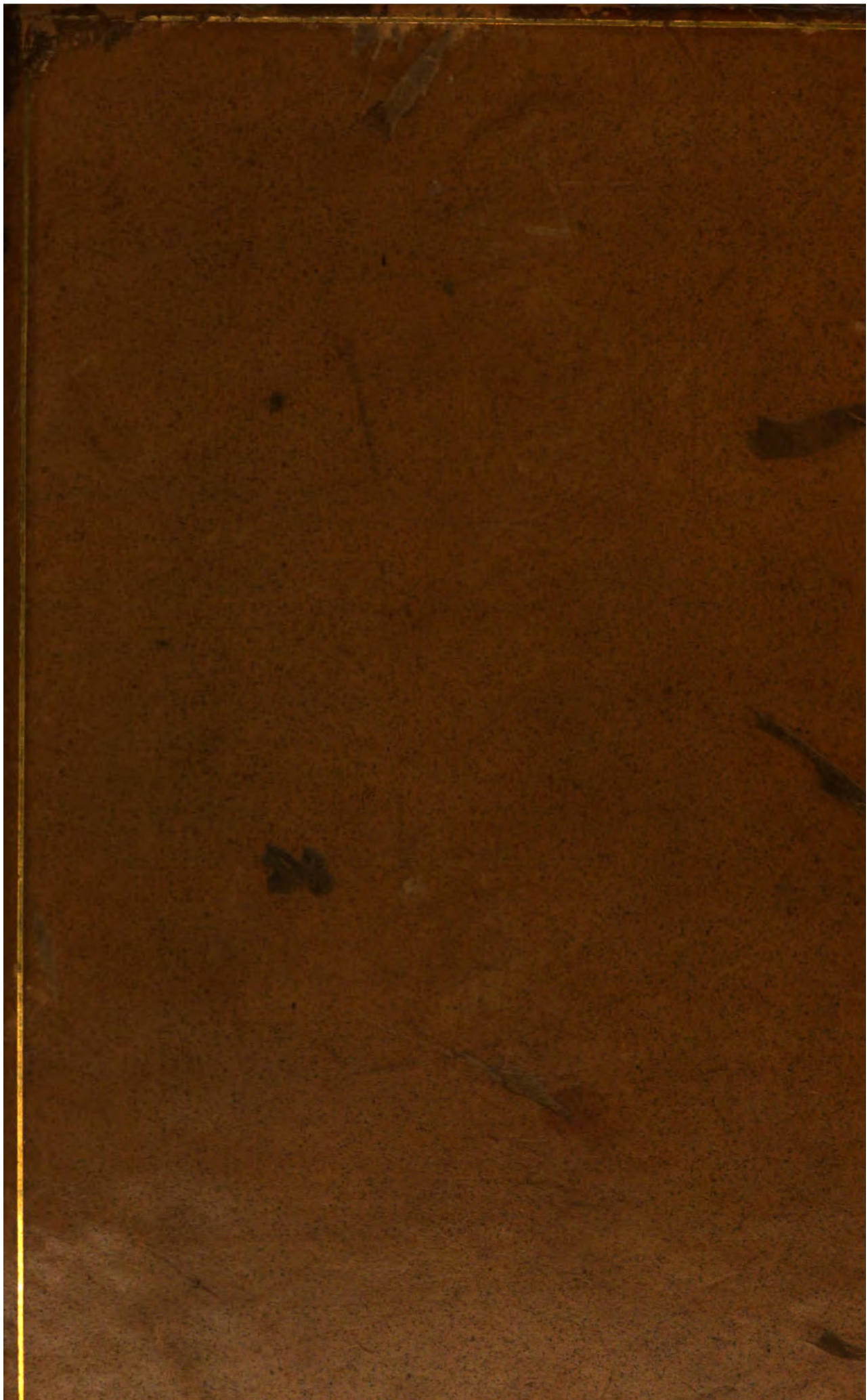
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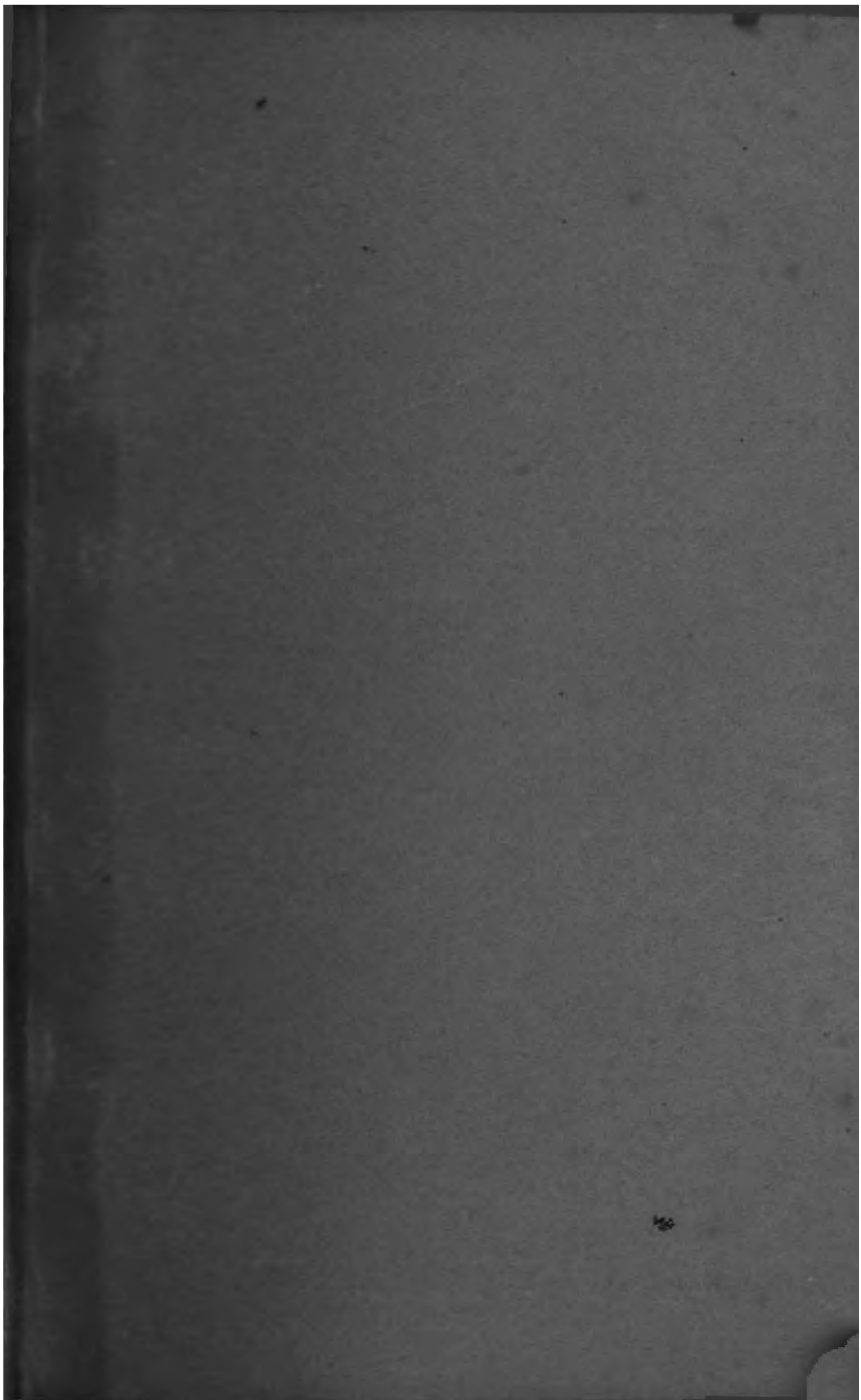
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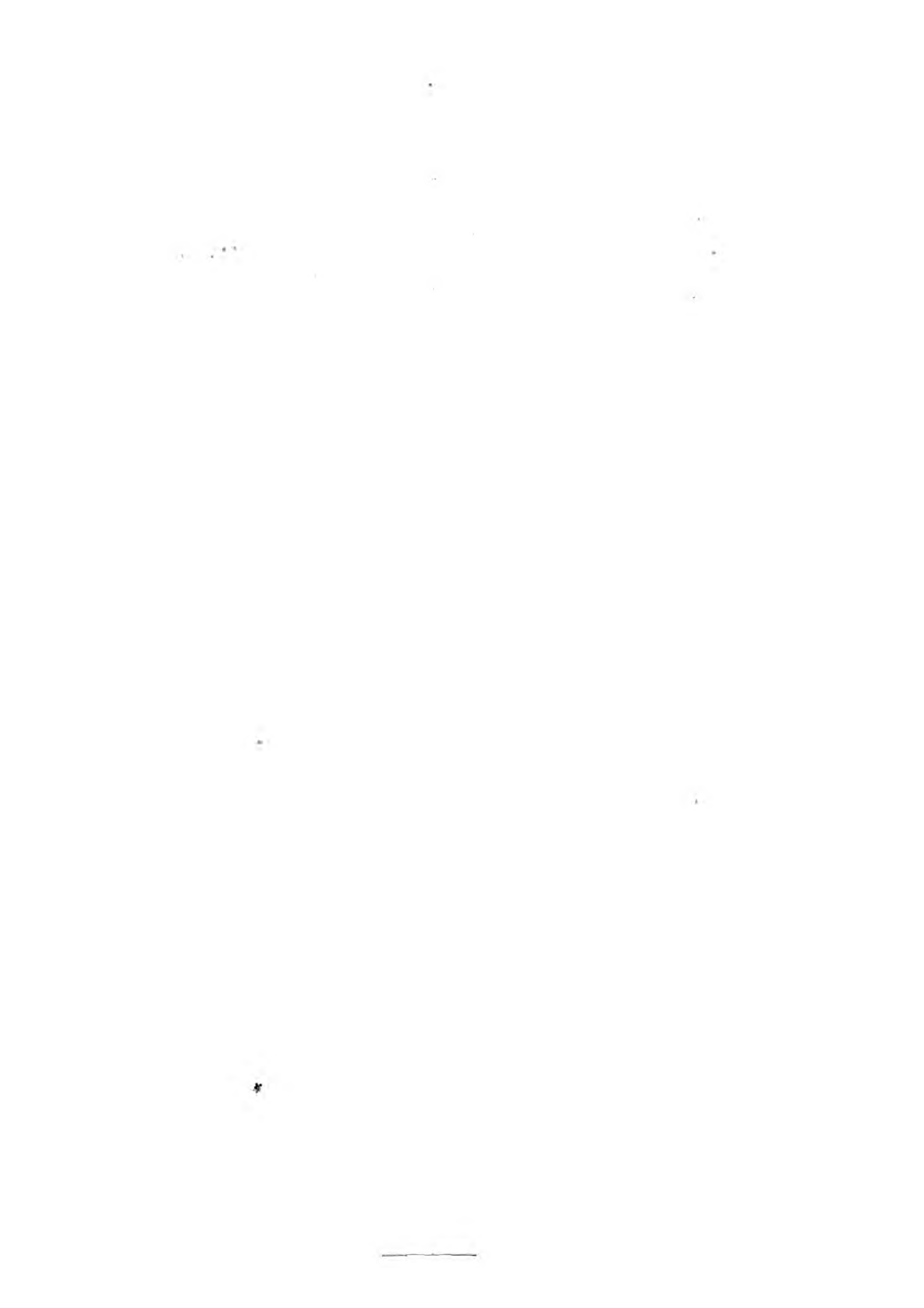


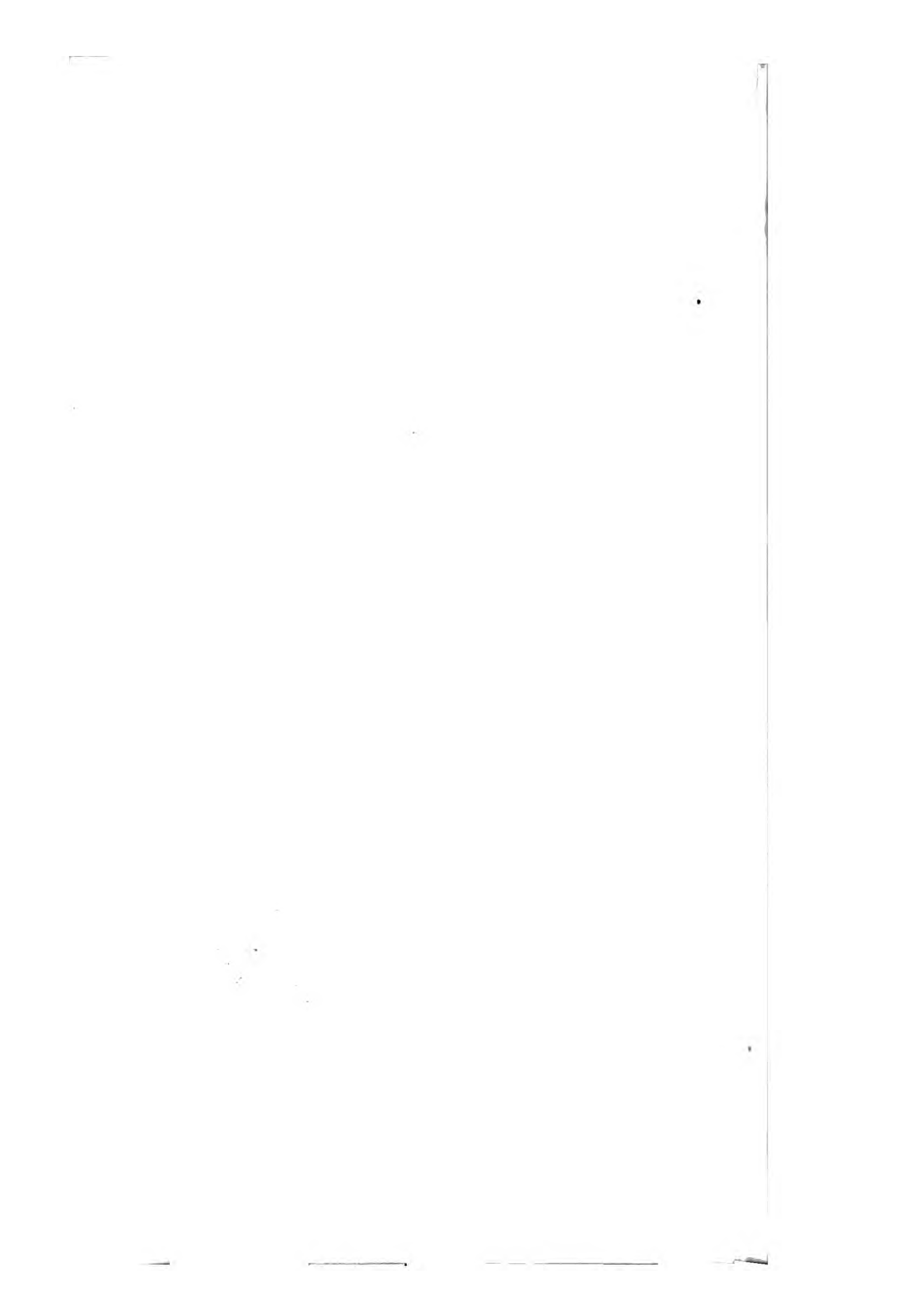
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THE
CHURCH HISTORY OF
BRITAIN;

FROM
THE BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST UNTIL
THE YEAR M.DC.XLVIII.

ENDEAVOURED
BY THOMAS FULLER, D.D.
PREBENDARY OF SARUM.

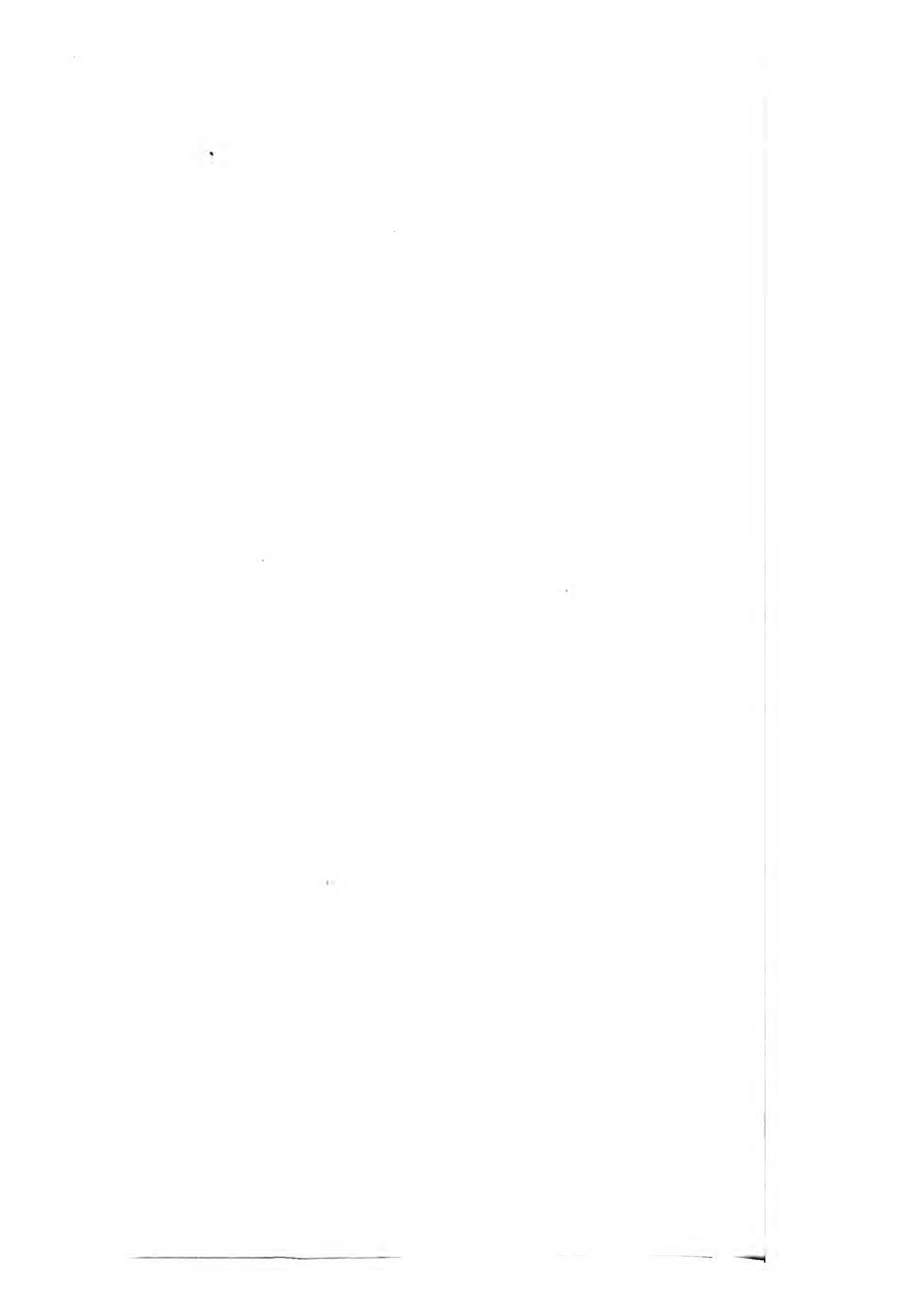
A NEW EDITION, IN SIX VOLUMES,
BY THE REV. J. S. BREWER, M.A.

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THE
CHURCH HISTORY
OF
BRITAIN.



THE FIFTH BOOK,
CONTAINING THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.



TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
LIONEL CRANFIELD,

EARL OF MIDDLESEX, BARON CRANFIELD OF
CRANFIELD, &c.^a



T. PAUL gave a great charge to Timothy to bring the *cloak which he left at Troas, but especially the parchments*. Here we have the inventory ^{2 Tim. iv. 13.} of a preacher's estate, consisting of a few clothes and books, what he wore, and what he had written. But the apostle's care was not so much concerned in his clothes (which might be bought new) as in his writings, where the damage could not be repaired.

^a [This Lionel Cranfield was the second earl of Middlesex, and his father, who bore the same name, was in great credit at court in the reign of James I., until his fall, and prosecution by the commons. "A gentleman he was by birth," says Dr. Heylyn, "but had his breeding in the city, (being originally a merchant,) from whence by his own wit and

" industry he preferred himself
" into the court, where he was
" first made master of the
" wardrobe, afterwards master
" of the wards, and finally ad-
" vanced by the power and
" favour of the duke [of Buck-
" ingham], one of whose kins-
" women he had married, to
" the office of lord treasurer,
" and the honour of being
" made the first earl of Mid-

I am sadly sensible (though far be it from me to compare scribbling with scripture) what the loss of a library (especially of manuscripts) is to a minister, whose books have passed such hands which made riddance of many, but havoc of more.

Was it not cruelty to torture a library, by maiming and mangling the authors therein? neither leaving nor taking them entire. Would they had took less, that so what they left might have been useful to me, or left less, that so what they took might have been useful to others. Whereas now, mischievous ignorance did a prejudice to me, without a profit to itself, or any body else.

But would to God all my fellow brethren, which with me bemoan the loss of their books, with me might also rejoice for the recovery thereof, though

“ dlex. In this office he had
 “ disobliged the prince when
 “ he was in Spain, by dis-
 “ suading and diverting those
 “ large supplies which were
 “ required for the maintaining
 “ of his post in a foreign king-
 “ dom. And he had disobliged
 “ the duke, by joining in some
 “ secret practices to make him
 “ grow less and less in his ma-
 “ jesty’s favour. They had
 “ both served the turn of the
 “ commons, in drawing the
 “ king by their continual im-
 “ portunities to dissolve the
 “ treaty; and the commons
 “ must now serve their turn
 “ in prosecuting this man to
 “ his final destruction. Which
 “ they pursued so effectually,

“ that in the end he was sen-
 “ tenced in the house of lords
 “ to be deprived of the office
 “ of lord high treasurer of
 “ England, to be fined 50,000*l.*,
 “ and remain a prisoner in the
 “ Tower during his majesty’s
 “ will and pleasure. It was
 “ moved also to degrade him
 “ from all titles of honour;
 “ but in that the bishops stood
 “ his friends, and dashed the
 “ motion.” ·Life of Laud, p.
 122. Some account of this
 nobleman’s father and family
 may also be found in *The*
Worthies, &c. Art. London,
 p. 211. ed. fol. 1662, and more
 fully in *Goodman’s Memoirs,*
 I. p. 296.]

not the same numerical volumes. Thanks be to your honour, who have bestowed on me (the treasure of a lord-treasurer) what remained of your father's library. Your father, who was the greatest honourer, and disgracer of students, bred in learning. Honourer, giving due respect to all men of merit: disgracer, who by his mere natural parts and experience acquired that perfection of invention, expression and judgment, to which those who make learning their sole study do never arrive.

It was a gift I confess, better proportioned to your dignity than my deserts, too great, not for your honour to bestow, but for me to receive. And thus hath God by your bounty equivalently restored unto me what *the locusts and the palmer worm, &c. have devoured*; so that now I envy not the pope's Vatican, for the numerousness of books, and variety of editions therein, enough for use, being as good, as store for state, or superfluity for magnificence. However, hereafter I shall behold myself under no other notion than as your lordship's library keeper, and conceive it my duty, not only to see your books dried and rubbed, to rout those moths which would quarter therein, but also to peruse, study, and digest them, so that I may present your honour with some choice collections out of the same, as this ensuing history is for the main extracted thence, on which account I humbly request your acceptance thereof; whereby you shall engage my daily prayers for your

happiness, and the happiness of your most noble consort.

I have read how a Roman orator, making a speech at the funeral of his deceased mother-in-law, affirmed, that he had never been reconciled unto her for many years: now whilst his ignorant auditors condemned their mutual vindicativeness, the wiser sort admired and commended their peaceable dispositions, because there never happened the least difference between them needing an agreement, as that bone cannot be set which was never broken. On which account, that never any reconciliation may be between yourself and other self, is the desire of

Your honour's most

Bounden beadsman,

THOMAS FULLER.

THE
 CHURCH HISTORY
 OF
 BRITAIN.

BOOK V.



OD hath always been ambitious to pre-^{A. D. 1501.}
 serve and prefer *little things*, the Jews ^{17 Henry}
 the *least of all nations*; David their ^{VII.}
 king, *least in his father's family*; *little* ^{Poor pro-}
Benjamin the ruler; *little Hill of* ^{fessors still}
^{preserved by}
^{God's pro-}
^{vidence.}

Hermon; the Virgin Mary, *the lowliness of thy handmaiden*: God's children severally are styled *his little ones*, and collectively make up but a *little flock*. And surely it renders the work of grace more visible and conspicuous, when the object can claim nothing as due to itself. A pregnant proof hereof we have in divine Providence, at this time preserving the inconsiderable pittance of faithful professors against most powerful opposition. This handful of men were tied to very hard duty, being constantly to stand sentinels against an army of enemies, till God sent Luther to relieve them, and the work was

A. D. 1501. made lighter, with more hands to do it, as in the
 17 Henry
 VII. sequel of our story, God willing, will appear. Mean-
 time we must remember, that Henry Dean^a suc-
 ceeded in the place of archbishop Morton, lately
 deceased, and enjoyed his honour but two years, then
 leaving it to William Warham, one well qualified
 with learning and discretion.

Some burn-
 ed, some
 branded,
 for the pro-
 fession of
 the truth.

2. Now it is no small praise to Buckinghamshire,
 that being one of the lesser counties of England, it
 had more martyrs and confessors in it, before the
 time of Luther, than all the kingdom besides: where
 William Tylsworth was burnt at Amersham^b, (the
 rendezvous of God's children in those days,) and
 Joan his only daughter, and "a faithful woman, was
 "compelled with her own hands to set fire to her
 "dear father." At the same time sixty professors
 and above did bear faggots for their penance, and
 were enjoined to wear on their right sleeves, for
 some years after, a square piece of cloth, as a dis-
 grace to themselves, and a difference from others.
 But what is most remarkable, a new punishment
 was now found out, of branding them in the cheek.
 The manner thus^c: their necks were tied fast to a
 post with towels, and their hands holden that they
 might not stir; and so the hot iron was put to their
 cheeks. It is not certain whether branded with *L*
 for *Lollard*, or *H* for *Heretic*, or whether it was only
 a formless print of iron, (yet nevertheless painful,)
 this is sure, that *they bare in their bodies the marks*
of the Lord Jesus^d. And no doubt they had so well

^a [He died at Lambeth, 15
 Feb. 1503, and was succeeded
 by Warham, who was installed
 March 9, 1504. Parkeri An-
 tiq. p. 450. Godwin De Præs.

Angl. p. 132.]

^b [Fox, Acts, &c. I. p. 1010.]

^c Fox, p. 1011.

^d Gal. vi. 17.

learned our Saviour's precept, that rather than they would have revenged themselves by unlawful means, ^{A. D. 1506.} ^{22 Henry VII.} to them that *smit them on the one cheek, they would have turned the other also*^e. Surely ecclesiastical constitutions did not reach thus far, as to impose any corporal torture: and whether there be any statute of the land that enjoins (not to say permits) such punishments, let the learned in the laws decide. This I am sure, if this was the first time that they fell into this (supposed) heresy, by the law they were only to abjure their errors; and if it were the second time, upon relapse into the same again, their whole bodies were to be burnt. Except any will say, that such as by these bloody laws deserved death, were branded only by the favour of William Smith, bishop of Lincoln; and one may have charity enough to incline him to this belief, when considering the same William (founder of Brasenose-college in Oxford) was generally a lover of learning and goodness, and not cruelly disposed of himself^f. However, some of God's children, though burnt, did not dread the fire. And father Rever, *alias* Reive, though branded at the time, did afterwards suffer at a stake^g; so that the brand at the first did but take livery and seisin

^e Matt. v. 39.

^f [Born at Farnworth in the parish of Prescott in Lancashire; educated either at Oriell or Lincoln colleges, or perhaps successively in both. Retiring from Oxford for fear of the plague, he became fellow, and afterwards master of Pembroke hall in Cambridge. About the same time he was made archdeacon of Surrey, dean of the chapel, St. Stephen's, West-

minster, doctor of divinity, and incorporated in the same degree at Oxford. In 1492 he was created bishop of Litchfield; in 1495 removed to Lincoln, and died in 1513. The inscription which was engraven on his tomb, with an account of his benefactions, is printed in Wood's Athenæ, I. p. 650. See also Godwin de Præsul. p. 299. 323.]

^g Fox, p. 1011.

A. D. 1506. in his cheek, in token that his whole body should afterwards be in the free and full possession of the fire.

The cruel
killing of
Thomas
Chase.

3. They who desire further information of the number and names of such as suffered about this time, may repair to the Acts and Monuments of Mr. Fox; only Thomas Chase of Amersham must not be here omitted, being barbarously butchered by bloody hands in the prison of Wooburn^h. Who to cover their cruelty, gave it out that he had hanged himself, and in colour thereof, caused his body to be buried by the highways' side, where a stake knocked into the grave is the monument generally erected for felons *de se*. *Fear not those, saith our Saviour, who kill the body, and afterwards have no more that they can do:* but these men's malice endeavoured to do more, having killed his body, to murder his memory with slanderous reports, although all in vain. For the prison itself did plead for the innocence of the prisoner herein, being a place so low and little, that he could not stand upright. Besides, the woman that saw his dead body, (a most competent witness in this case,) declared that he was so loaden with manacles and irons, that he could not well move either hand or foot. But we leave the full discussing, and final deciding hereof to Him who makes inquisition for blood, at that day when such things as have been done in secret shall be made manifest.

The pope
and king
Henry VII.

4. By this time we may boldly say, that all the arrears of money due to the pope, for pardons in the

^h ["In the bishop's prison called Little Ease," says Fox, I. p. 1011.]

year of Jubilee, five years since were fully collected, and safely returned to Rome by the officers of his holiness, the lagging money which was last sent thither came soon enough to be received there. We wish the sellers more honesty, and the buyers more wisdom. Yet we envy Rome this payment the less, because it was the last in this kind she did generally receive out of England. Meantime king Henry the Seventh did enter common with the pope, having part allowed to connive at the restⁱ. Thus whilst pope and prince shared the wool betwixt them, the people were finely fleeced. Indeed king Henry was so thrifty, I durst call him covetous, not to say sordid, had he been a private man, who knowing what ticklish terms he stood upon, loved a reserve of treasure, as being (besides his claims of conquest, match, and descent) at any time a good title *ad corroborandum*. (And we may the less wonder that this money was so speedily spent by his successor; a great part thereof being gotten by sin, was spent on

A. D. 1506.
22 Henry
VII.

share the
money for
pardons be-
twixt them.

ⁱ [Parker's] *Antiq. Brit.* [p. 452. But lord Bacon, in his *History of the reign of Hen. VII.* is of opinion that the king had no part in it. That writer speaks thus; "It was thought the king shared in the money. But it appeareth by a letter which cardinal Adrian, the king's pensioner, wrote to the king from Rome some few years after, that this was not so. For this cardinal being to persuade P. Julius on the king's behalf to expedite the bull of dispensation for the marriage between prince Henry and

"the lady Katharine, finding the pope difficile in granting thereof, doth use it as a principal argument concerning the king's merit towards that see, that he had touched none of those deniers which had been levied by Pons [the pope's commissioner for effecting the exchange of money for indulgences, &c.] in England." p. 200. (English ed. 1629.) Archbishop Parker's words, as referred to by Fuller are, "At ne rex tantæ fraudi obstaret promisit ei papa suæ prædæ partem."]

A. D. 1508. sin.) Was it then charity or remorse, giving or
 24 Henry restoring, that hereupon king Henry the Seventh
 VII. founded the rich hospital of the Savoy in the Strand,
 with the finishing whereof he ended his own life.
 And it is questionable whether his body lies in more
 magnificence in that stately and costly tomb and
 chapel of his own erecting, or whether his memory
 lives more lastingly in that learned and curious
 history, which the lord Bacon hath written of his
 reign?

Henry
 VIII. suc-
 ceedeth his
 father.

5. Henry the Eighth, his son, succeeded him^k,
 one of a beautiful person, and majestic presence,
 insomuch that his picture in all places is known at
 the first sight. As for the character of his mind, all
 the virtues and vices of all his predecessors from the
 conquest may seem in him fully represented, both to
 their kind and degree, learning, wisdom, valour,
 magnificence, cruelty, avarice, fury, and lust; fol-
 lowing his pleasures whilst he was young, and
 making them come to him when he was old. Many
 memorable alterations in church and state happened
 in his age, as, God willing, hereafter shall appear.

A. D. 1509.
 He mar-
 rieth the
 relict of his
 brother
 Arthur.

6. On the third day of June he was solemnly
 married to the lady Katharine dowager, formerly
 wife to his brother prince Arthur, deceased. Two
 popes took the matter in hand to discuss and decide
 the lawfulness thereof, Alexander the Sixth, and
 Pius the Third; but both died before the business
 was fully effected^l. At last comes pope Julius the

^k [April 22, 1509.]

^l Sanders de schismate An-
 glicano, I. p. 2. [The first bull
 for contracting this marriage
 was obtained Dec. 26, 1503,
 upon which they were mar-

ried. But archbishop Warham
 had so possessed the king
 against it, that in June 27,
 1505, the prince by his father's
 command made a protestation
 against it, which he declared

Second, and by the omnipotency of his dispensation A. D. 1509. removed all impediments and obstructions against 1 Henry VIII. the laws of God or man hindering or opposing the said marriage. We leave them for the present wedded and bedded together, and twenty years hence shall hear more of this matter; only know that this marriage was founded in covetous considerations, merely to save money, that the kingdom might not be impoverished by restoring her dowry back again into Spain, though hereupon a greater mass of coin was transported out of the land, though not into Spain, into Italy^m. Thus such who consult with covetousness in matters of conscience, embracing sinister courses to save charges, will find such thrift to prove expensive at the casting up of their audit; however, divine Providence overruling all actions to his own glory, so ordered it, that the breaking off the pope's power, with the banishing of superstition out of England, is at this day the only surviving issue of this marriage.

7. The beginning of this king's reign was but barren (as the latter part thereof, some will say, over-fruitful) with eminent church passages. And therefore we will spare when we may, and be brief in the first, that we may spend when we should, in the larger description of his latter years. Cruelty

he did of his own accord. In April 22, 1509, Henry VII. died, and a consultation being then held, the king was prevailed on that the match should proceed, and accordingly on June the 3rd he was married again publicly. (See Burnet's Reformation, I. p. 71.) "This marriage," (says Hall in his

Chronicle, f. ii.) "was much murmured against in the beginning, and ever more and more searched out by learning and scripture."

^m [Which was 200,000 ducats, being the greatest portion that had been given for many years with any princess. See Burnet's Ref. I. p. 68.]

Abjured
Lollards
wear fag-
gots.

A. D. 1509. still continued and increased on the poor Lollards
^{1 Henry VIII.} (as they call them) after abjuration, forced to wear
 the fashion of a faggot wrought in thread, or painted
 on their left sleeves, all the days of their lives; it
 being death to put on their clothes without that
 cognizance. And indeed to poor people it was true,
 put it off, and be burned, keep it on, and be starved;
 seeing none generally would set them on work that
 carried that badge about themⁿ.

A. D. 1511. 8. On this account William Sweting and James
^{Sweting and Brewster burned.} Brewster were re-imprisoned. In vain did Brewster
 plead that he was commanded to leave off his badge
 by the controller of the earl of Oxford's^o house, who
 was not to control the orders of the bishops herein^p.
 And, as little did Sweting's plea prevail, that the
 parson of Mary Magdalene's in Colchester caused
 him to lay his faggot aside^q. These, like Isaac, first
 bare their faggots on their backs, which soon after
 bare them, they both being burned together in
 Smithfield. The papists report, that they proffered
 at their death again to abjure their opinions, the
 truth whereof one day shall appear. Meantime, if
 true, let the impartial but judge which were most
 faulty, these poor men for want of constancy in ten-
 dering, or their judges, for want of charity in not
 accepting their abjuration.

A. D. 1514. 9. Richard Hunne, a wealthy citizen of London,
^{Decemb. 7. Richard Hunne murdered in Lollard's tower.} imprisoned in Lollard's tower for maintaining some
 of Wickliffe's opinions, had his neck therein secretly

ⁿ [For an account of the proceedings against them, see Burnet's Ref. I. p. 54.]

^o [John de Vere.]

^p Fox, Acts, &c. II. p. 12.

^q ["He was provoked to be the holy-water clerk, and in that consideration had that infamous badge first taken away from him." Fox, *ib.*]

broken^r. To cover their cruelty, they gave it out that he hanged himself; but the coroner's inquest sitting on him, by necessary presumptions found the impossibility thereof, and gave in their verdict, that the said Hunne was murdered. Insomuch that Parsons hath nothing to reply, but that the coroners inquest were simple men, and suspected to be infected with Wickliffian heresies^s. But we remit the reader to Mr. Fox for satisfaction in all these things, whose commendable care is such, that he will not leave an hoof of a martyr behind him, being very large in the reckoning up of all sufferers in this kind.

A. D. 1514.
6 Henry
VIII.

10. Cardinal Bainbridge, archbishop of York, being then at Rome, was so highly offended with Rinaldus de Modena, an Italian, his steward, (others say his physician, and a priest,) that he fairly cudgelled him. This his passion was highly censured, as inconsistent with episcopal gravity, who should be *no striker*^t. But the Italian shewed a cast of his country, and with poison sent the cardinal to answer for his fact in another world, whose body was buried in the English hospital at Rome^v.

A. D. 1514.
July 14.
Cardinal
Bainbridge
why poison-
ed at Rome.

^r [Fox, Acts, &c. II. p. 13. Burnet's Reform. I. p. 27.]

^s Examination of Fox his Mart. for the month of Decemb. p. 279. 282.

^t 1 Tim. iii. 3.

^v Godwin de Præs. Ang. p. 700. [Christopher Bainbridge was born at Hilton near Appleby in Westmoreland, educated in Queen's college, Oxford, of which society he became provost. After holding several dignities in the

church, he was in 1505 made dean of Windsor and master of the rolls, in 1507 bishop of Durham, and next year archbishop of York. In 1511 the pope created him cardinal of S. Praxedis for the service which the archbishop had rendered him in persuading king Henry VIII. to take part with the pope in his wars against Lewis XII. of France. He was succeeded by Wolsey. See Wood's Athenæ, I. p. 651.]

A.D. 1516.
7 Henry
VIII.

The found-
ing of Cor-
pus-Christi
college in
Oxford.

11. Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, founded and endowed Corpus-Christi college in Oxford, bestowing thereon lands to the yearly value of four hundred and one pounds, eight shillings, and two pence^w. And, whereas this foundation is characterized by an Oxford man to be *ex omnibus minimum, vel certe ex minimis unum*^x, at this day it acquitteth itself in more than a middle equipage amongst other foundations. Erasmus is very large in the praise thereof, highly affected with a library, and study of tongues, which, according to the founder's will, flourished therein; insomuch that for some time it was termed, The college of the three learned languages.

Est locus Oxonii, possum appellare trilingue
Musæum, a Christi Corpore nomen habens^y.

Sure I am, that for all kind of learning, divine and human, this house is paramount for eminent persons bred therein.

<i>Presidents.</i>	<i>Bishops.</i>	<i>Benefactors.</i>	<i>Learned writers.</i>
1516. John Claymond.	Cardinal	Hugh Oldham,	George Ethe-
1537. Robert Morwent.	Poole.	bishop of Ex-	ridge ^a .
1558. William Cheadsey.	John Jewel.	eter.	[John Jewell.]
1559. William Butcher.		John Clay-	[John Rey-
1561. Thomas Greneway.		mond, first	nolds.]
1568. William Cole.		president.	Richard Hook-
1598. John Raynolds.		Mr. [Robert]	er.
1607. John Spencer.		Morwent, [se-	Brian Twyne,
1614. [Thomas] Anian.		cond presi-	the industri-
1629. [John] Holt.		dent.]	ous antiquary
1630. [Thomas] Jackson.		William Frost.	of Oxford.
1640. [Robert Newlin.]		Mrs. Moore.	Dr. Jackson.
1648. [Edmund] Stan-		Dr. John Ray-	
ton.		nolds.	
		Sir George	
		Paul, knight.	

^w Godwin in the bishops of Winchester, p. 297. [Wood's Annals, vol. II. p. 7. History of Colleges, &c. I. p. 382.]
^x Pitzæus de Acad. Oxon. p. 36.

So that a president, twenty fellows, twenty scholars, A. D. 1516.
 two chaplains, two clerks, and two choristers, be- 8 Henry VIII.
 sides officers and servants of the foundation are
 therein maintained, which with other students, anno
 1634, made up threescore and ten.

12. This Hugh Oldham, in the front of bene- Hugh Oldham his bounty.
 factors, because he was bishop of Exeter, for names-
 sake intended his bounty to Exeter college. But,
 suffering a repulse from that society, (refusing at his
^brequest to make one Atkin a fellow,) diverted his
 liberality to Corpus-Christi college; so bountiful
 thereunto, that, as founder is too much, so bene-
 factor is too little for him. He was one of more
 piety than learning, courteous in his deeds, but very
 harsh and rugged in his speeches, making himself
 but bad orations, yet good orators, so many eloquent
 men were bred by his bounty. Nor let it be for-
 gotten, that as Fox, the founder of this house, was
 fellow and master of Pembroke hall, so Oldham also
 had his education in Queen's college in Cambridge^c;

^y John White, [Diacosio-
 martyrion, p. 86. ed. 1553.]

^z [Wood reckons twelve bi-
 shops to 1782.]

^a See more of him anno
 1584.

^b Godwin in the bishops of
 Exeter, p. 473. [Holinshed,
 p. 839. The same writer gives
 the following account of Old-
 ham's benefaction. "Bishop
 " Fox was of the mind and
 " determination to have made
 " the college for religious men.
 " But bishop Oldham (whether
 " it was because he favoured
 " not those sects of cloistered
 " monks, or whether he foresaw
 " any fall toward of those sects)

" dissuaded bishop Fox what
 " he could from that his pur-
 " pose and opinion, and said
 " unto him; 'What, my lord,
 " shall we build houses and
 " provide livelihoods for a
 " company of bussing monks,
 " whose end and fall we our-
 " selves may live to see? No,
 " no, it is more meet a great
 " deal that we should have
 " care to provide for the in-
 " crease of learning, and for
 " such as who by their learning
 " shall do good in the church
 " and commonwealth.'" p. 840.]

^c See Jo. Scot his tables. [At
 the end of Isaacson's chrono-
 logy.]

A. D. 1516. so much hath Oxford been beholding to her nephew's
8 Henry VIII. or sister's children. But as once Ephron said to
 Abraham, *What is that betwixt thee and me^c?* so, such their mutual affection, it matters not what favour one sister freely bestoweth on the other.

A. D. 1519. **13.** John Colet, dean of Paul's, died this year, in
Septemb. 4. The death of dean Colet. the fifty-third year of his age, of a pestilential sweating, at Shene in Surrey. He was the eldest (and sole surviving) child of sir Henry Colet, mercer, twice lord mayor of London, who with his ten sons and as many daughters are depicted in a glass window on the north side of St. Anthony's, (corruptly St. Antlin's,) to which church he was a great benefactor^d. His son John founded the free-school of St. Paul's, and it is hard to say, whether he left better laws for the government, or lands for maintenance thereof.

Founder of Paul's school. **14.** A free-school indeed to all natives or foreigners of what country soever, here to have their education, (none being excluded by their nativity, which exclude not themselves by their unworthiness,) to the number of one hundred fifty and three, (so many fishes as were caught in the net by the apostles^e;) whereof every year some appearing most pregnant (by impartial examination) have salaries allowed them for seven years, or until they get better preferment in the church or university.

The mercers made overseers thereof. **15.** It may seem false Latin, that this Colet being dean of St. Paul's, the school dedicated to

^c Gen. xxiii. 15.

^d Stow's Survey. [According to Erasmus, he had eleven sons and eleven daughters, yet John Colet was the only one

surviving when Erasmus knew him. See Knight's Life of Colet.]

^e John xxi. 11.

St. Paul, and distanced but the breadth of the street A. D. 1519.
11 Henry VIII. from St. Paul's church, should not be entrusted to the inspection of his successors, the dean and chapter of Paul's, but committed to the care of the company of the mercers for the managing thereof. But Erasmus^f rendereth a good reason, from the mouth and mind of Colet himself, who had found by experience many laymen as conscientious as clergymen in discharging this trust in this kind, conceiving also that whole *company* was not so easy to be bowed to corruption as any single person, how eminent and public soever.

16. For my own part, I behold Colet's act herein, Out of provident pre-science. not only prudential, but something prophetic, as foreseeing the ruin of church lands, and fearing that this his school, if made an ecclesiastical appendant, might in the fall of church lands get a bruise, if not lose a limb thereby.

17. William Lily was the first schoolmaster W. Lily first school-master. thereof, by Colet's own appointment. An excellent scholar, born at Odiham in Hampshire, and afterward he went on pilgrimage as far as Jerusalem: in his return through Italy he applied himself to his studies^g. And because some perchance would be pleased to know the Lilies of Lily, (I mean his teachers and instructors,) know that John Sulpitius and Pomponius Sabinus, two eminent critics, were his principal informers. Returning home into his native country well accomplished with Latin, Greek, and all arts and sciences, he set forth a grammar,

^f In his Epistle unto Jodocus Jonas. [Epistolæ XV. 14. p. 697. ed. Lond. 1642. In this letter he gives a general account of Colet's life.]
^g Pitz in Vita, p. 697.

A. D. 1519. which still goes under his name, and is universally
 11 Henry VIII. taught all over England^h.

His gram-
 mar often
 printed.

18. Many were the editions of this grammarⁱ, the first set forth anno 1513, (when Paul's school was founded,) as appears by that instance, *meruit sub rege in Gallia*, relating to Maximilian the German emperor, who then at the siege of Therovenne in Flanders fought under the banner of king Henry the Eighth, taking an hundred crowns a day for his pay^j. Another edition anno 1520, when *audito rege Doroberniam proficisci*, refers to the king's speedy journey into Canterbury, there to give entertainment to Charles the fifth emperor, lately landed at Dover.

^h [He was a demy of Magdalen college Oxford in 1486, being then eighteen years of age. Having taken his degree, he travelled abroad, and besides visiting Jerusalem, on his return made some stay at Rhodes, where he probably acquired a proficiency in the Greek language. He was appointed to the head-mastership of St. Paul's school in 1512, which he immediately raised to such a reputation, that Erasmus in one of his letters, (dated 1514,) speaking of the progress of a lad entrusted to his charge to educate in Latin, observes: "Illud audacter affirmabo, illum plus scire Latinitatis quam fuerit in ulla schola, ne Lillianam quidem excipio, triennio consecutus." (Epist. p. 436.) He was upon terms of the greatest intimacy with the celebrated sir Thomas

More, who in one of his letters addressed to dean Colet says; "I pass my time with Grocine, Linacre, and Lillie: the first being as you know the director of my life in your absence, the second the master of my studies, the third my most dear companion." More's Life of sir Thomas More, p. 24. ed. 1726. Lily died of the plague in 1522-3, and was buried in the north yard belonging to the cathedral church of St. Paul's.

His epitaph, which was engraven on a brass plate, and fixed near the great north door of St. Paul's, is quoted by Fuller in his Appeal, part II. p. 56.]

ⁱ [See an account of this and his other works in Wood's Athenæ, I. 16.]

^j Godwin's Annales, p. 18. [ed. 1653.]

19. Formerly there were in England almost as many grammars as schoolmasters, children being confounded not only with their variety, but sometimes contrariety thereof, rules being true in the one which were false in the other. Yea, which was the worst, a boy when removed to a new school lost all he had learned before: whereupon king Henry endeavoured an uniformity of grammar all over his dominions; that so youths, though changing their schoolmasters, might keep their learning. This was performed, and William Lily's grammar enjoined universally to be used. A stipend of four pounds a year was allowed the king's printer for printing of it, and it was penal for any publicly to teach any other. I have been told how lately bishop Buckeridge examining a free-school in his diocese of Rochester, the scholars were utterly ignorant of Lily's rules, as used to others; whereat the bishop exclaimed, What! are there puritans also in grammar^j?

20. I deny not but some since have discovered blasted leaves in our Lily, observing defects and faults therein; and commendable many persons' pains in amending them; however it were to be desired, that no needless variations be made, and as much left of Lily as may be: the rather, because he submitted his syntaxis to the judgment of Erasmus himself, so that it was afterward printed amongst his works^k. Indeed Quæ genus was done by Thomas Robinson, and the Accidens (as some will have it) by other authors, after Lily was dead, and prince

^j [In 1530 the convocation finding that uniformity in this matter had not been effected, passed an act enjoining obedience to the king's wishes, and shortly after "by the king's proclamation the matter was generally effected." See the Appeal, &c. part II. p. 56.]

^k Pitz. ib. 697.

A. D. 1519. Edward born, of and for whom it was said, Edwardus is my proper name¹. And thus we take our leave both of Lily and Paul's school, flourishing at this day as much as ever, under the care of Mr. John Langly, the able and religious schoolmaster thereof.

A. D. 1521. King Henry writes against Luther. 21. King Henry had lately set forth a book against Luther, endeavouring the confutation of his opinions as novel and unsound. None suspect this king's lack of learning (though many his lack or leisure from his pleasures) for such a design; however it is probable some other gardener gathered the flowers, (made the collections,) though king Henry had the honour to wear the posy, carrying the credit in the title thereof^m.

Styled by the pope Defender of the Faith. 22. To requite his pains, the pope honoured him and his successors with a specious title, a Defender of the Faithⁿ. Indeed it is the bounden duty of

¹ [*Propria quæ maribus*, and *As in præsentî*, with the English interpretation, were added and published by John Ritwise, Lily's successor, about 1530. Wood, *ib.*]

^m ["*Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum, ædita ob invictissimo Angliæ et Franciæ rege, et do. Hyberniæ Henrico ejus nominis octavo.*"]
Printed by Pynson, July 12th, 1521. Pope Leo X. was so well satisfied with this demonstration of Henry's loyalty to the catholic church, that he granted to all the readers of it an indulgence for ten years, and as many *quadragesmæ*, (spaces of forty days; I suppose Lent.)

But Hall states in his Life

of Fisher, that it was generally supposed to have been written by that prelate; *Life*, p. 38. ed. 1739; who undertook the defence of it against the virulent answer of Martin Luther, in a work entitled: "*Defensio regiæ assertionis contra Babylonicam captivitatem.*" Colon. 1525, and *Antw.* 1523. according to Strype's *Mem.* I. 40.]

ⁿ [This was by no means a new title, the same having been used by pope Julius II. to Henry VII. (*Fox*, II. p. 6.) and by the university of Oxford in their address to Henry V. in 1414. See *Wilkins' Concil.* vol. III. p. 360. See also *Spelman's Glossary* on the word *Advocatus.*]

every Christian, earnestly to contend for the faith A. D. 1521.
 which once was given to the saints^o, but it is the dig- 13 Henry VIII.
 nity of few men, and fewer princes, to be able
 effectually to appear in print in the vindication
 thereof^p.

23. There is a tradition, that king Henry's fool His jester's
reply.
 (though more truly to be termed by another name)
 coming into the court, and finding the king trans-
 ported with an unusual joy, boldly asked of him the
 cause thereof, to whom the king answered, it was
 because that the pope had honoured him with a
 style more eminent than any of his ancestors; "O
 " good Harry," quoth the fool, "let thou and I defend
 " one another, and let the faith alone to defend
 " itself." Most true it is, that some of his successors
 more truly deserved the title than he to whom it
 was given: who both learnedly, then solidly engaged
 their pens in the asserting of true religion.

24. At this time, though king Henry wore the Wolsey his
unlimited
power and
pride.
 sword, cardinal Wolsey bare the stroke all over the
 land^q; being legate *de latere*, by virtue whereof he
 visited all churches and religious houses, even the
 friars observants themselves, notwithstanding their
 stoutness and stubbornness that first opposed him^r.

^o Jude, ver. 3.

^p [Burnet's Ref. I. p. 37.
63.]

^q ["For although the king
" bore the sword, yet he (Wol-
" sey) bare the stroke, making
" in a manner the whole realm
" to bend at his beck, and to
" dance after his pipe." Fox,
Acts, &c. II. p. 243.]

^r Fox, Acts, &c. II. p. 243.
[Hall's Chron. in Hen. VIII.
f. 35. Bishop Burnet in his

Hist. of Ref. I. p. 39, says that
Wolsey obtained a bull from
Rome for this purpose, by vir-
tue of which he intended to
visit and suppress the mona-
steries, and convert them into
bishoprics, cathedrals, colle-
giate churches, &c. And though
he was diverted from this de-
sign for fear of the scandal it
would cause, "yet he commu-
" nicated his design to the
" king, and his secretary Crom-

A. D. 1521.
13 Henry
VIII.

Papal and royal power met in him, being the chancellor of the land, and keeping so many bishoprics *in commendam*, his yearly income is said to equal if not exceed the revenues of the crown^s.

He was the first con-founder of abbeys.

25. The more the pity, that having of his own such a flock of preferment, nothing but the poor man's ewe lamb^t would please him; so that being to found two colleges, he seized on no fewer than forty small monasteries, turning their inhabitants out of house and home, and converting their means principally to a college in Oxford. This alienation was confirmed by the present pope Clement the Seventh,

“ well understanding it, was
“ thereby instructed how to
“ proceed afterwards when they
“ went about the total sup-
“ pression of the monasteries.”
The disorders committed, or
said to be committed by Dr.
Allen and Cromwell in the
suppression of these mona-
steries, was one great cause of
Wolsey's fall, and formed a
chief article of his impeach-
ment. See Wolsey's Letter in
his own defence to the king,
and Knight's Letter to Wol-
sey. State Papers, vol. I. pp.
153. 266. In this letter the
writer says; “ I have heard
“ the king and noblemen
“ speak incredible things of
“ the acts of Mr. Alayn and
“ Cromwell.” Of Dr. Allen,
see Fox, Acts, &c. II. p. 243.
Cromwell's conduct and that
of his agents in this transaction
will ever be a blot on his me-
mory.]

^s [“ He was first made
“ bishop of Tournay when that
“ town was taken from the

“ French (Oct. 1513.) then he
“ was made bishop of Lincoln
“ which was the first bishopric
“ which fell void in this king-
“ dom, after that upon cardinal
“ Bambridge his death he
“ parted with Lincoln and was
“ made archbishop of York,
“ then Hadrian that was a
“ cardinal and bishop of Bath
“ and Wells being deprived,
“ that see was given to him;
“ then the abbey of St. Albans
“ was given to him *in com-
“ mendam*; he next parted
“ with Bath and Wells and got
“ the bishopric of Durham
“ which he afterwards ex-
“ changed for the bishopric of
“ Winchester; but besides all
“ that he had in his own hands,
“ the king granted him a full
“ power of disposing of all the
“ ecclesiastical benefices in Eng-
“ land, which brought him in
“ as much money as all the
“ places he held.” Burnet's
Reform. I. p. 16. Cavendish,
Life of Wolsey, p. 87, 96.]

^t 2 Sam. xii. 13.

so that in some sort his holiness may thank himself A. D. 1524-16 Henry VIII. for the demolishing of religious houses in England^u.

26. For the first breach is the greatest in effect: A precedent quickly followed. and abbeys having now lost their virginity, (diverted by the pope to other,) soon after lost their chastity, prostituted by the king to ordinary uses. And now the cardinal was busied in building his college, consisting of several courts, whereof the principal is so fair and large, it would have equalled any prince's palace, if finished according to the design, all the chambers and other offices being intended suitable to the magnificent hall and kitchen therein^v.

27. Indeed nothing mean could enter into this Wolsey a royal harbinger. man's mind, but of all things his structures were most stately. He was the best harbinger that ever king Henry had, not only taking up beforehand, but building up beautiful houses for his entertainments, which when finished, as White-hall, Hampton-court, &c., he either freely gave them to the king, or exchanged them on very reasonable considerations^w.

^u [Who granted him a bull, April 3, 1524, to suppress the monastery of S. Frideswide in Oxford, which was followed by many other bulls for other religious houses and rectories that were impropriated. They are mentioned in Wood's Hist. of Colleges, I. p. 414. sq. See Burnet's Ref. I. p. 45.]

^v [Wood's Annals, vol. II. p. 23. Hist. of Coll. I. 414.]

^w ["That Hampton Court was either freely given by Wolsey or otherwise exchanged on very reasonable terms, I shall grant as easily; but Whitehall was none of his to give, as belonging to

" the archbishop in the right of
 " the see of York, and then
 " called York place. But the
 " king's palace at Westminster
 " being lately burnt, and this
 " house much beautified by the
 " cardinal, the king cast a
 " longing eye upon it; and
 " having attained the cardinal
 " in a *præmunire*, he seized
 " upon this house with all the
 " furniture thereof, as a part
 " of the spoil. Which when
 " he found he could not hold,
 " as being the archbishop's
 " and not the cardinal's, he
 " sent an instrument unto him
 " to be signed and sealed, for
 " the surrendry of his title

A. D. 1524.
16 Henry
VIII.

His vast
design, why
unknown.

28. Some say he intended this his college to be an university in an university, so that it should have therein by itself professors of all arts and sciences : but we may believe that all these go but by guess, as not knowing the cardinal's mind, (who knew not his own,) daily embracing new designs of magnificence on the emergency of every occasion. Yet let not the greatness of his buildings swallow up in silence the memory and commendable devotion of Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, who founded Canterbury college, taken in with this cardinal's unfinished foundation.

An over-
tart sar-
casm.

29. However, too tart and bitter was the expression of Rodulphus Gualterus, a German, who comparing the cardinal's project with his performance, said of him, *instituit collegium et absolvit popinam*, "he began a college and built a kitchen*." For had he not been civilly defunct, before naturally dead, not a pane of glass, nor peg of wood had been wanting in that edifice.

A second
somewhat
milder.

30. More wit than truth was in another's return, who being demanded what he thought concerning the ampleness of this foundation, made this homonymous answer, *Fundatione nihil amplius*, "There is

" and estate therein ; and not
" content to have forced it
" from him, the cardinal ho-
" nestly declaring his inability
" to make good the grant, he
" caused the dean and chapter
" of York to confirm the same
" unto him under their com-
" mon seal in due form of law ;
" which being obtained and
" much cost bestowed upon
" the house, he caused it to be
" called Whitehall ; gratifying

" the archbishops of York with
" another house belonging then
" to the see of Norwich, and
" now called York-house." Heylyn in "The Appeal" &c. p. ii. p. 57. See Stow's Survey of London, edition by Strype, vol. II. p. 669, from whom the above remarks appear principally to have been derived.]

* [Fox, Acts, &c. vol. II. p. 303.]

“ nothing more (or more stately) than this founda-^{A. D. 1574.}
 “ tion ;” whereas indeed had not he himself been ^{16 Henry VIII.}
 unexpectedly stripped of his estate, he had left more
 and better lands to this house, than king Henry
 conferred upon them, who conceiving church means
 fittest for Christ-church, exchanged many of their
 best manors for impropriations.

31. This college did thrice change its name in ^{Three}
 seven years, accounting it no small credit thereunto, ^{names to}
 that it always ascended, and was advanced in every ^{one college.}
 alteration ; first called Cardinal’s college, then King’s
 college, and at last Christ’s Church, which it retain-
 eth at this day.

32. King Henry took just offence that the car-^{The pride}
 dinal set his own arms above the king’s, on the ^{of the}
 gate-house, at the entrance into the college^y. This ^{cardinal}
 was no verbal, but a real *ego et rex meus*, excusable ^{humbled by}
 by no plea in manners or grammar ; except only by ^{others.}
 that (which is rather fault than figure) a harsh down-
 right hysterosis ; but to humble the cardinal’s pride,
 some afterwards set up on a window a painted
 mastiff dog^z, gnawing the spade-bone of a shoulder of

^y [Wake’s] *Rex Platonicus*,
 p. 44.

^z *Idem*, p. 45. [But Wake
 states that Wolsey himself
 placed it there: “ quasi nec
 “ sui immemor, nec parentelæ
 “ pudens.” A similar reproach
 was also cast upon Wolsey on
 another occasion. The king
 licensing him to “ lie in his
 “ manor of Richmond” upon
 his resigning Hampton Court,
 the common people, and such as
 had seen how much Henry VII.
 esteemed that place, exclaimed,
 “ See a butcher’s dog lie in the

“ manor of Richmond !” Fox,
Acts, &c. II. p. 244. Dr. Fiddes
 however, in his *Life of Cardinal*
Wolsey, p. 5, discredits the
 tale of the cardinal being a
 butcher’s son : and observes
 upon this passage of our au-
 thor, that “ there is now over
 “ one of the windows in the
 “ front of Christ Church di-
 “ rectly over the cardinal’s
 “ arms a dog gnawing a bone
 “ but not the spade-bone of a
 “ shoulder of mutton. Yet
 “ that figure seems to be placed
 “ there by mere accident, there

A. D. 1524. ^{16 Henry VIII.} mutton, to mind the cardinal of his extraction, being the son of a butcher, it being utterly improbable (that some have fancied) that that picture was placed there by the cardinal's own appointment, to be to him a monitor of humility.

<i>Deans.</i>	<i>Bishops.</i>	<i>Benefactors.</i>	<i>Learned writers.</i>
1524. John Hygdon. ^a Dr. Moore. ^b	Richard Cox, bishop of Ely.	Otho Nicholson, one of the examiners of the chancery, bestowed 800 <i>l.</i> in building and furnishing a fair library.	Sir Philip Sidney. Sir Walter Rawley. William Camden. Robert Gomer-sall. John Gregory. — Cartwright.
1532. John Oliver.	Thomas Godwyn, bishop of Bath and Wells.		
1546. Richard Coxe.	Thom. Cooper, bishop of Winchester.		
1553. Richard Martial.	John Piers, archbishop of York.		
1559. George Carew.	Herbert Westphaling, bi- shop of He- reford.		
1561. Thomas Sampson.	William James, bishop of Dur- ham.		
1565. Thomas Godwyn.	Thomas Ravys, bishop of Lon- don.		
1567. Thomas Cooper.	John Kyng, bi- shop of Lon- don.		
1570. John Piers.	Rich. Corbet, bishop of Nor- wich.		
1576. Toby Mathew.	William Piers, bishop of Bath and Wells.		
1584. William James.	Brian Duppa, bishop of Sa- lisbury. ^c		
1594. Thomas Ravys.			
1605. John Kyng.			
1611. William Goodwyn.			
1620. Richard Corbet.			
1629. Brian Duppa.			
1638. [Samuel] Fell.			
1648. Edward Reynolds.			
1651. John Owen.			

“ being upon the same conti-
nued line with it several
“ other antics at proper dis-
“ tances, intended according to
“ the architecture at that time
“ for the greater decoration of
“ the building.” See also Ca-
vendish, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 66,
n. (ed. by Singer, 1827.)]

^a [See the letters-patent of
the king appointing John Hyg-
don to the office of dean in
this college, and John Roper,
John Cottisford, Richard Croke,
Richard Current, and William
Fresham, as professors of theo-
logy ; Robert Carter, John
Hastings, Thomas Conner, Ed-

Here I omit the many eminent writers still sur-^{A. D. 1524.}
 viving, Dr. Merick Casaubon, and Dr. George ^{16 Henry}
 Morley, both no less eminent for their sound judg-^{VIII.}
 ments than patient sufferings; Dr. Barton Holiday,
 and Dr. Jasper Main, who have refreshed their
 severer studies with poetry, and sallies into pleasant
 learning, with many more in this numerous founda-
 tion. Beholding, as for his wealth to king Henry
 the Eighth, so for a great part of the wit and
 learning thereof to his daughter queen Elizabeth,
 whose schoolboys at Westminster become as good
 schoolmen here, sent hither (as to Trinity college in
 Cambridge) by her appointment; so that lately there
 were maintained therein, one dean, eight canons,
 three public professors of divinity, Hebrew, and
 Greek, an hundred and one students, eight chap-
 lains, eight singing men, an organist, eight choristers,
 twenty-four almsmen; at this present students of all
 sorts, with officers and servants of the foundation, to
 the number of two hundred twenty-three.

33. Know that John Hygdon, first dean of this
 college, was a great persecutor of poor protestants,
 as by the ensuing catalogue will appear.

Perse-
 cution in
 the cardi-
 nal's col-
 lege.

^dJohn Clerke.

John Frythe.

Henry Sumner.

— Bayley.

† John Friar.

— Goodman.

ward Leyghton, Henry Wil-
 lyams, John Robyns, and Ro-
 bert Wakefeld, bachelors of
 theology, as secular canons.
 18 July, [1532.] Cat. of Tran-
 scripts for the Fœdera, p. 174.]

^b [Moore's name is not men-
 tioned among the list of deans

in Wood's Hist. of Colleges,
 I. p. 437.]

^c [Wood reckons seventy-five
 bishops to the year 1783.]

^d Such whose names are
 noted with a cross, did after-
 wards turn zealous papists.

A. D. 1524.
16 Henry
VIII.

† Nicholas Harman. [Thomas] Lawney.
† Michael Drumme^d. Richard Cox^f.
William Bettes^e. Richard Taverner^g.

All these were questioned for their religion, being cast into a prison in a deep cave under ground, where the salt fish of the college was kept, the stench whereof made some of them to die soon after, and others escaped with great difficulty. Taverner was excellently skilled in music, on which account he escaped, though vehemently accused, the cardinal pleading for him, that he was but a musician, though afterward he repented, to have set tunes to so many popish ditties^h.

Christ
Church a
colony of
Cambridge
men.

34. We must not forget that all in the foresaid catalogue, whose Christian names are expressed, were originally Cambridge men, and invited by the cardinal on promise of preferment, to plant his new foundation; besides Florence, a Dominican, John Akars, and many more famous for their learning, which at this time removed to Oxford, seasoned both with good learning and true religionⁱ.

Wolsey's
pride in his
servants.

35. Know also this, John Hygdon, first dean, was

^d [Strype calls him John. Life of Parker, p. 6; so also does Caius De Antiq. Cantab. p. 202.]

^e [A zealous protestant, afterwards chaplain to Anna Boleyn. He died about 1533 or 1534, and was succeeded by archbishop Parker. Strype's Parker, p. 7.]

^f [Afterwards bishop of Ely.]

^g [A short account of each of these persons is given by Fox, in his Acts, &c. II. p. 303. See also Strype's Cranmer,

p. 3, 4. Parker, 5.]

^h [Fox, Acts, &c. II. p. 304.]

ⁱ Caius de Antiq. Cant. Acad. [p. 202. ed. 1568.

Among those who were invited to this college were the celebrated archbishops Cranmer and Parker, then students and at Cambridge: see Strype's Cranmer, p. 3. Parker, p. 5. And besides them Bernard Gilpin, who removed to Christ Church from Queen's college. See Carleton's Life of Gilpin in init.]

he, of whom cardinal Wolsey (when fallen into distress) did borrow two hundred pounds, therewith to pay and reward some of his poorest servants, giving them money on this condition, that hereafter they should serve no subject but only the king himself^j, as if this had been *suscipere gradum Simeonis*, for those who so long had attended on a lord-cardinal. But this happened many years after; we return to this proud prelate, while he flourished in the height of his prosperity.

36. Their heads will catch cold, which wait bare for a dead pope's triple-crown. Wolsey may be an instance hereof, who, on every avoidance of St. Peter's chair, was sitting down therein, when suddenly some one or other clapped in before him. Weary with waiting, he now resolved to revenge himself on Charles the emperor, for not doing him right, and not improving his power, in preferring him to the papacy, according to his promises and pretences. He intends to smite Charles through the sides of his aunt, Katharine queen of England, endeavouring to alienate the king's affections from her^k. And this is affirmed by the generality of our historians, though some of late have endeavoured to acquit Wolsey, as not the first persuader of the king's divorce^l.

^j Wake's *Rex Platonicus*, p. 43.

^k [See Antisanderus, p. 10. Much unfortunately of the history of this divorce has been taken by Fuller, Herbert and Burnet from this very apocryphal book. It is written in the shape of a dialogue, and pretends to be the report of a

conference held at Venice by some Roman catholics, touching the divorce of Henry VIII. It was printed at Cambridge in 1593, 4to. with the initials of A. L. Its credit appears to be of about the same value as that of the book against which it was written.]

^l [Fox, Acts, &c. II. p. 326.

A. D. 1524-
16 Henry
VIII.

Wolsey
turns his
waiting into
revenge.

A. D. 1527.
19 Henry
VIII.

The scruple of the king's marriage.

37. Indeed he was beholding, for the first hint thereof, to the Spaniards themselves. For, when the lady Mary was tendered in marriage to Philip, prince of Spain, the Spanish ambassadors seemed to make some difficulty thereof, and to doubt her extraction, as begotten on a mother formerly married to her husband's elder brother. Wolsey now put this scruple into the head of bishop Longland, the king's confessor, and he insinuated the same into the king's conscience; advising him hereafter to abstain from the company of his queen, to whom he was unlawfully married. Adding moreover, that after a divorce procured (which the pope in justice could not deny) the king might dispose his affections where he

Burnet's Reform. I. p. 3. It is now very generally conceded that Wolsey was not the author of this scruple. According to bishop Burnet (*Hist. Ref. I. p. 76.*) the king himself said afterwards in the legatine court, that neither the cardinal nor the bishop of Lincoln (Longland) did first suggest these scruples; but the king being possessed with them did in confession propose them to that bishop, and the cardinal was so far from cherishing them, that he did all he could to stifle them. This is also exactly the account which Cavendish gives of this matter in his *Life of Wolsey*, p. 204. See also p. 221, and Dr. Wordsworth's note. But Fuller has followed Hall, who gives a ridiculous anecdote of Wolsey's first breaking the project to Henry, and afterwards endeavouring to put the same scruple

into Longland's head. But the testimony of Dr. Draycot, Longland's chaplain, remains still upon record, shewing the utter groundlessness of this report. "I have heard Dr. Draycot say," observes Harpsfield in his MS. life of sir Thomas More) "that he once told the bishop what rumour ran upon him in that matter; and desired to know of him the very truth. Who answered that in very deed he did not break the matter after that sort, as it is said; but the king brake the matter to him first, and never left urging him until he had won him to give his consent, of which his doings he did forethink himself and repented afterwards." Note quoted in Roper's *Life of sir Thomas More*, p. 31. Singer's ed. 1822, and Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 221. See also *Life of Fisher*, p. 49.]

pleased^m. And here Wolsey had provided him a second wife, viz. Marguerite, duchess of Alençon, sister to Francis king of France; though heavens reserved that place, not for the mistress but her maid, I mean Anna Boleyn, who (after the return of Mary the French queen for England) attended in France for some time on this lady Margueriteⁿ.

38. Tinder needs no torch to light it, the least spark will presently set it on flame^o. No wonder if

A. D. 1527.
19 Henry
VIII.

The king
willingly
embraceth
the motion.

^m [In 1522 when the emperor Charles was engaged in war with Francis the French king, and found it to his advantage to keep on good terms with Henry, he came personally to England when a new league was agreed upon between them, and it was sworn on both sides, that the emperor should marry *per verba de præsenti* the lady Mary, the king's only child by Katharine, when they came of age, under pain of excommunication and forfeiture of 100,000*l*. But five years after, when the emperor had succeeded in his projects and was desirous of uniting Portugal to his dominions, he not only broke off his sworn alliance with the king of England, but did it with an heavy imputation on the lady Mary, asserting that she was illegitimate, and born in an unlawful marriage. See Fox, Acts, &c. II. p. 326. Burnet's Ref. I. p. 9. The same demur was also made by the French ambassador Gabriel de Grammont bishop of Tarbes, in 1527. Upon what grounds see Burnet, *ib.* p. 73. See also the State Papers, vol. I. p. 197,

where Wolsey in a letter to the king details a conversation with the archbishop of Canterbury of the knowledge of the divorce coming to the ears of the queen, and how he had told her that nothing had been done except for discovery of the truth "proceeding upon occasion given by the French partie, and doubts moved therein by the bishop of Tarbes." See also p. 199.]

ⁿ [Appeal, &c. p. 11. p. 59.]

^o [The first dispatch upon this business was directed by the cardinal to sir Gregory Cassali the king's ordinary ambassador at Rome, dated 5 Dec. 1527. (See the heads of it in Burnet's Hist. Ref. I. p. 90, and entire in the coll. N. 3. p. 19.) A dispensation was granted about the end of the same month, for the cardinal to hear and discern the cause. This however being deemed insufficient, on Feb. 10, 1528, Stephen Gardiner and Edward Fox were dispatched to Rome to obtain a bull with all the strongest clauses which could be imagined (Burnet, I. p. 104. Strype's Mem. I. p. 89.): by their management Campegio

A. D. 1527. king Henry greedily resented the motion. Male
 19 Henry issue he much wanted, and a young female more on
 VIII. whom to beget it^p. As for queen Katharine, he
 rather respected than affected; rather honoured, than
 loved her. She had got an habit of miscarrying,
 scarce curable in one of her age, intimated in one of
 the king's private papers, as *morbis incurabilis*^q.
 Yet publicly he never laid either fault or defect to
 her charge; that, not dislike of her person or condi-
 tions, but only principles of pure conscience, might
 seem to put him upon endeavours of a divorce.

The pope
 a captive.

39. The business is brought into the court of
 Rome, there to be decided by pope Clement the
 seventh. But the pope at this time was not *sui*
juris, being a prisoner to the emperor, who con-
 stantly kept a guard about him^r. So that one wittily
 said, it was now most true, *Papa non potest errare*,
 "The pope could not wander," as cooped up and

was appointed legate to go to
 England to try the validity of
 the marriage in conjunction
 with cardinal Wolsey, who de-
 layed however proceeding thi-
 ther till October following,
 "being sore vexed by the
 "gout," according to Caven-
 dish, Life of Wolsey.]

^p [In the collection of State
 Papers, 4to. 1830, vol. I. p. 1,
 is a letter to Wolsey from the
 king, evincing his very great
 anxiety to have another child.
 In this letter he says, "Two
 "things there be which be so
 "secret that they cause me at
 "this time to write to you my-
 "self: the one is, that I trust
 "the queen my wife be with
 "child, the other is the chief
 "cause why I am so loth to

"repair to London ward, by
 "cause about this time is
 "partly of her dangerous
 "times, and by cause of that
 "I would remove her as little
 "as I may now." See also
 secretary Pace's Letter to Wol-
 sey in the same Collection,
 p. 2.]

^q [Cardinal Wolsey in his
 letter to John Cassali the am-
 bassador's brother, in which he
 brings together all the argu-
 ments which a most anxious
 mind could invent, to induce
 the pope to grant the king's
 desires, using an expression
 very similar to this; though I
 do not find it in any of the
 king's letters. See Burnet's
 Ref. Coll. vol. I. p. 57.]

^r [Burnet's Ref. I. p. 94.]

confined. Yet, after some delays, the pope at last, A. D. 1528. to satisfy the king, and clear his own credit, dis- 20 Henry VIII. patched a commission to two cardinals, Wolsey, and Campegius, an Italian^s, at London to hear and determine the matter.

40. Campegius was the junior cardinal, and there- The cha-
racter of
Campegius. fore the rather procured by Wolsey to be his colleague in this business, whose pride would scarce admit an equal, but abhorred a superior, that any foreign prelate should take place of him in England^t. As Wolsey's junior, so was he none of the most mercurial amongst the conclave of cardinals, but a good heavy man, having *ingenium par negotio*, neither too much nor too little, but just wit enough for the purpose the pope employed him in. Wolsey might spur Campegius, and Campegius would bridle Wolsey, keeping them both strictly to the letter of their instructions. Wolsey hearing Campegius was come to Calais, with an equipage not so court-like as he could have desired, and loath that his own pomp should be shamed by the other's poverty, caused him to stay there, till he sent him more splendid accommodations (at least in outward shew) and then over he came into England. But see the spite of it. As the cardinal's mules passed Cheapside, out of unruliness they chanced to break the trunks they carried, which were found full of nothing but emptiness, which exposed his mock-state to the more scorn and contempt^u. Empty trunks, the

^s [At that time bishop of Salisbury, which bishopric the king gave him in the year 1524 at such time as he was the pope's ambassador here in England. Cavendish, Life of Wolsey, 208. Rymer's Fœd.

XIV. p. 29.]

^t [Fox, Acts, . p. 243.]

^u [Fox, ib., says that the treasure of the cardinal caused no small scorn and laughter, " especially of boys and girls, " whereof some gathered up

A. D. 1528. lively emblem of this cardinal's legacy, coming hither
 20 Henry with intent, and instruction to do little, and going
 VIII. hence having done nothing at all. However a court
 is solemnly called, and the cardinals (having first
 read their commission) set themselves to examine
 the matter.

A match-
 less sight.

41. It was fashionable amongst the heathen, at
 the celebration of their centenary solemnities, which
 returned but once in an hundred years, to have an
 herald publicly to proclaim, "Come hither to behold
 " what you never saw before, and never are likely to
 " see again." But here happened such a spectacle

A. D. 1529.
 May 31.

(in a great room called the parliament-chamber in
 Black-Friars) as never before, or after, was seen in
 England, viz. king Henry summoned in his own
 land to appear before two judges, the one Wolsey,
 directly his subject by birth; the other his subject
 occasionally by his preferment, Campegius being
 lately made bishop of Salisbury. Summoned, he
 appeared personally, and the queen did the like the
 first day, but afterwards both by their doctors^u.

42. For the king.

Rich. Sampson^v, John Bell^w,
 Peter and John Tregonvell.

For the queen.

Nic. West, bishop of Ely^x;
 John Fisher, bishop of
 Rochester; Hen. Stan-
 dish, bp. of St. Asaph.

"pieces of meat, other some
 "pieces of bread and roasted
 "eggs, some found horse-shoes
 "and old boots, with such
 "other baggage, crying out
 "'Behold here is my lord car-
 "dinal's treasure!" But Caven-
 dish tells a very different tale,
 according to whom Campegio
 should have been solemnly re-
 ceived at Blackheath, and so
 with great triumph conveyed
 to London: "but his glory,"

continues Cavendish, "was
 "such that he would in no-
 "wise be entertained with any
 "such pomp or vainglory,
 "who suddenly came by water
 "in a wherry to his own house
 "without Temple Bar, called
 "then Bath Place." Life of
 Wolsey, p. 209.]

^u [Fox, Acts, &c. II. p. 328.
 Lord Herbert's Hen. VIII.
 p. 261. Burnet's Ref. I. p. 143.
 Hall's Life of Fisher, p. 70.]

Here the queen arose, and after her respects dealt to the cardinals, in such manner as seemed neither uncivil to them, nor unsuiting to herself, uttered the following speech at the king's feet, in the English tongue, but with her Spanish tone, a clip whereof was so far from rendering it the less intelligible, that it soundeth the more pretty, and pleasant to the hearers thereof. Yea, her very pronunciation pleaded for her with all ingenious auditors, providing her some pity, as due to a foreigner far from her own country. But hear her words :

“ Sir,

“ I desire you to take some pity upon me, and do me justice and right: I am a poor woman, a stranger, born out of your dominions, having here no indifferent council, and less assurance of friendship. Alas! wherein have I offended, or what cause of displeasure have I given, that you intend thus to put me away? I take God to my judge, I have been to you a true and humble wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure, never gainsaying any thing wherein you took delight, without all grudge or discontented countenance; I have loved all them that loved you, howsoever their affections have been to me-ward; I have borne you children, and been your wife now this twenty years; of my virginity and marriage-bed, I make God and your own conscience the judge, and if it

^v [Wolsey's chaplain, afterwards bishop of Chichester.]

^w [Afterwards bishop of Worcester. Cavendish, *ib.* p. 212.]

^x [Instead of West, Burnet

places Dr. Ridley. *Hist. Ref.* I. p. 146. So also does Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 213. Several other names are mentioned by Hall, *Life of Fisher*, p. 33.]

A. D. 1529. ²¹ Henry VIII. “ otherwise be proved, I am content to be put from
 “ you with shame. The king your father, in his
 “ time for wisdom was known to be a second Solo-
 “ mon; and Ferdinando of Spain my father, ac-
 “ counted the wisest among their kings; could they
 “ in this match be so far overseen, or are there now
 “ wiser and more learned men, than at that time
 “ were? Surely, it seemeth wonderful to me, that
 “ my marriage after twenty years should be thus
 “ called in question, with new invention against me,
 “ who never intended but honesty. Alas, sir! I see
 “ I am wronged, having no council to speak for me,
 “ but such as are your subjects, and cannot be indif-
 “ ferent upon my part. Therefore I most humbly
 “ beseech you, even in charity to stay this course,
 “ until I have advice and counsel from Spain; if
 “ not, your grace’s pleasure be done y.”

June 18.
 [21.] 25.

This her speech ended, she departed the court, and though often recalled, would not return; whereupon she was pronounced contumacious. Many commending the greatness of her spirit, and more

y Speed, [in Hen. VIII. ch. xxi. §. 69. This speech seems little else than an abridgment of the queen’s speech in Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 214, but I have not been able to discover any MS., nor do I think that Speed, from whom Fuller copied it, published the speech as it was really uttered, but in compliance with the customs of those days, altered the phrase, but retained the matter. And this is rendered more probable by the statement of Hall, who has also

given another version of this speech, observing that it was delivered in French, and that he had translated it as well as he could from the notes of cardinal Campegio’s secretary. Burnet has expressed a very decided opinion upon the falsity of these speeches. *Hist. of Ref.* III. p. 89. In *Somers’ Tracts*, vol. I. p. 33, is also a copy of this and other speeches uttered at this trial, apparently from a different source; that attributed to the queen differs very little from this.]

condemning the stoutness of her stomach, as every one stood affected.

A. D. 1529.
21 Henry
VIII.

43. The most pungent passage in this her speech, was her appeal to the king's conscience, that he found her a virgin, when first coming to her bed^z. Her words gained the more credit, because coming from one generally known to be spare of speech, and such may be rationally presumed to take best aim at the truth, who so seldom discharge in discourse; the rather, because she saying it, and the king not gainsaying it, many interpreted his silence herein consent. Whilst others imputed the king's silence to his discretion, because both of them were parties, who though they knew the most, were to speak the least in their own cause, remitting it to the trial by the testimony of others^a.

The sting
in her
speech.

^z [Of this however, see Burnet's Ref. I. p. 68. Cavendish puts a long and very improbable speech in the mouth of the king, in which he is followed by Hall in his Life of Fisher, and other Roman catholic writers.]

^a ["Upon May 31, the king by a warrant under the great seal gave the legates leave to execute their commission upon which they sat the same day." (Burnet's Ref. I. p. 143.) After the usual oaths had been taken, the legates "ordered a peremptory citation of the king and queen to appear on the 18th of June between nine and ten o'clock, and so the court adjourned. The next session was on the 18th of June, where the citation being re-

turned duly executed, Richard Sampson dean of the chapel, and Mr. John Bell, appeared as the king's proxies. But the queen appeared in person, and did protest against the legates as incompetent judges, alleging that the cause was already advocated by the pope, and desired a competent time in which she might prove it. The legates assigned her the 21st, and so adjourned the court till then." Burnet, *ib.* On the 21st the king and queen were present in person, when the queen spoke (if we may credit our chroniclers, as Stowe, p. 543. Hollingshed, p. 907. Godwin's Annals, p. 127.) in the manner here related. The court then adjourned to the

A. D. 1529.
21 Henry
VIII.

Fisher's
short plea.

44. As for the queen's counsel, (which, though assigned to her, appear not dearly accepted by her, as chosen rather by others for her, than by her for herself,) I find at this present little of moment pleaded, or performed by them. Only bishop Fisher affirmed, that no more needed to be said for the validity of the marriage, than, *Whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder*. A most true position in itself, if he could have cleared the application thereof to his royal client, but *hoc restat probandum*; the contrary, "that God never joined "them together," being vehemently urged by her adversaries ^b.

The pleas
of the king's
council.

45. Notwithstanding the queen's absence, the court proceeded: and first the king's proctors put in their exceptions against both bull and breve of pope Julius the second, dispensing with the king's marriage with his brother's wife; viz.

i. That they were not to be found amongst the original records in Rome.

ii. That they were not extant in Chartaphylacio,

25th, upon which the queen not appearing, she was declared *contumax*, and the trial and examination of witnesses was proceeded in as is set down in lord Herbert's *Hen. VIII.* p. 264. From the 25th of June the court adjourned to the 28th (*Burnet, Ref. I.* p. 153.), ordering a second citation for the queen: on the 28th she was again pronounced contumacious, and they adjourned to the 5th of July, on which day the king's counsel was heard, and they adjourned to the 12th; thence to the 14th,

on which days the depositions of the witnesses were taken, which were published on the 17th; on the 21st the court sat to give sentence, when Campegio put it off to the 23rd; but when that day arrived, he adjourned all the proceedings till the 1st of October. Before however that day arrived, the messenger came from Rome the 4th of August with an avocation of the cause to that court.]

^b [By Wolsey himself. See the dialogue in *Cavendish, Life of Wolsey*, p. 224.]

amongst the king of England's papers (most concerned therein) but found only in Spain, amongst the writings of a state officer there. A. D. 1529. 21 Henry VIII.

iii. That in them it was falsely suggested, as if the same were procured at the instance of Henry, prince of Wales, who then, not being above thirteen years old, was not capable of such intentions^c.

iv. That the date thereof was somewhat discrepant from the form used in the court of Rome.

46. After this, many witnesses on the king's side were deposed: and though this favour is by custom indulged to the English nobility, to speak on their honours; yet the canon law taking no notice of this their municipal privilege, and for the more legal validity of their testimonies, required the same on oath, though two dukes, one duchess, one marquis, many lords and ladies gave in their depositions. These attested,

i. That both were of sufficient age, prince Arthur of fifteen years, the lady Katharine somewhat elder.

ii. That constant their cohabitation, at board and in bed.

iii. That competent the time of the same, as full five months.

iv. That entire their mutual affection, no difference being ever observed betwixt them.

v. That Henry, after his brother's death, by an instrument produced in court, and attested by many witnesses, refused to marry her, though afterwards altered by the importunity of others^d.

^c [See Wolsey's letter to the king, State Papers, vol. I. p. 201. From which it appears that these and other objections were started by the cardinal.]

^d [Printed in Burnet's Ref. book II. No. 2, of the Collection. See also vol. I. p. 71.]

A. D. 1529.
21 Henry
VIII.

vi. That, by several expressions of prince Arthur's, it appeared he had carnal knowledge of the lady Katharine.

The beds of private persons are compassed with curtains, of princes veiled also with canopies, to conceal the passages therein, to which modesty admitteth no witnesses. Pity it is, that any, with Pharaoh, should discover what is exchanged betwixt Isaac and Rebekah; all which are best stifled in secresy and silence. However, such the nature of the present cause, that many privacies were therein discovered.

A shrewd
retortion.

47. Observe by the way, that, whereas it was generally alleged in favour of the queen, that prince Arthur had not carnal knowledge of her; because, soon after his marriage, his consumptionish body seemed unfit for such performances; this was retorted by testimonies on the king's side, his witnesses deposing, that generally it was reported and believed, the prince impaired his health, by his over liberal payment of due benevolence.

An end in
vain ex-
pected.

48. It was expected that the cardinals should now proceed to a definitive sentence, according as matters were alleged and proved unto them^e. The rather because it was generally reported, that Campegio brought over with him a bull decretal, to pronounce a nullity of the match, if he saw just cause for the same^f. Which rumour (like the silken fly wherewith anglers cheat the fishes) was only given out to tempt king Henry to a longer patience, and

^e [Burnet's Ref. I. p. 149.]

^f [It cannot be doubted but that Campegio did bring a bull into England, although some

have confounded it with another preserved in the Cotton Library. See Burnet's Ref. I. p. 109, 116. sq.]

quiet expectation of the event. But by this time A. D. 1529. queen Katharine had privately prevailed with the 21 Henry VIII. pope, to advoke the cause to Rome, as a place of more indifferency for a plea of so high concernment. Whereupon Campegio took his leave of the king, and returned into Italy §.

49. The papists tell us, that cardinal Campegio Love letters of king Henry kept in the Vatican. sent over before him some amatorious letters, which passed written with the king's own hand, betwixt him and his dear Nan, as he termed her. These are said to import more familiarity than chastity betwixt them, and are carefully kept, and solemnly shewn in the Vatican to strangers, especially of the English nation, though some suspect them to be but forged ^h. For though the king had wantonness enough to write such letters, yet Anna Boleyn had wit and wariness too much to part with them. It would more advance the popish project, could they shew any return from her to the king accepting his offers, which they pretend not to produce. Our authors generally agree her denials more inflamed the king's desires. For though perchance nothing more than a woman was wished by his wild fancy, yet nothing less than an husband would content her conscience. In a word, so cunning she was in her chastity, that the farther she put him from her, the nearer she fastened his affections unto her.

50. Still was the king's cause more delayed in the court of Rome. If a melancholic schoolman can No haste to end the king's cause at Rome. spin out a speculative controversy with his *pro's* and *con's*, to some quires of paper, where the profit

§ [On the 19th of July the pope sent a messenger with the avocation to England with a letter "to the cardinal." Bur-

net, Ref. I. p. 153.]

^h [Published in the Harleian Miscellany. See also Tytler's Life of Henry VIII., p. 245.]

A. D. 1529. is little to others and none to himself, except satisf-
 21 Henry
 VIII. ying his curiosity, and some popular applause; no
 wonder if the casuists at Rome (those cunning mas-
 ters of defence) could lengthen out a cause of so
 high concernment, and so greatly beneficial unto
 them. For, English silver now was current, and our
 gold volant in the pope's courts, whither such masses
 of money daily were transported, England knew not
 certainly what was expended, nor Rome what re-
 ceived herein. Yea, for seven years was this suit
 depending in the pope's court; after which appren-
 ticeship, the indentures were not intended to be
 cancelled, but the cause still to be kept on foot, it
 being for the interest, to have it always in doing and
 never done. For, whilst it depended, the pope was
 sure of two great friends; but, when it was once de-
 cided, he was sure of one great foe, either the em-
 peror, or our king of England.

King and
 queen both
 offended
 with Wol-
 sey.

51. It was a maxim true of all men, but most of
 king Henry, *Omnis mora properanti nimia*. He
 (who would have not only what, but when he would
 himself) was vexed with so many delayings, de-
 ferrings, retardings, prorogations, prolongations, pro-
 crastinations, betwixt two popes (as one may say)
 Clement that was, and Wolsey that would be. So
 that all this while, after so much ado, there was
 nothing done in his business, which now was no
 nearer to a final conclusion, than at the first begin-
 ning thereof. Yea, now began cardinal Wolsey to
 decline in the king's favour, suspecting him for not
 cordial in his cause, and ascribing much of the delay
 to his backwardness herein. More hot did the dis-
 pleasure of queen Katharine burn against him, be-
 holding him as the chief engine, who set the matter
 of her divorce first in motion.

52. Be it here remembered, that in persuading the king's divorce, Wolsey drave on a double design; by the recess of the king's love from queen Katharine, to revenge himself of the emperor; by the access of his love to Marguerite of Alençon, to oblige the king of France. Thus he hoped to gain with both hands, and presumed, that the sharpness of his two-edged policy should cut on both sides: when God, to prevent him, did both blunt the edges, and break the point thereof. For, instead of gaining the love of two kings, he got the implacable anger of two queens; of Katharine decaying, and Anna Boleyn increasing in the king's affectionⁱ. Let him hereafter look but for few fair days, when both the sun-rising and setting frowned upon him^k.

A. D. 1529.
21 Henry
VIII.

Wolsey
looks two
ways in
this design.

ⁱ [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 158.]

^k ["I heard it reported" (says Cavendish, narrating the interview of Wolsey and Campegio with the king at Grafton) "by them that waited upon the king at dinner, that mistress Anne Boleyn was much offended with the king, as far as she durst, that he so gently entertained my lord, saying as she sat with the king at dinner, in communication with him, 'Sir,' quoth she, 'is it not a marvellous thing to consider what debt and danger the cardinal hath brought you in with all your subjects?' 'How so, sweetheart?' quoth the king. 'Forsooth,' quoth she, 'there is not a man within all your realm worth 5*l.* but he hath indebted you unto him,' (meaning by a loan that the king had lent late of his subjects.) 'Well, well,' quoth the king, 'as for that there

"is in him no blame; for I know that matter better than you or any other.' 'Nay sir,' quoth she, 'besides all that, what things hath he brought within this realm to your great slander and dishonour? There is never a nobleman within this realm, that if he had done but half so much as he hath done, but he were well worthy to lose his head. If my lord of Norfolk, my lord of Suffolk, my lord my father, or any other noble person within your realm had done much less than he, but they should have lost their heads ere this.' 'Why then, I perceive,' quoth the king, 'ye are not the cardinal's friend?' 'Forsooth then,' quoth she, 'I have no cause, nor any other that loveth your grace, no more have your grace if ye consider well his doings.'" Life of Wolsey, p. 241.]

S E C T. II.

TO

MR. THOMAS JAMES^a,

OF

BUNTINGFORD IN HERTFORDSHIRE.

Corner stones (two walls meeting in them) are polished with the more curiosity, and placed with more carefulness. So also corner bones (as I may say) which do double duty, and attend the service of two joints, (in the elbow and knee,) are rarely fixed by the providence of nature.

This section being in the turning of religions, (the going out of the old, and coming in of the new,) ought to have been done with most industry, difficulty meeting therein with dark instructions. However I have endeavoured my utmost, (though falling short of the merits of the matter,) and doubt not but you will be as candid in the perusing, as I have desired to be careful in the writing thereof.

^a [Arms, gules, a dolphin friend Mr. Barham, nor have naiant embowed, or. Of this I been able to discover any individual neither has my further particulars.]



NOW now in the next year, the lords A. D. 1530.
22 Henry VIII. in parliament put in a bill of forty-four particulars against Wolsey^b. The Accused in parliament and well defended by Mr. Cromwell his servant. most material was his exercising of power-legatine, without leave, to the prejudice of the king's crown and dignity^c. The bill is brought down into the house of commons, where Mr. Cromwell, then servant to the cardinal, chanced to be a burgess. Here he defended his master with such wit and eloquence, that even those who hated the client, yet praised the advocate who pleaded in his behalf^d. This was the first time that public notice was taken of Cromwell his eminent parts, and advantageous starting is more than half the way in the race to preferment, as afterwards in him it came to pass. As for Wolsey, though at this time he escaped with life and liberty, yet were all his goods of inestimable value, confiscated to the king, and he outed of most of his ecclesiastical promotions^e.

^b [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 161.]

^c [This was an extreme injustice, since a legatine power had been procured and executed for the last hundred years in this realm, notwithstanding the statute of *præmunire*, which from 1428 or thereabouts was never acted upon. And still more flagrant was the injustice of involving the clergy in the penalties of the same, whilst the commons, many of whom were liable, were pardoned without further trouble.]

^d [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 349. Whether Cromwell obtained favour with the king from his conduct towards Wolsey I can-

not tell. It is certain however that he was gaining much influence with Henry at this time, and according to cardinal Pole, who had the account from Cromwell himself, he advised the king to take the suit into his own hands, and declare himself head of the church (Poli Epist. I. p. 120.) See Wolsey's letter to him in State Papers, vol. I. p. 356, and Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, pp. 259, 275. Undoubtedly Cromwell saw the bent of the king's mind towards Wolsey.]

^e [Upon which occasion an Act was passed "that no person or persons shall sustain

A. D. 1530.

22 Henry
VIII.Prosecuted
by his ene-
mies and
removed to
York.

2. Court-favourites, when it is once past noon, it is presently night with them, as here it fared with Wolsey. His enemies, of whom no want, follow the blow given unto him. For they beheld him rather in a swoon, than as yet dead in the king's favour, and feared if his submission should meet with the king's remembrance of his former services, they might produce his full restitution to power and dignity. The rather because the cardinal was cunning to improve all to his own advantage, and the king (as yet) not cruel, though too perfect in that lesson afterwards. His enemies would not trust the cardinal to live at London, (nor at Winchester within fifty miles thereof,) but got the king to command him away to York, sending him thither, whither

“ any prejudice by means of
“ the attainder of the lord car-
“ dinal, by means that the said
“ cardinal was seized in their
“ lands to divers uses.” See
the Auth. Collection of the
Statutes, vol. III. p. 316.
Among the new transcripts for
the Fœdera by the Record
Commissioners there is an in-
denture, dated Oct. 22, 1529,
between the king and Wolsey,
in which the cardinal acknow-
ledges that he is guilty of a
præmunire by pretence of bulls
obtained by him from the court
of Rome, which he has pro-
cured by divers means to
attain sundry effects contrary
to the good statutes of Eng-
land; that he has inquired as
well the prelates as other the
king's subjects, that accordingly
he deserves to suffer, not only
the penalties ordained by the

statute of provision, but also
perpetual imprisonment for the
same, and to forfeit to the king
for ever all his lands, offices,
goods, &c.; in consideration of
which he grants to the king all
his said possessions, with all
the revenues arising from the
sees of York and Winchester,
the abbey of St. Albans and all
other his spiritual benefices.
The king on his part states
that he does not intend in con-
sideration of the said conces-
sions, to forbear any suit as
may hereafter be commenced,
by process of *præmunire* against
the said legate. See Chron.
Cat. of Materials for the Fœ-
dera, p. 167. To this inden-
ture he probably refers in his
letter to Cromwell. (State
Papers I. p. 360.) See how-
ever Rymer, vol. XIV. p. 371.]

his conscience long since should have sent him, A. D. 1530.
22 Henry VIII.
namely to visit his diocese, so large in extent, and
reside therein.

3. Indifferent men thought that he had enough, Large means al-
lowed him.
his foes that too much, only himself that too little
was left unto him. Pride accounts the greatest
plenty, if without pomp no better than penury.
Yet he had the whole revenues of York arch-
bishoprick (worth then little less than four thousand
pounds yearly) besides a large pension paid him out
of the bishopric of Winchester. Was not here fuel
enough, had there not been too much fire within,
such his covetousness and ambition?

4. Earthly kings may make men humbled, God He states it
at York.
alone humble. Wolsey began to state it at York as
high as ever before, in proportion to his contracted
revenues^f. Preparation is made in a princely equi-
page for his installation, attracting envy from such
as beheld it^g. All is told unto the king, and all

^f [During the whole time of his impeachment Wolsey was at Esher, a house near Hampton Court, where he continued for the space of a month, "without beds, sheets, table cloths, dishes, &c., and was compelled to borrow dishes to eat his meat in from the bishop of Carlisle." Cavendish, p. 257. From Esher he removed to Richmond early in Feb. 1530. See the Letters in the State Papers, vol. I. p. 348 sq. and note at p. 356. Thence to Southwell where he remained from April 27 to the end of Aug. 1530. (Ib. n. p. 361.)]

^g [This was a mere calumny. The very plea used by his adversary Norfolk to the king to induce him to send Wolsey to

York, was that his presence might be a stay and support to the country. And though the enthronization of the archbishops was a magnificent ceremony, as they were the greatest officers of the county, yet the grandeur of Wolsey's installation fell rather below than above the usual mark. When preparations were making for the ceremony, and it was observed that he ought to go upon cloth from St. James's chapel to the Minster, which cloth was afterwards distributed to the poor; Wolsey remarked: "Although our predecessors went upon cloth right sumptuously, we do intend God willing to go a-foot from thence without

A. D. 1530. made worse by telling it, complaining Wolsey would
 22 Henry VIII. never leave his pride, till life first left him. His
 old faults are revived and aggravated, and the king
 incensed afresh against him.

A. D. 1530. 5. The earl of Northumberland by the commission
 Arrested of from the king arrested him of high treason, in his
 treason and dieth. own chamber at Cawood. By slow and short
 journeys he setteth forward to London, meeting by
 the way with contrary messages from the king ;
 Nov. 27. sometimes he was tickled with hopes of pardon and
 preferment, sometimes pinched with fears of a dis-
 graceful death, so that he knew not how to dispose
 his mind, to mirth or mourning ^h. Age and anguish,
 brought his disease of the dysentery, the pain lying
 much in his guts, more in his heart. Especially
 after sir William Kingston was sent unto him, who
 being lieutenant of the Tower seemed to carry a re-
 straint in his looks. Coming to Leicester he died,
 being buried almost as obscurely as he was born.

“ any such glory, in the vamps
 “ of our hosen. For I take
 “ God to be my very judge
 “ that I presume not to go
 “ thither for any triumph or
 “ vain-glory, but only to fulfil
 “ the observance and rules of
 “ the church ; to the which as
 “ ye say I am bound. And
 “ therefore I shall desire you
 “ all to hold you contented
 “ with my simplicity, and also
 “ I command all my servants
 “ to go as humbly without any
 “ other sumptuous apparel than
 “ they commonly use, and
 “ which is comely and decent
 “ to wear.” Cavendish, p. 271.

^h [On the third day of
 Michaelmas term, on the 8th
 of October (See State Papers,
 I. p. 350 n.) the king sent the
 dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk

to Wolsey to demand the re-
 signation of the great seal. He
 was impeached of a *præmunire*,
 pleaded guilty and his goods
 forfeited. But about the same
 time the king sent him a ring
 by sir H. Norris; and in Novem-
 ber following the king restored
 him the see of York ; sent him
 a ring by sir John Russel, with
 a notice that he had forgiven
 his offence ; (See Wolsey's let-
 ter to the king on this occa-
 sion among the State Papers,
 I. 348.) In the following
 January his pardon was drawn
 out in as ample a manner as
 could be devised. See Wolsey's
 letter to Gardiner, ib. I. 358. The
 king also restored to him plate
 and goods to the amount of
 6374*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.* according to
 Burnet's Reform. i. p. 162.]

6. I know not whether or no it be worth the mentioning here, (however we will put it on the adventure) that cardinal Wolsey, in his life time was informed by some fortune-tellers, that he should have his end at Kingston. This his credulity interpreted of Kingston on Thames, which made him always to avoid the riding through that town, though the nearest way from his house to the court. Afterwards understanding that he was to be committed by the king's express order to the charge of sir Anthony Kingston, it struck to his heart, too late perceiving himself deluded by that father of lies in his homonymous predictionⁱ.

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Wolsey's credulity befooled with a dubious prophecy.

7. Anna Boleyn did every day look fairer and fairer in the king's eyes, whilst the hopes of his marriage with her seemed every day farther and farther from him. For the court at Rome meddled not with the merits of the cause, but fell upon by points therein of lesser concernment. Yea, they divided his case into three and twenty particulars^k; whereof the first was, whether prince Arthur had carnal knowledge with the lady Katharine? This bare about a year's debate; so that according to this proportion, king Henry would be, not only past marrying, but past living, before his cause should be decided. This news put him into a passionate pensiveness, the rather, because meeting with sadness here, many populous places in England, and Cambridge particularly, being at the present visited with the sickness.

The king deluded with delays at Rome.

8. But it is an evil plague which brings nobody profit. On this occasion Dr. Cranmer retired to Waltham with two of his pupils, the sons of Mr.

Dr. Cranmer comes to Waltham.

ⁱ Hon. lord Howard in his Book against Prophecies, [fol. p. 130. ed. 1620.] ^k Hist. of Council of Trent, p. 69.

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²² Henry
 VIII. Cressy, a name utterly extinct in that town, where God hath fixed my present habitation, long before the memory of any alive¹. But, consulting Weever's Funeral Monuments of Waltham church, (more truly than neatly by him composed,) I find therein this epitaph :

Here lyeth Jon and Jone Cressy,
 On whose soulys Jesu hav mercy. Amen^m.

It seems paper sometimes is more lasting than brass; all the ancient epitaphs in that church being defaced by some barbarous hands, who perchance one day may want a grave for themselves.

Is employed
 by the king
 to the pope.

9. The king coming to Waltham, Dr. Fox his chaplain and almoner (afterwards bishop of Hereford) is lodged in Mr. Cressy's house: discoursing about the king's divorce, Cranmer conceived that the speediest course was to prove the unlawfulness of his match by scripture; whence it would follow, that the pope at first had no power to dispense therewith; and that the universities of Christendom would sooner and truer decide the case than the court of Romeⁿ. This passage Fox reports to the king; who, well pleased thereat, professes that this man had "the sow by the right ear^o:" an ear which

¹ [Burnet's Ref. I. p. 159.]

^m In Essex, p. 645. But see the former part of Cranmer's life until this time, in our History of Cambridge.

ⁿ [Collier in his Eccles. Hist. vol. II. p. 52, observes that this is inconsistent. For this conference at Waltham between Cranmer, Gardiner, and secretary Fox, was in Aug. 1529. But the determination of the university of Orleans relative to the king's marriage bears date April 5, 1529. (See

Burnet's Ref. I. Records, p. 142.), which is more than three months before the time of the above-mentioned conference. See also Strype's Cranmer, p. 5. The duke of Suffolk seems to have been the first person who suggested to the king, to have the matter discussed by the learned men of his own realm. See Cavendish, Life of Wolsey, p. 232.]

^o Fox, Acts and Mon. 1861. [Hall's Life of Fisher, p. 97.]

the king never left worrying till he had got it off, and effected his will therein: Cranmer being sent for, comes to the king, who very lovingly entertains him. Indeed he was a most comely person, having an amiable eye (and as the soul sees much by the eye, so is it much seen in them) and pleasing countenance, as by his lively picture doth appear^p. Glad was the king to see, more to hear him enlarge himself on the former subject, that it was above the pope's power to dispense with God's work in the king's case. And now what fitter nurse for the child than the own mother; what person more proper to manage this matter than Cranmer himself, who first moved it^q. The king resolves, and Cranmer consents he should be sent to the pope, there to make God his position. Leave we Cranmer for a time, preparing himself for his long journey; and come briefly to state the king's controversy out of God's word, and several authors who have written thereof.

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10. It plainly appears that a marriage with a brother's wife is unlawful, because expressly forbidden.

a Marriage with brothers' wives twice forbidden in scripture.

LEVIT. xviii. 16.

Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife, it is thy brother's nakedness.

Wherein we have,

i. A prohibition. *Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife*: see all these laws

^p Which I have seen at Chesthunt in the house of sir Thomas Dacres, done as I take it by Hans Holbein.

^q [In 1530 he was sent by the king into France, Italy, and Germany with the earl of Wilts, to dispute the subject at Paris, Rome, and other places, carrying the book with him which he had just written. See Strype's Cran. p. 13.]

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are made to men; it being presumed that the weaker sex (whose part it is to take, not tender; accept, not offer love) would be so modest as not to adventure of themselves on any incestuous act, except first solicited by men thereunto.

ii. The reason thereof. *It is thy brother's nakedness.* God could, according to his dominion, peremptorily have forbidden the same, without rendering a reason of his prohibition; but that men might pay the more willing obedience to his law, he maketh those who were to keep it in some sort judges of the justness thereof, endeavouring to convince their consciences, and make their souls sensible of the natural uncleanness of such an act. *It is thy brother's nakedness.*

Such marriages are again forbidden in another text. Nor can I render other reason of this duplicate, whereas others are but once, that this should be twice prohibited; save that God, foreseeing in his providence men's corrupt inclinations, prone here to climb over, did therefore think fit to make a double fence.

LEVIT. XX. 21.

And if a man shall take his brother's wife, it is an unclean thing; he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness, they shall be childless.

Here we have the prohibition backed with a commination of being childless, which is variously interpreted, either that they shall never have children, or if having them, they shall not survive their parents, or if surviving, they shall not be counted children, but bastards, illegitimate in the court of heaven. This commination of being childless, as applied *ad hominem*, fell heavy on king Henry the Eighth; who

sensible that his queen, though happy often to conceive, was unhappy almost as often to miscarry. A. D. 1530.
22 Henry VIII. Henry his only Christian son, by her, died before a full year old; a second was nameless, as never living to the honour of baptism; and of many blasted in the bud, Mary only survived to woman's estate.

11. Such as inquire into the nature of this law find it founded in nature itself, being only declaratory of what true reason doth dictate to man. This proved to be a law of nature. God in making this law did not imprint a new writing in men's hearts, but only rub off some old rust from the same; wherefore it is added, Levit. xviii. 27, 28. *For all these abominations have the men of the land done, which were before you, and the land is defiled; that the land spue not you out also, when ye defile it, as it spued out the nations that were before you.* Surely the land would never have vomited out the heathen for not observing a positive precept, never immediately delivered unto them, which plainly shews it was imprinted in nature, though partly obliterated by their corrupt customs to the contrary; and their consciences in their lucid intervals were apprehensive thereof. This would make one the more to admire, that any should maintain that this law, the breach whereof made the country to avoid her pagan inhabitants, should be only *lex imposititia et ecclesiastica*^r, "an imposed and church law." To hear of a church law amongst the Canaanites is a strange paradox.

12. It is objected this could not be a law of nature, because almost at the beginning of nature men brake them by the consent and permission of the God of heaven; for Cain and Seth, with the The objection to the contrary.

^r Sanders de Schism. Angl. p. 3.

A D. 1530. elder sons of Adam, must be allowed to have married
 22 Henry their own sisters, far nearer in nature than their
 VIII. brother's wife.

Answered. 13. It is answered, when God first created mankind, it was his pleasure all men should derive their original from Eve, as she from Adam. For had he made (as one may say) two distinct houses of mankind, what falling out and fighting, what bickering and battling would have been betwixt them. If men nowadays descended from the loins of one general father, and womb of one mother, are full of so fierce hatred, how many and keen may their differences be presumed, had they sprung from several fountains, and then all their hatred would have been charged, not on their corruption, but on their creation? God therefore, as the apostle saith, Acts xvii. 26, *hath made of one blood all nations*. Now in the beginning of mankind absolute necessity gave brethren liberty to marry their own sisters. Yea, God himself, interpretatively, signed and sealed the same with his own consent, because his wisdom had appointed no other means without miracle for the propagation of mankind. But when men began to be multiplied on the earth, that necessity being removed, the light of nature dictated unto them the unlawfulness of such marriages, and of some others more remote, as coming within the compass of incest; though the corrupt practices of pagans sometimes trespassed in that kind. God therefore being to give his law to the Jews, cleared and declared that light of nature by his positive law unto his people, to whom his goodness gave a garden, and forbad a tree, so inconsiderable were those few prohibited to the many persons permitted them in mar-

riage. For whereas there came out of Egypt about A. D. 1530.
six hundred thousand men, besides children, fifty per- 22 Henry VIII.
 sons at the most (counting those forbidden, as well
 by consequence as expressly) were interdicted unto
 them^s; amongst whom one was the marriage with a
 brother's wife. For although God permitted this by
 a judicial law to his own people in case of raising up
 seed to a brother deceased childless^t, (the will of
 God being the law of laws,) yet otherwise it was
 utterly unlawful, as whereon God had stamped (as is
 aforesaid) a double note of natural uncleanness.

14. The law then of forbidding marriage with a God's laws
 brother's wife being founded in nature, it was indispensible with pride
 and presumption in the pope to pretend to dispense by the pope.
 therewith. Indeed we read that the *dispensation of*
the gospel (to see it dealt and distributed to several
 persons) was committed to St. Paul^v, (whose joint
 successor, with St. Peter, the pope pretends to be,)
 but a dispensation from the law of God, to free men
 from the same, neither Paul nor Peter ever pre-
 tended unto. Let the pope make relaxations of
 such church canons which merely ecclesiastical au-
 thority hath made, there he may have the specious
 power to remit the rigour thereof at some times,
 places and persons, as he apprehendeth just occasion.
 But let him not meddle to grant liberty for the
 breach of God's law. The first dispensation in this
 kind is what Satan in the serpent gave our first
 parents in Paradise, *You shall not surely die*^w; and
 whether the granter had less power therein, or the
 receivers less profit thereby, we their woful posterity
 have little comfort to decide.

15. Nor doth it any thing alter the case, (what Carnal knowledge

^s Exod. xii. 37.

^v 1 Cor. ix. 17.

^t Deut. xxv. 5.

^w Gen. iii. 4.

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not mate-
rial in this
contro-
versy.

was so much controverted in the court of Rome,) whether or no prince Arthur had carnal knowledge of his wife, seeing we may observe that in the court of heaven marriages bear date, not from their copulation, but solemn contract; and they thenceforward are esteemed man and wife before God. For it is provided, that *if a damsel be betrothed to a husband still remaining a virgin, and shall be lain with by another man, both of them shall be stoned to death, and she punished for an adulteress, he for humbling his neighbour's wife*^x. Be then the lady Katharine known or unknown by prince Arthur, due benevolence is the effect, not the cause of marriage, which was completed before God, and they two made one flesh, when solemnly joined together in the face of the congregation.

No Chris-
tian utility
inconsistent
with ho-
nesty.

16. Such a marriage with a brother's wife thus appearing against the law of God, it is strange that any should maintain that *publica honestas*, "public honesty," was the only obstacle of this marriage, which obstruction (say they) by the pope's dispensation was removed, because *publica utilitas*, the "public profit" was greater that redounded by permitting this match. Now suppose this all the obstacle, the position is dangerous and unsound; for, first, Christians are not sensible of utility, as falsely so called, which stands at distance with public honesty. Secondly, the publicness of the profit was not adequate to the publicness of the scandal. The profit or state benefit thereby only extended to the crowns of England and France, as concerned therein, whilst the scandal dilated itself to the people of all

^x Deut. xxii. 24.

Christian provinces, justly offended thereat. And although we confess that in this respect the world is narrower to princes than to private persons, as not affording so fit matches unto them, yet kings have no commission to enlarge themselves herein, by the actual breach of God's commandment.

17. Thus far the sum of the sense of protestants and others, no fewer than an hundred authors writing at this time against this marriage, all which were produced by the king in the next parliament. Yet very many papists professed their judgments in print, on the contrary side, both English and outlandish divines: and, to give them their due, brought very plausible arguments. Of all these,

John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, led the front, whom some catholics call St. John, because beheaded like the Baptist, though on contrary accounts: John Baptist for saying, *it is not lawful*^z; John Fisher for saying, "It is lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife."

^aJohn Holyman, bishop of Bristol; John Clerke, bishop of Bath and Wells; Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London; Nicholas West, bishop of Ely.

Thomas Abel, Edward Powell, Richard Featherstone, — Ridley, Englishmen and Canonists.

Franciscus de Roxas, Alphonso de Virues, Alphonso de Castro, Sepulveda; Spaniards.

Cardinal Cajetan, Lewis Nogarola; Italians.

Alvarus Gomez; Portuguese.

John Cochläus; High German.

^z Mark vi. 18.

^a We order them by the seniority of their writing. [See Sander's De Schism. p. 45 and

57. To these should be added Cardinal Pole. See Strype's Cran. ch. 2.]

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²² Henry
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Armies of
writers *pro*
and *con* in
this point.

A. D. 1530. Eguinardus Baro, Franciscus Duarenus, Conuanus ;
 22 Henry VIII. Celtæ^c.

Ludovicus à Schora ; a Low Countryman^d.

Erasmus, a greater scholar than divine, was very doubtful in his judgment herein. He is made by some modern apocalyptical commentaries to be the angel flying *ἐν μεσουρανήματι*, that is, as they will have it, "in a middle distance betwixt heaven and "earth," which how it agrees to the text, I know not. It alludeth well to his dubious posture betwixt different opinions in religion, and particularly in this controversy, sometimes being for king Henry, and sometimes against him herein.

Cranmer accom-
 panies
 others in an
 embassy to
 Rome.

18. Return we to Cranmer, employed now in his embassy to Rome : the state whereof lay on Thomas Boleyn, earl of Wiltshire, but the strength of it (as to the disputing part) on Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Stokesley, Dr. Carne, Dr. Bennet, &c.; so that a little university of learned men went along thither. These were well armed with arguments, being to carry a challenge to all the canonists at Rome. Coming thither, they found the pope in his grandezza proffering his toe to them, which none offered to kiss, save the unmannerly spaniel (to say no worse of him) to the earl of Wiltshire, whom the Jesuit calls a protestant dog^e, for biting the pope's toe ; but let him tell us what religion those dogs were of which eat up Jezebel the harlot^f. The earl presented the pope a book of Cranmer's penning, proving God's law indis-

^c Properly people of France, living betwixt the rivers of Garumna and Sequana.

^d [See Burnet's Ref. I. p. 173. The declarations of the different universities are printed at length by the same historian,

Records, I. p. 142 ; in English by Hall, Chron. fol. p. 195, b.]

^e Father Floud. See Mason de Minist. Ang. [II. p. 9.] p. 151. [Burnet's Ref. I. p. 190.]

^f 2 Kings ix. 36.

pensable with by the pope: a book as welcome to his holiness as a prison, beholding his own power therein limited and confined. Promise was made of a public disputation, but never performed. Only the pope (who is excellent at the making of nothing something, by the solemn giving thereof) made Cranmer supreme penitentiary (an empty title) throughout all his dominions; this was only to stay his stomach for that time, in hope of a more plentiful feast hereafter, if Cranmer had been pleased to take his repast on any popish preferment.

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22 Henry
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19. Meantime king Henry employed his agents to the universities in several parts of Christendom, to sound their judgments in the matter of his marriage. Some report that Reginald Pole, then living at Paris, was practised upon, by promise of preferment, to act the university there in favour of the king: but he being a perfect Katharinist, declined the employment^g. Sir Richard Morison, a learned knight, was used by the king in Germany; Edmund Bonner^h, afterwards bishop of London, employed in Italy, and William Langée, a native Frenchman, made use of in his own country; so that ten of the universities subscribed the case, that it was above the pope's power to dispense with the positive law of God.

Foreign
universities
determine
for the
king.

1. Cambridge, 2. Oxford; England.
3. Parisⁱ, 4. The Faculty of Paris^k, 5. Orleans,
6. Toulouse^l, 7. Anjou^m, 8. Biturigesⁿ; France.
9. Bononia^o, 10. Padua^p; Italy.

Wonder not herein at the silence of many Dutch

^g [So Sander's, p. 51.]
^h Hollinshed's Chron. p. 923. [See the substance of their arguments in Burnet's Hist. Ref. I. p. 208.]

ⁱ May 2.

^k May 7.
^l October 1.
^m July 1.
ⁿ June 10.
^o June 10.
^p July 2.

A. D. 1530. universities, Wittemberg, Heidelberg, Tubingen,
 22 Henry VIII. Basle, that they interposed not their opinions herein ;
 for these having formerly utterly exploded the pope's power, were conceived partial, and therefore incompetent judges in this point : wherefore the king only solicited such universities in this his case which as yet remained in fast and firm obedience to the see of Rome^q.

The bold declaration of the university of Bonouia.

20. Of all the universities declaring for the pope's inability to dispense with God's positive command, most bold and daring (because largest, fullest, clearest) was that of Bononia, the chief city in Romaniola, a province of Peter's patrimony, and that city the pope's retiring place. Nor can I omit the conclusion of their declaration. " We confidently do hold and witness, that such marriage is horrible, accursed, and to be cried out upon, and utterly abominable, not only for a Christian man, but for an infidel, unfaithful or heathen, and that it is prohibited under grievous pains and punishments by the law of God, of nature, and of man ; and that the pope, though he may do much, unto whom Christ gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven, hath no power to give a dispensation to any man to contract such marriage^r. In witness whereof we confirm this our judgment, both under the seal of our university, as also with the seal of our college of doctors of divinity, and have subscribed it in the cathedral church of Bonony, this tenth of June, in the year of our Lord 1530.^s"

The recusancy of

21. Sanders^t hath little to say against so many

^q [According to Burnet, VIII. chap. xxi. §. 68.

(Hist. Ref. I. p. 171.) Cranmer published his book on the divorce in 1531.]

^s [Burnet's Collection of Records, I. p. 147.]

^t De schismate Anglic. p.

^r Speed's Chron. in Hen. 53.

and clear decisions of the universities; only he tells us, that all the king's agents had not equal success in their negotiations: and particularly that one Hutton, the king's instrument herein, could not bow those of Hamborough and Lubeck to express themselves against the marriage. But surely these two places were only gymnasia, for I find them not mentioned amongst the Dutch universities. Also he saith that Richard Croke, another of the king's emissaries, prevailed nothing on many German professors^v, and particularly he praiseth the university of Cologne, for their recusancy therein. As for such who subscribed on the king's side, he pretends that bribes bought their judgments^w; as if our king Henry had learnt from king Solomon, that *money recompenseth all things*^x. The best is, the cleanly

A.D. 1530.
22 Henry
VIII.
other uni-
versities.

^v [They were first to proceed to the emperor to satisfy him with reference to the divorce, and if possible to obtain his acquiescence. Their instructions have been transcribed for the new edition of the *Fœdera*, by the Record Commission, and an abstract of them is in the *Chron. Cat.* of the materials transcribed for that work, p. 168.]

^w [In Germany, Spain, and Flanders the emperor's authority was very great, and therefore men were prevented from declaring their opinions. Nor does it appear that the king made any attempt to obtain them. (See *Hall's Chron.* fol. p. 195, b.) This is clear from what happened to Cornelius Agrippa, who having been satisfied by Cranmer of the goodness of the king's cause, and giving out that the matter

was indisputable, was very harshly used by the emperor, and died in prison. (See *Burnet's Ref. I.* p. 191.) That the judgments of these foreigners were bought by bribes is clearly refuted by *Burnet*, (*Hist. of Ref. I.* p. 175. 177. 180); particularly by the extracts from *Croke's Letters*, who protests that "he never gave or promised any divine any thing till he had first freely written his mind, and that what he then gave was rather an honourable present than a reward." What these rewards were may be seen in his bill of accounts, published by the same writer, p. 181. The highest sum was twenty crowns given to John Marino, minister of the Franciscans, "who wrote a book for the king's cause."]

^x *Eccles.* x. 19.

A. D. 1530.
22 Henry
VIII.

hands of the court of Rome had never, no doubt, any bribes sticking to their fair fingers. But though that English angels flew over to foreign universities, yet there lieth a real distinction betwixt a bribe and a boon, freely bestowed, not to bow and bias their opinions; but to gratify their pains, and remunerate their industry, in studying of the point.

Cranmer
travelleth
into Ger-
many.

22. As for our English ambassādors at Rome, finding themselves only fed with delays, no wonder if they were sharp set to return home. All came back again save Dr. Cranmer, who took a journey to the emperor's court in Vienna^y. Here he grew acquainted with Cornelius Agrippa, who had written a book of the Vanity of Sciences, having much of the sciences, but more of the vanity in himself. Here also he conversed with many great divines, and satisfied some of them out of scripture and reason, which formerly were unresolved in the unlawfulness of the king's marriage.

A. D. 1531.
The clergy
caught in a
præmunire.

23. A parliament was now called, wherein the clergy were found guilty of a *præmunire*^z, because they had too much promoted the papal interest, and acted by virtue of his power to the damage and detriment of the crown of England; whereupon, being willing to redeem their whole estates forfeited by law, they were glad to commute it into a sum of money: the clergy of the province of Canterbury alone bestowed on the king one hundred thousand pounds; to be paid by equal portions in the same year, say some, in four years say others, and that in my opinion with more probability^a.

^y [Burnet's Ref. I. p. 191.]
^z [Of the nature of a *præmunire*, see Burnet, Ref. I. p. 219. This act was passed at the wicked suggestion of

Cromwell. See Tytler's Hen. VIII. p. 307. Carte III. 107.]
^a [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 227. " This great sum was not to

24. But the king would not be so satisfied with the payment of the money, except also they would acknowledge him to be *Supreme head of the church*. This was hard meat, and would not easily down amongst them; however, being thoroughly debated in a synodical way, both in the upper and lower houses of convocation, they did in fine agree on this expression, *cujus [ecclesie Anglicanæ] singularem protectorem, unicum et supremum Dominum, et quantum per Christi legem licet, etiam supremum caput ipsius, majestatem recognoscimus*.

A. D. 1531.
23 Henry VIII.

Acknowledge the king supreme head of the church.

25. This thus consented unto, and subscribed by the hands of the clergy, (as appears at large in the records and acts of the convocation,) and so presented to the king in the name of his clergy, was afterwards confirmed by parliament, and incorporated into a solemn act for the ratification thereof.

Confirmed by act of parliament.

26. During these transactions, William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, ended his life. A politic person, well learned in the laws, generally reputed a moderate man, though (specially towards his latter end) a still and silent persecutor of poor Christians. He was first parson of Barly in Hertfordshire, (as appears by an inscription in that church,) then rising by degrees to great preferment^b. In his will he requested his successor not to sue his executors for dilapidations^c, as having expended some thousands

A. D. 1532.
August 23.
The death of archbishop Warham.

“ be paid in one year, nor in
“ four years neither, but to be
“ paid by equal portions, that
“ is to say, by 20,000*l.* per
“ annum in the five years fol-
“ lowing.” Heylyn in the Ap-
peal, &c. part II. p. 59. The
province of York offered

18,840*l.*, and were also par-
doned. Burnet, Ref. I. p.
228. Wilkins' Concil. iii. 745.]

^b Weever's Funeral Monu-
ments, [p. 547.]

^c [Parker's Antiq. Brit. p.
488.]

A. D. 1532.^d of pounds in repairing his several palaces^d. We
 23 Henry
 VIII. verily believe his request was granted, seeing Cran-
 mer was free from all exacting in that kind. *Sede*
vacante, John Stokesly, bishop of London, was pre-
 sident in the convocation.

Cranmer
 sent for,
 and un-
 willing, ac-
 cepteth the
 arch-
 bishopric.

27. Messengers are sent into Germany for Thomas Cranmer, to find him out, and fetch him home with all possible speed, the archbishopric of Canterbury waiting his acceptance thereof^e. The post easily doth the first, but Cranmer prolonged his journey by seven weeks^f at the least, hoping that in the meantime the king might forget him, and confer the place on another, being really unwilling to embrace the preferment, having *aliquid intus*, "something within him" which reluctated against those superstitions through which he must wade in the way thereunto. But there lieth no *nolo episcopari* against king Henry his *volo te episcopum esse*; it being as mortal to refuse favours from him, as to offer injuries to him. Cranmer therefore now come home, must

^d [He was born of a respectable family at Okely in Hampshire, and educated in Winchester school. In 1475 he was admitted fellow of New college, and directing his attention to the study of the law, left college in 1488, became an advocate in the court of the arches, and afterwards moderator in the school of civil law at Oxford. In 1493 he was made master of the rolls, and next year went as ambassador with sir Edward Poyning to the duke of Burgundy, respecting Perkin Warbeck. In 1502 he was elected bishop of London, and the same year

lord chancellor, and in 1504 he was made archbishop of Canterbury. He held the see for twenty-eight years, and died very poor, August 22, 1532. He was a very pious, learned, and moderate man; a great friend to dean Colet, an especial patron of Erasmus, and a favourer of all who shewed any signs of piety or learning. See Wood's *Athenæ*, I. p. 668. Burnet's *Reform*. I. p. 258. Godwin, *De Præsul*. p. 136. *Erasmi Epist.* p. 1498, and especially p. 92.]

^e [Burnet, *Ref.* I. p. 258.]

^f Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1703. [iii. 636.]

in his own defence be archbishop; who, to serve the king, and salve his own conscience, used the expedient of a protestation, whereof hereafter.

A. D. 1532.
23 Henry
VIII.

28. The philosopher gives us this note of direction, whereby to find out a virtue, viz. that it is accused by both extremes. Thus liberality is charged by prodigals to be covetousness, by covetous men to be prodigality. By the same proportion Cranmer appears a worthy prelate, taxed by papists to be an heretic, by others (no papists) as guilty of superstition. We will endeavour his just defence, conceiving the protestants' cause much concerned therein, the legality of his consecration having an influence on all the bishops made by him, that of the bishops making an impression on the priests and deacons by them ordained, and their rightful ordination, deriving validity to the sacraments by them administered to all the members of the church of England.

A prepara-
tive to
Cranmer's
just de-
fence.

29. A papist objects, *non fuit consecratus ab ullo episcopo, sed a solo rege intrusus*, "that he was consecrated by no bishop, but thrust in by the king alone." The falseness whereof doth appear on public record, still to be seen in the register, being solemnly consecrated by John Lincoln, John Exeter, Henry St. Asaph^h. And none that pretendeth to skill in canon law can deny the number insufficient for such a performance.

Cranmer
lawfully
consecrated.

A. D. 1533,
March 30.

30. Another urgeth him incapable of a bishopric, as debarred by bigamy, even by the censure of the apostle, *Let a bishop be the husband of one wife*,ⁱ

His double
marriage
no bar unto
him.

g Becan. contro. Angl. c. 4. [John Longland, John Voysey,
q. 9. n. 6. Henry Standish.]

h Regist. Cranm. fol. 5. i 1 Tim. iii. 2.

A. D. 1533. Cranmer being successively twice married. It is answered, such successive marriage is no bigamy; the apostle only forbidding the having of many wives at once, (a fault fashionable amongst the Jews, then and many years after, by the testimony of Justin Martyr^k;) and the same is so expounded also by S. Hierom. *præcepit ergo sacerdotes ut singulas uno tempore uxores habeant*^l.

Bishops married in the primitive times.

31. But grant Cranmer guilty but of one wife at once, even that made him (as his adversaries rejoin) uncapable of the archbishopric, because prohibited by the canons. To which we answer, that Spiridion^m, St. Hilaryⁿ, Gregory Nazianzen^o, and many other bishops, eminent for learning and sanctity in the primitive times, are confessed married men by authentic authors, in the best times accounted no bar to their episcopal function. Yea, the Romanists are concerned to allow Cranmer a lawful archbishop, because allowing such as were consecrated by him, as Thomas Thyrlby, bishop of Ely, Anthony Kitchin, bishop of Landaff, for lawful bishops, to whom he could not derive any orders, if not legally invested therein himself.

Cranmer took not the like oath with his predecessors.

32. Pass we now to such exceptions which a modern writer^p (zealous against popery) taketh against him, being no fewer than nine, as if he intended what they want in weight to make up in number. 1. "That he took the like oath to the pope

^k In dial. cum [Tryphon. §. 141.]

^l [Epist. 83 = 82. t. iv. p. 649.]

^m Sozomenus Hist. Eccl. I. 11. [But undoubtedly second marriages of the clergy were discountenanced at an early period in the history of the

church. See Gelasii I. epist. V. ch. 22. Harduin, Conc. II. p. 903.]

ⁿ Baptista Mantuanus.

^o In carmine de vita sua.

^p Will. Prynne in his Antipathy of Prelacy to Monarchy, p. 131.

“ as his predecessors had done, and therefore was
 “ deeply charged of perjury by Martin (a papist).”

A. D. 1533.
 23 Henry
 VIII.

33. I answer, he took not the like oath. His predecessors took it absolutely and simply. Not so Cranmer. Not that he was guilty of any clandestine equivocation or mental reservation therein, but publicly entered a solemn protestation, remaining on record in his office in manner and form following:

“ IN Dei nomine amen. Coram vobis &c. non est,
 “ nec erit meæ voluntatis aut intentionis per hujus-
 “ modi juramentum vel juramenta, qualitercumque
 “ verba in ipsis posita sonare videbuntur, me obligare
 “ ad aliquod ratione eorundem, posthac dicendum,
 “ faciendum, aut attentandum, quod erit, aut esse
 “ videbitur contra legem Dei, vel contra illustrissi-
 “ mum regem nostrum Angliæ, aut rempublicam
 “ hujus sui regni Angliæ, legesve aut prærogativas
 “ ejusdem. Et quod non intendo per hujusmodi jura-
 “ mentum vel juramenta quovis modo me obligare,
 “ quominus libere loqui, consulere et consentire
 “ valeam, in omnibus et singulis reformationem reli-
 “ gionis Christianæ, gubernationem ecclesiæ Angli-
 “ canæ, ac prærogativam coronæ ejusdem reipublicæ-
 “ ve commoditatem, quoquomodo concernentibus, et
 “ ea ubique exequi et reformare, quæ mihi in ecclesia
 “ Anglicana reformanda videbuntur. Et secundum
 “ hanc interpretationem et intellectum hunc, et non
 “ aliter, neque alio modo dictum juramentum me
 “ præstiturum protestor et profiteor. &c.”^q

The copy
 of his pro-
 testation.

This protestation he did not privately smother in

^q Ex Regist. Cranmer. fol. 4. and in Strype's Cranmer, Ap.
 [This protestation is printed No. 5.]
 in full, in Godwin, p. 139. n.,

A. D. 1533. a corner, but publicly interposed it three several
²³ Henry VIII. times; viz. once in the chapter-house, before authentic witnesses; again, on his bended knees at the high-altar, many people and bishops beholding him when he was to be consecrated; and the third time, when he received his *pall* in the same place.

No cavil but a just charge.

34. Secondly, he accuseth him for having a hand in the condemnation and execution of Lambert, Frith, and other godly martyrs. This indeed cannot be denied. For though I am loath that Cranmer's head should (by the weight and violence of his causeless detractors) be plucked under water, where he was innocent, I will leave him to sink or swim by himself where he was guilty; only adding, *In many things we offend all.*

A happy match in the event.

35. His third accusation, "he was the chief man in accomplishing the divorce between Henry the Eighth and queen Katharine, which occasioned much trouble, dissension, war^s." But he might have remembered, which also produced the peerless princess queen Elizabeth, who perfected the Reformation, and by her long peaceable and victorious reign brought much honour, wealth, and renown to our nation. Besides, that divorce is generally defended by protestant writers, whose judgments this accuser will rely on when it makes for his purpose.

A rebel's weapon.

36. Fourth accusation, the Lincolnshire rebels, in their six articles of their grievances presented to king Henry the Eighth, complain, that this archbishop, and other prelates of his grace's late promotion, had "subverted the faith of Christ, &c^t."

Ill used against a loyal subject.

37. I answer, they were the Lincolnshire rebels that said it, and this their pretended subverting of

^s Prynne, ib. p. 132.

^t Mr. Prynne, ib.

the faith was the reforming and confirming thereof, A. D. 1533.
 Cranmer serving the God of his fathers in that way 23 Henry VIII.
 which they termed heresy. Well therefore might
 this cavil have been waved, good only to swell the
 volume.

38. Fifth cavil, though Matthew Parker reports, The grand cavil.
 as this delator confesses, “that Cranmer opposed
 “this act [of the six articles] at first, then caused it
 “to be moderated, and at last to be repealed in king
 “Edward’s days, but others seem to imply that he
 “gave consent thereto at first^v.”

39. To this I answer three things: first, to imply Answered.
 is far less than to express, and such implications are
 often the bare surmises of a biassed apprehension.
 Secondly, to seem to imply is less than to imply,
multa videntur quæ non sunt. Thirdly, the others by
 him mentioned ought to have been nominated, this
 author generally giving no scant measure in such
 wares; so that his margin (commonly overthronged)
 is here quite empty of quotations. *Inopem nunc
 copia fecit*. We may assure ourselves he would
 have alleged such other authors, but for several sub-
 stantial reasons, whereof this was one, because he
 had none to allege. And shall an uncertain, un-
 named nobody, be believed against Cranmer, before
 Mr. Fox and Dr. Parker’s clear testimonies in his
 behalf?

40. Seventh cavil. “He suffered martyrdom, not Violent no
 just de-
 priving.
 “while he was a bishop, but when degraded and
 “deprived^w.” What of this? does this tend any
 thing to the disgrace of him or his order, seeing such
 an injurious and violent degradation deprived him

^v Mr. Prynne, ib. p. 133.

^w [Prynne, ib. p. 134.]

A.D. 1533. not of his episcopal indelible character, so that still
 23 Henry in right he remained a bishop?
 VIII.

God send
 valour at
 last.

41. Eighth cavil. "He failed more in his martyrdom, by reason of his cowardly recantation, through hopes of life, and restitution to his former dignity, than any of his fellow-martyrs^x." Answer, it is confessed: but his final constancy may well cover his intermediate failings. Better it is faintly and fearfully to bear in our body the marks of our Lord Jesus, than stoutly and stubbornly to endure the brands of our own indiscretion.

Remember
 not what
 God had
 forgotten.

42. Last cavil. He was condemned for high treason, for an act done by him as an archbishop, and councillor of state, for which he professeth both his sorrow and repentance^y. Did he so indeed, by the confession of this his adversary? The more unworthy man his accuser, after this his sorrow and repentance to upbraid him therewith. Mr. Pryn might also remember that the two lord chief justices were in the same treason, (whose education made them more known in the laws of the land,) and our Cranmer was last and least in the fault, it being long before he could be persuaded to subscribe to the disinheriting of queen Mary.

An appeal
 to any in-
 different.

43. We appeal to the impartial reader, upon the perusal of the premises, whether an ordinary charity might not, yea ought not to have passed by these accusations, and whether the memory of archbishop Cranmer may not justly say of Mr. Prynne, as once the king of Israel^z of the king of Syria, *wherefore consider I pray you, and see how he seeketh a quarrel against me?* Indeed so great is his antipathy against episcopacy, that if a seraphim himself should be a

^x [Prynne, ib. p. 134.] ^y Prynne, ib. 134. ^z 1 Kings.

bishop, he would either find or make some sick feathers in his wings.

A. D. 1533.
23 Henry
VIII.

44. Cranmer was now settled in his archbishopric, and the first eminent act of his office was exercised in the king's divorce^a. A court is called in the priory of Dunstable in Bedfordshire, as a favourable place, indifferently distanced, but five miles from Ampthill^b, where queen Katharine resided. With Cranmer were the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, and Lincoln^c, with many other great prelates. These summoned queen Katharine to appear before them, full fifteen days together, on whose refusal they not only adjudged her contumacious, but also

Cranmer
divorceth
king
Henry.

^a [April 11, 1533, the archbishop wrote to the king requesting "liberty to proceed to the examination and final determination and judgment in the said great cause." (Works, I. p. 22.) The king's answer to this letter (State Papers, i. 392. Collier, II. Ap. N. 24.) appears to have been sent shortly after, but no date is affixed to it, in which he assents to his request. On the 8th of May the archbishop proceeded to Dunstable (Works, I. 28), "and so there at our coming" (to use his own words) "kept a court for the appearance of the said lady Kateren, where we examined certain witnesses which testified that she was lawfully cited and called to appear, whom for fault of appearance was declared *contumax*;" (that is on Saturday May 10.) and finally on the 12th, (Works, I. 23) "proceeding in the said cause against her

" *in pœnam contumaciæ*, as the process of the law thereunto belongeth, which continued fifteen days after our coming thither. And the morrow after ascension day [May 23rd] I gave final sentence." The cause terminated May 17 (Saturday), but sentence could not be given until the Friday following (May 23), all the intervening days being ferial. (Works, I. 24.)]

^b " [Within four miles unto " Amptill," says Cranmer in his letter to Hawkyns, Works, I. 28. But of the bishops who presided with him in the trial he only specifies Longland bishop of Lincoln, and Gardyner bishop of Winton. See also in the same letter an account of the coronation of queen Anne. Fuller follows Hall's Chron. Hen. VIII. p. 210. b., and lord Herbert, in his Hen. VIII. 375.

^c Gardiner, Stokesley, Clerk, and Longland.

A. D. 1533.
23 Henry
VIII. pronounced her match with the king as null and unlawful by scripture; and soon after it was proclaimed, that henceforward none should call her *queen*, but, the *dowager* of prince Arthur. And thus a few days had dispatched that divorce, which had depended many years in the court of Rome.

Who mar-
rieth a
lady, and a
Boleyn.

45. And now I cannot call king Henry a bachelor, because once married; nor a married man, because having no wife; nor properly a widower, because his wife was not dead. Be he therefore a single, or rather a separated person, remaining so (if at all) but a very short time, as soon after solemnly married to the lady Anna Boleyn, of whom largely hereafter^e.

A. D. 1534.
The impos-
ture of Eli-
zabeth
Barton.

46. Now began Elizabeth Barton to play her tricks, commonly called the holy maid of Kent, though at this day, of Kent, alone is left unto her, as whose maidenship is vehemently suspected, and holiness utterly denied; she was famous on a double account^f. First, for knowing secrets past, and indeed she could tell any thing which was told her; conversing with friars her familiars, and other folks confessors, who revealed many privacies unto her. Secondly, she was eminent for foretelling things to come, and some of her predictions hit in the mark, procured to the rest the reputation of prophecy with credulous people. She foretold that king Henry

^e [The king was married privately to Anna Boleyn after his return from France, Nov. 14, 1532. (Hall's Chron. f. 209, b.), or Jan. 25, 1533, according to Stow, p. 562. The divorce was concluded May 23, and Anne was crowned June 1. See Transcripts for the Fœdera, p. 181, where is a warrant

from the king to lady Cobham, dated "Greenwich, April 28, [1534]" it should be 1533, requiring her attendance at the coronation of the queen, which is to be on the feast of Pentecost following, May 24, that is, the first time.]

^f [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 302. Hall's Chron. f. 218, b. 219, b.]

should not be king a full twelvemonth^g, except he reassumed queen Katharine to be his wife.

A. D. 1533.
24 Henry VIII.

47. I am heartily sorry that the gravity of John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, should be so light, and the sharp sight of sir Thomas More so blind^h, as to give credit to so notorious an impostrix, which plunged them both into the king's deep displeasure. As for Elizabeth Barton, soon after, she was executedⁱ, with many of her complices and complotters. The papists at this day, unable to defend her forgery, and unwilling to confess her cheating, seek to salve all by pleading her to be distracted. Thus, if succeeding she had been praised (and perchance canonized) for her devotion; now failing, she must be pardoned and pitied for her distraction.

Fisher and More be-fooled by her forgery.

48. We may remember, how, not long since, the clergy did own, and recognise king Henry the Eighth for supreme head of the church, which was clearly carried by a plurality of voices in the convocation^k. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was the only eminent clergyman who openly opposed it. One obnoxious to the king's displeasure on a threefold account; first, for engaging so zealously (above the earnestness of an advocate) against the king's divorce^l;

Bishop Fisher imprisoned for refusing the oath of supremacy.

^g [A month longer, says Burnet, p. 306, following Hall, Chron. f. 22, a.]

^h [It does not appear that sir T. More was deceived by her claims to inspiration, though he had a great opinion of her sanctity. The best account of this extraordinary woman and of sir Thomas More's conduct will be found in a letter written by him to Cromwell. See Roper's Life of More (ed. by Singer, 1822) App. 101.]

ⁱ [April 21 (1534), confessing her impostures, Hall, ib. f. 124. "vii. months after," says Fisher to the king in his letter apologizing for his acquaintance with the nun. Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. VI. 162.]

^k [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 291.]

^l [Burnet (Ref. I. p. 166.) asserts also the same. In a letter of Wolsey to Henry VIII. (State Papers, vol. I. p. 200.) Wolsey details a conversation which he had with the bishop of Rochester, to

A. D. 1533. secondly, for tampering with that notable imposter, the holy maid of Kent; thirdly, for refusing the oath of supremacy, for which he was now imprisoned. Indeed this bishop lost himself (both with his friends and his foes) by his inconstancy at the first, seeing he who should have been as stayed as the tower, was as wavering as the weathercock, neither complying with the king, nor agreeing with himself; but would and would not acknowledge the king's supremacy. But at last he fixed himself on the negative, and resolutely continued therein till the day of his death; of whom more largely hereafter.

The convocation of York denies the king's supremacy.

49. The clergy in the province of York did also for a long time deny the king's supremacy. Indeed the convocation of York hath ever since struck tallies with that of Canterbury, (though not implicitly) unanimously post-concurring therewith; but here they dissented, not because more knowing in their judgments, or tender in their consciences, but generally more superstitious, and addicted to popery. In-somuch that they sent two letters to the king, (I conceive them written, one from the upper, the other from the lower house of convocation,) wherein they acquainted his highness with their judgments, (interlacing many expressions of general submission,) and their reasons in a large discourse, why they could not acknowledge him to be supreme head of the church.

Edw. Lee
archbishop

50. Give me leave to suspect Edward Lee, arch-

whom it appears that queen Catharine had sent for advice as soon a rumour had reached her of the intended discussion: and more and more (says the writer) as I shewed him of your protestation made, and the death of the king your father, before the execution of the bull,—he noted the matter to be more and more doubtful, and the bull dimi-nute, marvelling that none other bull was purchased than that, being so slenderly couched, and against which so many things might be objected.”]

bishop of York, for a secret fomentor of this dif-^{A. D. 1533.}ference. He was a virulent papist, much conceited ^{24 Henry VIII.} of his own learning, (which made him to write ^{of York a} against Erasmus,) and a persecutor of protestants; ^{furious} witness John Bale^m, convented before him for a ^{papist.} suspicion of heresy, who in vain earnestly pleaded scripture in his own defence, till at last he casually made use of a distinction out of Scotus, which the archbishop more valued, than all which he had before more pertinently alleged out of the Old and New Testament.

51. King Henry wrote a fair and large letter to ^{King} the convocation of York, too long here to be in- ^{Henry his}serted, (though otherwise I have a good copyⁿ there- ^{answer to} of,) wherein the king began mildly to make the ^{York con-} passage for his supremacy into their consciences, by ^{vocation.} a rational and argumentative way. He disclaimed all design by fraud to surprise, or by force to captivate their judgments, but only to convince them of the truth and equity of what he desired. He declavered the sense of supreme head of the church^o, (though offensive in the sound to ignorant ears,) claiming nothing more thereby, than what Christian princes in the primitive times assumed to themselves, in their own dominions, so that it seems he wrought so far on their affections, that at last they consented thereunto^p.

^m De Scriptoribus Brit. in Edwardo Sexto.

ⁿ Communicated unto me by my good friend Dr. Littleton.

^o It is printed in the 2nd part of the Cabala [i. 227. ed. 1691.]

^p [If Fuller means that the opposition made by the clergy to this title of supreme head was purely factious, or caused by the opposition of archbishop Lee, he is greatly mistaken.

It was protested against both by archbishop Warham, and by Cuthbert Tunstall, one of the wisest, most moderate, and most pious men of his days. (See both protestations in Wilkins' Conc. III. 745.) When Wolsey pleaded guilty to the charge of *præmunire* for exercising his legatine authority, (although he had been empowered by the great seal to

A. D. 1533.

24 Henry
VIII.A causeless
cavil.

52. Here I wonder at the cavil of the papists, which being so causeless, should be so clamorous, accusing us to have a parliament religion, a parliament faith, a parliament gospel^q; and another addeth parliament bishops, and a parliament clergy. Whereas upon serious examination it will appear, that there was nothing done in the reformation of religion, save what was acted by the clergy in their convocations, or grounded on some act of theirs, precedent to it, with the advice, counsel, and consent of the bishops and most eminent churchmen; confirmed upon the postfact, and not otherwise, by the civil sanction, according to the usage of the best and happiest times of Christianity.

The cavil
retorted.

53. By the same proportion in the days of queen Mary the popish religion might have been styled a parliament religion, because after the same had been debated on and concluded of in the convocation, it was confirmed by the queen, lords, and commons, by the act of parliament.

do so, a pretext for involving the clergy in the same charge of treason was readily caught up by the king and Cromwell. Henry gave instructions to Cromwell to attend and manage the convocation, who by menaces and fraud induced the clergy to offer 100,000*l.* on condition of receiving a full pardon; but to their great consternation the king refused their offer, unless at the same time they would acknowledge him supreme head of the church of England. This concession was violently opposed; three days were spent in discussion; at last they were compelled to compromise the matter, and consented to admit

the title, clogged with this condition; *quantum per Christi legem liceat*. When those employed to manage the affair brought word of the result to the king, "Mother of God" (he exclaimed in his irreverential way) "you have played me a shrewd turn. I thought to have made fools of those prelates, and now you have so ordered the business that they are likely to make a fool of me, as they have done of you already. Go to them again, and let me have the business passed without any *quantums* or *tantums*." See Tytler's Hen. VIII. p. 312.]

^q Harding against Jewel.

^r Scultingus.

SECT. III.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL

SIR RICHARD SHUGBOROUGH

OF

SHUGBOROUGH IN WARWICKSHIRE^a.

Master Haward returned this answer to queen Mary (demanding the causes of his coming to court), that it was partly to see her highness, and partly that her highness should see him: an answer, which though more witty than court-like, yea, more blunt than witty, she took in good part.

You will not be offended at this my dedication, partly that

^a [Arms: Sable, a chevron engrailed, between three mullets argent; according to a visitation taken in 1619 by Sampson Lennard, Bluemantle and Augustine Vincent, Rouge Rose, preserved in the British Museum. Sir Richard Shuckborough was the second son of John Shuckborough, esq. and Margaret daughter of Richard Midlemore, of Edgebaston in the county of Warwick, esq. succeeded his father in 1631. As king Charles I. marched to Edgcot near Banbury on Oct. 22, 1642, he saw him hunting in the fields not far from Shuckborough, with a very good pack of hounds, upon which it is reported that he fetched a deep sigh, and asked who that gentleman was that hunted so merrily that morning, when he was

going to fight for his crown and dignity. And being told that it was this Richard Shuckborough, he was ordered to be called to him, and was by him very graciously received. Upon which he went immediately home, armed all his tenants, and the next day attended the king in the field, where he was knighted, and was present at the battle of Edgehill. After the taking of Banbury castle he defended himself valiantly on the top of Shuckborough hill which he fortified, but was attacked by the rebels, most of his men slain, and himself left for dead. But being found still alive, he was carried prisoner to Kenilworth castle. He died June 13, 1656. See Dugdale's Warw. p. 309.]

I may know you, partly that I may be known unto you. Besides, being informed that you love to have your hospital table handsomely attended with ancient servitors, I presumed that this section, containing much of memorable antiquity, would not be unwelcome unto you.

A. D. 1534.
25 Henry
VIII.

The clergy
bind them-
selves to the
king.



NOW though nothing was done in matters of religion, but what was fairly and largely discussed first by the most learned of the clergy; yet this year the clergy in the convocation so submitted themselves to the king, that each one severally promised in *verbo sacerdotis*, never henceforth to presume to allege, claim, or put in ure, any new canons, unless the king's most royal assent might be had unto them, and this soon after the same was ratified by act of parliament ^b.

A fourfold
sort of con-
vocations.

2. And here it will be worth my pains and the reader's perusal to observe the differences between English synods or convocations, which may eminently be distinguished into four ranks, such as were,

- i. Called before the conquest.
- ii. Called since the conquest, but before the statute of *præmunire* was made.
- iii. Called after the aforesaid statute, but before another made in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, wherein the clergy were bound up, for doing ought without the royal assent.
- iv. Called after the twenty-fifth year of the reign of king Henry the Eighth.

These did plainly differ in the several manners of their meeting, and degrees of power of their acting in spiritual matters.

^b [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 299.]

3. As for councils, called before the conquest, A. D. 1533. whilst the pope's power had not as yet lorded it 25 Henry VIII. over the kings of England, the kings ever were (if Kings acted in church matters before the conquest. not in person) in power present thereat; as by perusing sir Henry Spelman's Councils plainly doth appear. Yea, matters both of church and commonwealth were often dictated and concluded in the same meeting, *Communi consensu tam cleri quam populi, episcoporum, procerum, comitum, nec non omnium sapientum, seniorum populorumque totius regni*^c.

4. For the second sort, (called after the conquest, Of the second sort of convocations.) but before the statute of *præmunire*,) the archbishops of Canterbury or York used upon all extraordinary and immergent cases, *toties quoties*, as their own discretions adjudging necessary or convenient, to assemble the clergy of their respective provinces at what place they pleased, continuing convocations in them so long, or dissolving them as soon as they pleased. And this they did, either as metropolitans or primates, or as *legati nati* to the pope of Rome, without any leave from the king afore obtained, and such canons and constitutions then and there concluded on were in that age (without any further ratification) obligatory to all subjected to their jurisdiction. Such were all the synods from Lanfranc to Thomas Arundel, in whose time the statute of *præmunire* was enacted.

5. A third sort of convocation succeeds, (for after Of the third sort of convocations. the statute of *præmunire* was made, which did much restrain the papal power, and subject it to the laws of the land,) when archbishops called no more convocations by their sole and absolute command, but at

^c Sir Henry Spelman's [Concil.] p. 118. anno 605.

A.D. 1533. the pleasure of the king, as oft as his necessities and
 25 Henry occasions with the distresses of the church did re-
 VIII. quire it^d. Yea, now their meetings were by virtue
 of a writ or precept from the king, and it will not be
 amiss here to exemplify the form thereof.

The form
 of ancient
 writs of
 convoca-
 tions.

6. “ Rex, &c. Reverendissimo in Christo Patri,
 “ A. Canturiensi archiepiscopo totius Angliæ primati,
 “ et apostolicæ sedis legato salutem. Quibusdam ar-
 “ duis et urgentibus negotiis, defensionem et securita-
 “ tem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem, tranquillitatem,
 “ et bonum publicum, et defensionem regni nostri, et
 “ subditorum nostrorum ejusdem concernentibus, vo-
 “ bis in fide et dilectione, quibus nobis tenemini,
 “ rogando mandamus, quatenus præmissis debito in-
 “ tuitu attentis et ponderatis universos et singulos
 “ episcopos vestræ provinciæ, ac decanos, et priores
 “ ecclesiarum cathedralium, abbates, priores et alios
 “ electivos exemptos et non exemptos; nec non
 “ archidiaconos, conventus, capitula, et collegia,
 “ totumque clerum cujuslibet dioceseos ejusdem

^d [“ ’Tis true the archbishop
 “ called these meetings some-
 “ times at the king’s instance,
 “ signified to him by a royal
 “ writ; yet even then not in
 “ virtue of that writ, but by
 “ his own authority; by which
 “ also (whether called at the
 “ king’s instance or not) he
 “ always dissolved them. And
 “ of this we have a very re-
 “ markable proof in the last
 “ convocation under Henry IV.,
 “ which though meeting at his
 “ writ was yet so little thought
 “ to be held in virtue of it, that
 “ it sat for near two months
 “ under his successor, Henry
 “ V. without a dissolution.

“ Till archbishop Chicheley’s
 “ time, convocations were fre-
 “ quently held even while par-
 “ liaments were sitting, with-
 “ out any other writ from the
 “ king but what was contained
 “ in the bishop’s summons, with
 “ the clause, *præmunientes*.
 “ After the 8th of Henry VI.
 “ the clergy if they met by the
 “ king’s letter had the benefit
 “ of the act of parliament of
 “ that year; and therefore I
 “ suppose usually desired it to
 “ gain the parliamentary pro-
 “ bation, not, as Fuller idly
 “ conjectures, to avoid a *præ-*
 “ *munire*.” Atterbury on Con-
 “ vocations, p. 18.]

“ provinciae, ad conveniendum coram vobis in ec-
 “ clesia Sancti Pauli London. vel alibi prout melius A. D. 1533.
 25 Henry VIII.
 “ expedire videritis, cum omni celeritate accomoda
 “ modo debito convocari faciatis; ad tractandum,
 “ consentiendum, et concludendum, super præmissis
 “ et aliis, quæ sibi clarius proponentur, tunc et
 “ ibidem ex parte nostra. Et hoc sicut nos et
 “ statum regni nostri, et honorem et utilitatem ec-
 “ clesiae prædictæ diligitis nullatenus omittatis. Teste
 “ me ipso,” &c.

7. In this writ we may observe, first, that from the Observa-
 tions there-
 on. word *convocari faciatis*, the word *convocation* took its denomination, being formerly called *synods*, as lately (since our scotizing) termed *assemblies*. Secondly, that clause, *in ecclesia Sancti Pauli London. vel alibi prout melius expedire videritis*, pointeth at a power placed, or rather a liberty left to the archbishops, to call their synods elsewhere, in case they adjudged it more convenient. But because the archbishops and bishops might the better attend their business in parliaments, (henceforward commonly kept at the same time with convocations,) St. Paul's in London was generally preferred for the place of their convention. Thirdly, this writ was used even after the reformation, *mutatis mutandis*, namely, the title of apostolical legate to the archbishop being left out, as also the names of priors and abbots are extinguished. Lastly, of this third sort of convocations, was all those kept by Thomas Arundel and the archbishops of Canterbury his successors, unto Thomas Cranmer; or if you will, from the sixteenth of Richard the Second, unto the twenty-fifth of king Henry the Eighth. These convocations did also make canons (as in Lynwood his Constitutions do

A. D. 1533. appear) which were binding, although none other
 25 Henry than synodical authority did confirm them.
 VIII.

The last
 sort of con-
 vocations.

8. The last sort of convocations remains, called since the statute, the twenty-fifth of king Henry the Eighth, “ that none of the clergy should presume to attempt, allege, claim, or put in ure, any constitutions or ordinances provincial, or synodals, or any other canons, constitutions, or ordinances provincial, (by whatsoever name or names they may be called,) in their convocation in time coming, (which always shall be assembled by the king’s writ,) unless the same clergy may have the king’s most royal assent and license to make, promise and execute such canons, constitutions and ordinances provincial or synodical, upon pain of every one of the said clergy doing the contrary to this act, and thereof convicted, to suffer imprisonment, and making fine at the king’s will.” Since this year, from archbishop Cranmer to archbishop Laud, all convocations (so long as they lasted) are born tonguetied, till the king did cut the string thereof with his letters patent, allowing them leave to debate on matters of religion. Otherwise, what they conclude are arrows without piles, daggers without points, too blunt to pierce into the practice of others, but sharp enough to wound themselves, and bring them within the compass of a *præmunire*. Yea, even such convocations with the royal assent subject not any (for recusancy to obey their canons) to a civil penalty in person or property, until confirmed by act of parliament.

The au-
 thor’s sub-
 mission.

9. This I humbly conceive to be the difference betwixt the three kinds of convocations, submitting what I have written to the censure and correction

of the learned in the law, conscious of my own ignorance therein, as indeed such skill neither is to be expected or required in one of my profession, who am ready with willingness, yea, with cheerfulness, yea, with thankfulness to God and man, publicly to recall and retract what any such convince me to have mistaken herein; hoping that my stumbling in so dark a subject may prevent the failing of others.

10. There goeth a tradition, (taken up by many without examination,) "that anciently the clergy sat as one body with the parliament, and were not divided till in the reign of king Henry the Eighth," as a modern author hath written in a tract^e. But when I asked of him, where he had read the same, he cited a French letter of cardinal Sadolets. Strange that a foreigner should be more seeing herein, than any of our native authors and records that I ever could behold. But it may be the error had its original hence, because anciently bishops sitting in the parliament did not always appear personally, or by the proxy of men of their own order, but sometimes sent one or more of the inferior clergy to represent them, if it be true what I have read in a small English book, bearing the name of Mr. Selden (but I question whether avowed by him) of the proceedings in parliament.

11. John Fryth sealed the truth with his blood, one who justly may be said aged sixty at six and twenty, (so young was he martyred,) such his learning^f, gravity, and constancy^g. It was chiefly charged

^e Calebut Downing.

^f [As proof of the estimation in which he was held, he was invited to become a fellow of Cardinal's college in Oxford.

He suffered July 4, 1533. Fox, ii. 303.]

^g [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 338. For the opinions of John Frith and other reformers touching

A. D. 1533.
25 Henry
VIII.

A vulgar
error.

The martyrdom of
John
Fryth.

A. D. 1533. on him, that he denied the believing of the real presence in the sacrament (understand him *de modo* thereof) to be an article of the faith, though confessing Christ really present in the bread, so he might not be compelled to the worshipping thereof. But these things are set down largely in Mr. Fox^h. Only I will add, that persons out of groundless [suspicion] suggest two scandals on this good man and his wife's memory. One, that he was guilty of some practice against the state, merely because he was committed to the Tower. The other, that his wife being beyond the seas with Mr. Tyndal, expressing himself content with the will of God, that for her sake she would not have the glory of God hindered, desired to be rid of her husband's life, that Mr. Tyndal might the more freely enjoy her company. Thus this Jesuit, being himself a bastard, measureth others by the chastity of his own parents. Indeed the aforesaid Tyndal much exhorted Fryth to patient suffering, but not as those cowardly captains, which encourage others to fight, and themselves forsake the field,

the eucharist, see Cranmer's Works, I. p. lxxiii. and in Cranmer's own account of Frith's examination, *ib.* p. 32. The archbishop states that Frith "*thought it not necessary* to be believed as an article of our faith, that there is the very corporal presence of Christ within the host and sacrament of the altar, and holdeth of this point most after the opinion of *Œcolampadius*." The same is also expressed in the substance of his arguments given by Burnet, I. 339. Frith's great

friend Dr. Barnes was in this point a Lutheran; and Frith in his controversy with More upon this subject expresses his willingness to allow the Lutheran opinion of the eucharist; "he was content to permit every man to judge of the sacrament as God shall put into their hearts." This his moderation is highly commended by Fox, (ii. 306) as well worthy of imitation "in the seditious divisions and factions of these our days." ^h [Acts, &c. II. p. 303, and Append. vol. iii. p. 991.]

because afterwards he valiantly brought up the rear, and suffered for the same cause two years after.

A. D. 1534.
26 Henry
VIII.

12. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was now prisoner in the Tower, where he was but coarsely used, as appears by a letter to Mr. Secretary Cromwell.

Bishop
Fisher's
letter for
new clothes
and a con-
fessor.

“ After my most humyl commendations. Where
“ as ye be content that I shold write unto the king’s
“ highness, in good faith I dread me that I can not
“ be so circumspect in my writing but that sum word
“ shall escape me where with his grace shall be
“ moved to sum further displeasure against me,
“ whereof I would be very sorry. For as I will
“ answer before God, I would not in any manner of
“ poynte offend his grace, my duty saved unto God,
“ whom I must in every thing prefer. And for this
“ consideration I am full loth and full at fear to
“ write unto his highness in this matter. Never-
“ theless, sythen I conceive that it is your mind that
“ I shall so do, I will endeavor me to the best that
“ I can.

“ But first hear I must beseech you good Mr.
“ Secretary to call to your remembrance that at my
“ last being before you and the other commissioners
“ for taking of the oath concerning the king’s most
“ noble succession, I was content to be sworn unto
“ that parcell concerning the succession. And there
“ I did rehearse this reason which I said moved me.
“ I doubted not but that the prince of any realm
“ with the assent of his nobles and commons might
“ appoint for his succession royal such an order as
“ was seen unto his wisdom most according. And
“ for this reason I said that I was content to be

A.D. 1534.
 26 Henry
 VIII.

“ sworn unto that part of the oath as concerning
 “ the succession. This is a very truth, as God help
 “ my soul at my most need. All be it I refused to
 “ swear to some other parcels because that my con-
 “ science would not serve me so to do.

“ Furthermore I beseche yow to be gode master
 “ unto me in my necessitie, for I have neither shirt,
 “ nor sute, nor yet other clothes, that ar necessary
 “ for me to weare, but that be ragged and rent to
 “ shamefully. Notwithstanding I might easily suffer
 “ that, if they would keep my body warm. But my
 “ diet also, God knows how slender it is at many
 “ times. And now in mine age, my stomake may
 “ not away but with a few kind of meats, which if
 “ I want, I decay forthwith, and fall into crases and
 “ diseases of my body, and cannot keep my selfe in
 “ health. And, as our Lord knoweth, I have no
 “ thing left unto me for to provide any better, but as
 “ my brotherⁱ of his own purse laieth out for me, to
 “ his great hinderance.

“ Wherefore gode master Secretary, eftsones I
 “ beseche yow to have som pittie upon me, and let
 “ me have such things as are necessary for me in
 “ mine age, and specially for my health; and also
 “ that it may please yow by yowr high wysdome, to
 “ move the kings highnesse to take me unto his
 “ gracious favour againe, and to restore me unto my
 “ liberty, out of this cold and painful imprisonment;
 “ whereby ye shall bind me to be yowr pore beads-
 “ man for ever unto Almighty God, who ever have
 “ yow in his protection and custody.

“ Other twain things I must also desyer upon

ⁱ Robert Fisher.

“ yow ; the toon is, that itt may please yow, that I
 “ may take some preest within the Tower, by th’as-
 “ signment of master livetenant, to hear my con-
 “ fession against this hooly tym.

A. D. 1534.
 26 Henry
 VIII.

“ That other is, that I may borrow some bookes
 “ to stir my devotion mor effectually theis hooly
 “ dayes, for the comfortte of my sowl. This I be-
 “ seche yow to grant me of yowr charitie. And thus
 “ our Lord send yow a mery Christenmas, and a
 “ comfortable to yowr heart’s desyer. Att the Tower
 “ the xxij. day of December.

“ Your poor beadsman,
 “ Jo. ROFFS^j.”

His first petition for clothes was granted him, (having exchange thereof at his execution,) and it is probable the other two petitions, being so reasonable, were not denied him.

19. During his durance in the Tower, he was
 often and strictly examined^k, before sir Edmund
 Walsingham lieutenant thereof, by Thomas Bedyll
 and Richard Layton clerks of the council, and was
 sworn in *verbo sacerdotii*, to answer to many interro-
 gatories, but chiefly concerning four subjects.

His often
 examina-
 tions.

First, about the king’s divorce, wherein he was
 always constant to what he had printed of the un-
 lawfulness thereof.

Of four
 principal
 particulars.

Secondly, about his supremacy, which (at last) he
 peremptorily denied.

^j [Original Holograph, Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. VI. 172. Fuller printed only part of this letter. I have retained the whole, our author having again referred to it below.]

^k [See the original report of this examination, every page subscribed by the bishop’s own hand among the Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. VI. 169.]

A. D. 1535.
27 Henry
VIII.

Thirdly, about his concealing the imposture of Elizabeth Barton, the maid of Kent; wherein he confessed his weakness, and over-easy belief; but utterly denied any ill intentions to the king's person.

Fourthly, about the statute of succession, wherein, as appears by his letter to secretary Cromwell¹, he was content to subscribe and swear to the body, but not to the preamble thereof^m.

Taketh of-
fence at the
preface of
the statute.

20. Which words therein, so offensive to Fisher, (except there be any other unprinted preface to this statute,) were these: "The bishop of Rome and see
" apostolic, contrary to the great and inviolable
" grants of jurisdiction by God immediately to em-
" perors, kings, and princes, in succession to their
" heirs, hath presumed in times past to invest who
" should please them to inherit in other men's king-
" doms and dominions: which thing we your most
" humble subjects, both spiritual and temporal, do
" most abhor and detestⁿ."

Archbishop
Cranmer
his political
character.

21. Here I know not whether more to commend the policy or charity of archbishop Cranmer, desiring in a letter to secretary Cromwell^o, that this partial subscription which bishop Fisher proffered to the statute of succession might be accepted; adding, that good use might be made thereof to the king's advantage, such general reputation the world had of this bishop's learning, and of sir Thomas More's: both which it seemed went the same path and pace, and in this point started, ran, and stopped together. Indeed, it was not good to strain such fine strings too

¹ [Printed above, p. 87.]

p. 558.

^m [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 317.]

^o Cotton MSS. [Cleop. E.

ⁿ See the printed statutes,
25 of Hen. VIII. cap. 22.

VI. f. 181. Cranmer's Works,
vol. I. p. 101.]

high, which possibly moistened with mild usage might in process of time have been stretched to a further compliance. But, it seems, nothing at present would satisfy, except both of them came up to the full measure of the king's demands.

22. As for bishop Fisher his concealing the pretended prophecies of Elizabeth Barton, it was so far waived, that he was never indicted for the same. And indeed he made an ingenious plea for himself; namely, that the said Elizabeth had told him she had acquainted the king therewith; yea, he had assurance thereof from the archbishop^q. And therefore, knowing the king knew of it before, he was loth to hazard his displeasure in that, which was not revealing what was unknown, but repeating what would be unwelcome to his grace.

23. But not long after, he was arraigned of high treason, and it will not be amiss to insert the sting of the indictment out of the original.

“ Diversis Domini regis veris subditis false mali-
 “ tiose et proditorie loquebatur et propalabat vide-
 “ licet: The king owre soveraigne lord is not
 “ supreme hed yn erthe of the cherche of England.
 “ In dicti domini regis immund. despect. et vilipen-
 “ dium manifest.^r”

Of this he was found guilty, had judgment, and was remanded to the Tower, where, for a time, we leave him, and proceed.

^p [Burnet, Ref. i. 312.]

^q In his Letter to the King, in Bib. Cotton. [Cleop. E. VI. 162.]

^r His words were spoken May 7, in the Tower of London, but he arraigned afterwards.

A. D. 1535.
27 Henry
VIII.

Papists un-
justly
charge us
for schis-
matics.

24. Thus was the power of the pope totally abolished out of England, whereof the Romanists at this day do bitterly complain, but can revenge themselves no other way, save by aspersing us as guilty of schism and separation, for rending ourselves from the mother-church. Blame us not, if loth that the church of England (in whose doctrine and discipline we were born, and bred, and desire to die) should lie under so foul and false an imputation, which by the following narrative may fully be confuted.

Three es-
sentials in
reforma-
tion.

25. Three things are essential to justify the English reformation from the scandal of schism, to shew that they had

i. Just cause for which they deceded from Rome.

ii. True authority by which they deceded from Rome.

iii. Due moderation in what they deceded from Rome.

The gross
errors in
popery.

26. The first will plainly appear, if we consider the abominable errors which contrary to scripture and primitive practice were then crept into the church of Rome. As the denying the cup to the laity; worshipping of images; locking up the scriptures in Latin, and performing prayers in an unknown tongue, with the monstrosity of transubstantiation, unexcusable practices. Besides, the behemoth of the pope's infallibility, and the leviathan of his universal jurisdiction, so exclaimed against by Gregory the Great as a note of Antichrist.

The impos-
sibility of a
free general
council.

27. Just cause of reformation being thus proved, proceed we to the authority by which it is to be made. Here we confess the most regular way was by order from a free and general council, but here alas no hope thereof. General it could not be, the

Greeks not being in a capacity of repairing thither; nor free, such the papal usurpation; for before men could try the truth, hand to hand, by dint of scripture, (the sword and buckler thereof by God's appointment,) the pope took off all his adversaries at distance with (those guns of hellish invention) his infallibility and universal jurisdiction, so that no approaching his presence to oppose him, but with certainty of being pre-condemned.

28. Now seeing the complaints of the conscientious in all ages against the errors in the Romish church met with no other entertainment than frowns and frets, and afterwards fire and fagot, it came seasonably into the minds of those who steered the English nation, to make use of that power which God had bestowed upon them. And seeing they were a national church under the civil command of one king, he by the advice and consent of his clergy in convocation, and great council in parliament, resolved to reform the church under his inspection from gross abuses crept into it, leaving it free to other churches either to follow his example, or continue in their former condition: and on these terms was the English reformation first advanced.

29. But the Romanists object, that England being first converted to Christianity by the zeal and care of the church of Rome, (when pope Gregory the Great sent Augustine over to preach here,) cannot, not only without great ingratitude, but flat undutifulness, depart from the church which first taught it true religion.

It is answered, first, this argument reacheth not west of Severn into Wales, where the ancient

A. D. 1535.
27 Henry
VIII.

The power
of a na-
tional
church well
improved.

Objection
to the con-
trary.

Answer 1.

A. D. 1535. Britons by general confession were converted before
 27 Henry VIII. the time of Augustine.

Answer 2. Secondly, this first favour received from Rome puts not on England so strict and servile an obligation of perpetual continuance, that she may and must not serve God without asking her leave. It ties England only to a fair and grateful respect, which she always tendered, till the insolency of the church of Rome made us unwilling to pay, and her unworthy to receive it.

Answer 3. Thirdly, some strength may be allowed to this objection, if Rome could be proved the same in doctrine and discipline, when under the reign of king Henry the Eighth England divided itself from it, with Rome, when in the time of Gregory the Great it was converted by God's blessing on his endeavours. But since that time the church of Rome hath been much corrupted in opinions and practice, easy to prove, but that it is not the set work of our history.

2. Objection of the Romanists. 30. But again the papists object, that the most judicious protestants do ingeniously confess, that the church of Rome maintaineth all the fundamentals of religion. England therefore cannot be excused from schism for dividing from that church, which, by their own confession, still retaineth the true foundation of Christianity.

The answer. 31. It is answered, if some protestants be so civil in their censures on papists, it appears thereby, though they have left Rome, they have not lost their courtesy nor their charity. But grant (which is indisputable) the errors of the church of Rome not fundamental, they are circa-fundamental, grating on the very foundation. Besides, we are bound to

avoid, not only what is deadly, but what is hurtful ; not only what may destroy the life, but what may prejudice the health of our souls^r. A. D. 1535.
27. Henry
VIII.

But our adversaries persist to object that our reformation took its rise from king Henry's pride, to pluck down a power which crossed his designs, from his covetousness to compass the revenues of abbeys, and from his wantonness to exchange his old embracings for new ones. Well therefore may the English blush at the babe when they behold its parents, and be ashamed of their reformation, considering the vicious extraction thereof. 3. Ob-
jection.

Answ. Malice may load the memory of king Henry about his demerits; yet grant the charge true, that bad inclinations first moved him to the reformation, yet he acted therein nothing but conformable to the law divine and human. It is usual with God's wisdom and goodness to suffer vice to sound the first alarum to that fight wherein virtue is to have the victory. Besides, king Henry's reformation hath since been reformed by successive princes of England, who cannot justly be taxed with any vicious reflection therein. The an-
swer.

32. It remaineth that we take notice of the moderation of the reformers, who being acted not with an opposition to all which the papists practised, but with an affection to truth, disclaimed only the ulcers and sores, not what was sound of the Romish church, retaining still what was consonant to antiquity in the four first general councils. The mode-
ration of
reformers.

33. Matters thus ordered, had the Romanists been pleased to join with us, there had been no The conclu-
sion of the
contest.

^r [The answer, that the Romanists separated from us, not we from them, as it is indisputably true, so is it a much more tenable position.]

A. D. 1535.
27 Henry
VIII.

complaining of schism either in their streets or ours. But such their pride and peevishness, to persist obstinate, to this day incense many people, (who listen more to the loudness, than weigh the justness of complaints,) accusing us of wilful separation; but the premises well considered, England may say to Rome, *Pharez, the breach be upon thee*^s, who, with Athaliah, crying *Treason, treason*^t, being herself the prime traitor, taxeth us with schism, when she the only schismatic.

The pope's
revenues
out of Eng-
land.

34. We enter now on a subject which we must not omit, such is the concernment thereof in our history; yet which we cannot complete, so intricate the nature thereof, and so short and doubtful our intelligence therein; namely, to give a general estimate (particulars being impossible) of the papal revenues of England.

Greatest
under king
Henry III.

35. Here be it premised that I humbly conceive the pope's income ran the highest in England under king Henry the Third and king Edward the First, before the statute of mortmain (and after it that of *præmunire*) was made, for these much abated his *intrado*. And although I deny not but under king Henry the Eighth he might receive more money, as then more plentiful in England, yet his profit formerly was greater, if the standard of gold and silver be but stated proportionably.

Pope's pro-
fit by sale
of trinkets.

36. However, the vast sums Rome received hence at the time of reformation, will appear by the ensuing commodities. For, first, *agnus Dei*'s, this is here set by synecdoche to signify all popish trinkets, medals, consecrated beads, &c., which I as little know what they be, as papists why they use them:

^s Gen. xxxviii. 29.

^t 2 Kings xi. 14.

of these were yearly brought over from Rome into England as many as would fill the shop of a haberdasher of holy wares. Now, though their prices were not immediately paid into the pope's purse, but to such his subordinate officers who traded therein, yet they may be accounted part of the papal revenues; (the king hath what the courtiers have by his consent;) and if such trading was not permitted unto them, the pope must either abate of his train, or find his officers other ways of subsistence.

37. Secondly, for *annates*, so called because they were the entire revenues of one year (in the nature of first-fruits) which the bishops and inferior clergy paid to the pope; we have no light concerning the latter, but can present the reader with an exact account what every bishop in England (new elected or translated to a see) paid at his entrance to his holiness.

<i>Bishopric.</i>	<i>Paid.</i>
Canterbury	10,000 F.
besides for his pall	5000 F.
London	3000 F.
Winchester	12,000 D.
Ely	7000 D.
Lincoln	[5000 D.]
Coventry and Lichfield	1733 D.
Salisbury	4500 Crowns.
Bath and Wells	430 F.
Exeter	6000 D.
Norwich	5000 D.
Worcester	2000 F.
Hereford	1800 F.
Chichester	333 F.
Rochester	[1300 F.]
St. David's	1500 F.

A. D. 1535.
27 Henry
VIII.

<i>Bishopric.</i>	<i>Paid.</i>
Llandaff	700 F.
Bangor	126 F.
St. Asaph	126 F.
York	10,000 D.
besides for his pall	5000 D.
Durham	9000 F.
Carlisle	1000 F. ^v

In this account F stands for florins, being worth four shillings and sixpence in our English money. D for single ducats, sufficiently known for four shillings. Lincoln's not being valued I behold as a mere casual omission in this catalogue; but can render a reason why Rochester not rated, who, being accounted as chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury, and anciently in his donation, may be supposed valued in the high valuation of his patron. That Bath and Wells, then so high in wealth, should be so low in first-fruits, (whereat my author^x wonders,) plainly shews that favour was fashionable, as in all other courts, so in the court of Rome. The rest of the English bishoprics were not in being before the reformation.

By appeals. 39. Thirdly, by appeals; the pope having learned this policy from the council of Jethro to Moses, *Every great thing they shall bring unto thee, but every small matter they* (viz. the seventy elders) *shall judge*^y, reserved to himself the definitive sentence in all high controversies, which brought no small profit unto him.

^v This catalogue was extracted out of bishop Godwin, [de præ. Angliæ, p. 800. The omissions I have supplied in brackets.]

^x "Quod miror." Godwin, in his Catalogue of Bishops, p. 447. ⁱ
^y Exod. xvi i. 22.

40. Fourthly, by king Athelwolph's pension given A. D. 1535. by him to the pope, anno 852, whereof largely 27 Henry VIII. before; a distinct payment from Peter-pence, (with By king Athelwolph's pension. which some confound it,) as stinted to three hundred marks ^z; whereas the other were casual, and increased according to the number of houses.

41. Fifthly, for dispensations. Oh the charity of By his dispensations. the pope, to lay heavy burdens on men's consciences, (without command from God's word,) too heavy for them to bear! but then so merciful he was, for money to take them off again; thus licenses to marry within degrees forbidden, for priests' (base) sons to succeed their fathers in a benefice, and a hundred other particulars, brought yearly a *nemo scit* into the papal treasury.

42. Sixthly, indulgences are next, though I know By indulgences. not how essentially distinguished from dispensations, nor dare warrant the distinction, that the former was against, the other above canon law. As when abbeyes and other places were freed from episcopal jurisdiction, and many other privileges and exemptions both personal and conventual.

43. Seventhly, by legatine levies; these, though By legatine levies. not annual, yet came (almost) as often as the pope's needs or covetousness would require them.

44. Eighthly, mortuaries due at the death of great By mortuaries. prelates, though I find not in what manner and proportion they were paid.

45. Ninthly, pardons; he saveth his credit the By pardons. best who makes no conjecture at the certainty of this revenue. And though the pope (as then too politic openly to confess his profit by granting, so

^z See sir Henry Spelman's Concil. p. 353.

A. D. 1535. since) be too proud publicly to bemoan his loss by
²⁷ Henry VIII. stopping of these pardons, yet is he secretly and
 sadly sensible of a great emptiness in his treasure
 thereby.

By Peter-
 pence.

46. Tenthly, Peter-pence succeed, granted by Ina, king of the West Saxons, to pope Gregory the Second, anno 626. It was a penny paid for every chimney that smoked in England, which in that hospital age had few smokeless ones; the device of ciper-tunnels, or mock-chimneys merely for uniformity of building, being unknown in those days. Indeed, before the conquest, such only paid Peter-pence who were worth thirty pence in yearly revenue, or half a mark in goods; but afterwards it was collected generally of all solvable housekeepers, and that on most heavy penalties^a.

To what
 they
 amounted.

47. Now though none can tell what these amounted to, yet conjecture may be made, by descending to such proportions, which no rational man will deny. Allowing nine thousand parishes (abating the odd hundreds) in England and Wales, a hundred houses in every parish, two chimneys in every house, one with another, it ariseth unto a yearly sum of seven thousand five hundred pounds. Here I say nothing of the intrinsical value of their penny, worth two pence in our age.

By pil-
 grimages.

Eleventhly, pilgrimages follow, many persons of quality going yearly to Rome, sometimes perchance with bare feet, but never with empty hands. But the pope's principal harvest was in the jubilee, (which of late recurred every five and twenty years,) when no fewer than two hundred thousand strangers

^a See Spelman's Concil. p. 625.

have been counted at Rome at once. Of these more A. D. 1535. than the tenth part may be justly allowed English, 27 Henry VIII. it being always observed, that distance increaseth devotion; and the furthest off, the forwardest in will-worship of this nature.

49. Twelfthly, we conclude with tenths, and on By tenths. what title they were paid to the pope largely hereafter.

50. Here we speak not of the accidentals, as All cannot be truly counted. legacies bequeathed by the deaths of princes and great persons, and other casualties and obventions; Sixtus the Fourth being wont to say, that “a pope could never want money while he could hold a pen in his hand;” (understand him, to grant general indulgences;) though Luther’s holding a pen in his hand hath since much marred his mart herein. Now certainly Demetrius could tell better what was gotten by making silver shrines for Diana ^b than St. Paul himself: and while some protestants compute the papal profit to be a hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum, some more, some less, (but all making it above the king’s revenues,) they do but state his income at random.

51. Only Polydore Virgil, if alive and willing, Polydore Virgil collector of the English Peter-pence. were able to give a certain account of the Peter-pence, (a good guess at the rest of papal revenues,) knowing them as well as the beggar knows his dish, as holding the bason into which they were put, being collector general of Peter-pence all over England. But this Italian was too proud to accept them as gratuities, (in which nature they were first given,)

^b Acts xix. 27.

A. D. 1535. but exacted them in the notion of a rent and tribute
 27 Henry VIII. due to the pope his master.

Belaurel-
 eth the
 quire of
 Wells.

52. This is that Polydore Virgil who was dignitary of the cathedral of Wells, and, as I take it, archdeacon of Taunton, on the quire whereof he bestowed hangings flourished with the laurel-tree, and, as I remember, wrote upon them,

Sunt Polydori munera Virgilio.

But would he had spared his benefaction to the church of Wells, on condition he had been no malefactor to the church of England; yea, to religion and learning in general, if it be true what commonly is reported.

A malefactor to posterity for burning MSS.

53. For he wrote a Latin history of Britain, from the original of the nation until *anno Dom. 153*, the year of king Henry the Eighth, out of many rare manuscripts which he had collected together. Now, partly to raise the reputation of his own writings, that he might seem no lazy transcriber, partly to render himself out of the reach of confutation, being suspected not over-faithful in his relation, he is said to have burnt all those rare authors which he could compass into his possession. Thus, tyrant-like, he cut down those stairs whereby he ascended the throne of his own knowledge. If this be true, the world may thank Polydore Virgil for his work *De Inventione Rerum*, but have cause to chide (not to say curse) his memory for his act *de perditione librorum*.

Two-edged verses.

54. I have met with a paper of verses, which, like a two-edged sword, cut on both sides, plainly at Polydore Virgil, but obscurely at a later plagiarist, and in my opinion not unworthy to be inserted.

A. D. 1535.
27 Henry
VIII.

Leyland's supposed ghost.

Am I deceiv'd? or doth not Leyland's ghost
Complain of wrong sustained after death;
As Virgil's Polydore accus'd his host,
The Thracian king, for cruel breach of faith,
And treasures gain'd by stopping of his breath?
Ah greedy guardian! to enjoy his goods,
Didst plunge his princely ward into the floods!

Am I deceiv'd? or doth not Leyland's spirit
Complain with th' ghosts of English notaries
Whom Polydorus Virgil robb'd of merit,
Bereft of name, and sack'd of histories,
While (wretch!) he ravish'd English libraries?
Ah wicked book-thief! whosoever did it,
Should one burn all, to get one single credit?

Am I deceiv'd? or doth not Leyland's spirit,
Make hue and cry for some book-treasure stealth,
Riffing his works, and razing name and merit,
Whereby are smother'd a prince-given wealth,
A learned writer's travail, wits, and health?
All these he spent to do his country pleasure,
O save his name, the world may know his treasure!

I am deceiv'd; for Leyland's ghost doth rest
From plaints and cries with souls of blessed men,
But heaven and human laws cannot digest
That such rare fruits of a laborious pen
CAM to be drown'd in such a thankless DEN.
Thus heaven and all humanity doth sue,
That Leyland dead may have his titles due.

Who this second plagiarist was, complained of for
plundering Leyland, if the reader cannot con-
jecture, I will not tell, such the honour I bear to his

A. D. 1535. admirable performances, though herein not to be
 27 Henry excused^b.
 VIII.

How papal
 power in
 England
 was can-
 toned.

55. Papal power thus extinguished in England, it is worth our inquiry where the same for the future was fixed, which we find not entirely settled in any one, but according to justice and equity divided amongst many sharers therein.

God first
 had his
 share.

56. And first, *Give unto God the things which are God's*. What the Pharisees said was true in the doctrine, though false in the use thereof, as applied to our Saviour, whom they mistook for a mere man: *Who can forgive sins but God alone?*^c This paramount power, no less blasphemously than arrogantly usurped by the pope, claiming an absolute and authoritative pardoning of sins, was humbly and justly restored to the high God of heaven.

Christ his
 due.

57. Restitution was made to the second Person in the Trinity of that universal jurisdiction over the whole church as belonging to Christ alone, who is *the shepherd and bishop of our souls*; and a badge of Antichrist for the pope proudly to assume the same^d.

The Holy
 Spirit his
 portion.

58. To the Holy Ghost was restored that infallibility which to him doth properly pertain, as being the Spirit of truth, which neither will deceive nor can be deceived, and which hath promised to lead his church in general *into all truth*, but never fixed any inerrability on any particular person or succession of single persons whatsoever.

The king
 assumes his
 share.

59. And now, *Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's*^e. The king comes to claim his own right,

^b [The reference is to Camden the historian; though Bale is far more open to the accusation.]

^c Mark vii.

^d 1 Pet. ii. 25.

^e John xv. 26. and xvi. 23.

what the kings of Judah (his predecessors in sovereignty) had by the word of God, and Christian emperors by the practice of the primitive times did possess. In order whereunto, the parliament did notify and declare that ecclesiastical power to be in the king which the pope had formerly unjustly invaded. Yet so, that they reserved to themselves (besides other privileges which we leave to the learned in the law) the confirming power of all canons ecclesiastical; so that the person or property of refusers should not be subjected to temporal penalty without consent of parliament.

A. D. 1535.
27 Henry
VIII.

60. Of this power thus declared in the king, part thereof he kept in himself; as, to call and dissolve convocations at his pleasure; to grant or deny them commission to debate of religion; to command archbishops and bishops to be chosen in vacant sees; to take order for the due administration of the word and sacraments.

61. The other part of power ecclesiastical the king passed over to the archbishop of Canterbury, as his substitute; first, to grant faculties in cases not repugnant to the law of God, necessary for honour and security of the king, formerly wont to be remedied in the see of Rome; secondly, to determine causes ecclesiastical in his court, whence lay an appeal to the court of delegates, &c.

62. The representative clergy had power by the king's leave to make canons and constitutions, whilst each bishop in his respective diocese, priest in his parish, were freer than formerly in execution of their office acquitted from papal dependence.

63. Lastly, every English layman was restored to his Christian birthright, namely, to his judgment of

A. D. 1535. practical discretion^f, (in perusing the scriptures in his
^{27 Henry}
 VIII. own language,) formerly swallowed up in the ocean
 of the pope's infallibility. Thus on the depluming
 of the pope every bird had his own feather: in the
 partage whereof, what he had gotten by sacrilege
 was restored to God; what by usurpation, was given
 back to the king, church, and state; what by op-
 pression, was remitted to particular Christians.

^f ["Every Christian keeping
 " himself within the bounds of
 " due obedience and submis-
 " sion to his lawful superiors
 " hath a judgment of *discre-*
 " *tion*; *Prove all things, hold*
 " *fast that which is good*. He
 " may apply the rule of holy
 " scripture for his own private
 " instruction, comfort, edifi-
 " cation, and direction, and for
 " the framing of his life and
 " belief accordingly. The pas-
 " tors of the church, who are
 " placed over God's people as
 " watchmen and guides, have
 " more than this, a *judgment*
 " *of direction*, to expound and
 " interpret the holy scriptures
 " to others. The chief pastors,
 " to whose care the regiment
 " of the church is committed
 " in a more special manner,
 " have yet a higher degree of
 " judgment, a *judgment of ju-*
 " *risdiction*, to prescribe, to
 " enjoin, &c." Bramhall's
 Answer to Militiere, p. 34.]

SECT. III.

TO

MASTER HENRY BARNARD,

LATE OF LONDON,

MERCHANT.^a

Though lately you have removed your habitation into Shropshire, my pen is resolved to follow after and find you out : seeing the hand of your bounty hath had so long a reach, let the legs of my gratitude take as large a stride : when you shall be disposed to be solitary, and desirous to have society at the same time, peruse this book, whereby you shall attain your desired condition.

^a [Arms, argent, on a bend azure, three escallops of the field. By sir William Dugdale's Visitation of the county of Salop, 1663-4, it appears that this Henry Barnard was the son of a citizen of London of the same name, by his wife Margaret, daughter of Bartholomew Wright, of Brodoke, in the county of Essex, and was descended of a respectable family

long seated at Wighton, near Beverley in Yorkshire. He married Emma, daughter of Robert Charleton, of Whitton, county Salop, in which county he afterwards settled, and in 1663 was in the commission of the peace, æt. 48. By his wife above named he had two daughters then living, Emma and Elizabeth.]

A. D. 1535.
27 Henry
VIII.

June 22.
Fisher made
cardinal.



FOR twelve months had bishop Fisher (formerly condemned) now lived in durance, and so was likely to continue, until (in all probability) his soul at the same time should be freed from two prisons, I mean that of his body and that of the Tower^b. For, his life could do the king no hurt, whose death might procure him hatred, as of one generally pitied for his age, honoured for his learning, admired for his holy conversation. Besides, it was not worth the while to take away his life, who was not only *mortalis*, as all men, and *mortificatus*, as all good men, but also *moriturus*, as all old men, being past seventy-six years of age. But now an unseasonable act of the pope accelerated his execution, in making him cardinal of S. Vitalis; a title which Fisher so little affected, that he professed, “if the hat lay at his feet, he would not stoop to take it up^c.”

^b [Burnet's Ref. I. p. 707.]

^c [Hall says the very reverse, and is more consistent. According to him, on the 21st of May, 1535, pope Paul III. nominated Fisher cardinal of S. Vitalis, of which as soon as the king had intelligence, he sent immediately to Calais “to stop the favour of the pope from coming any further into his dominions:” and, being curious to know how the bishop would act in the matter, ordered secretary Cromwell to advertise him of what was done. He coming to the prelate's chamber, said to him; “My lord of Rochester, what would you say if the pope

“should send you a cardinal's hat? would you accept of it?” whereat the bishop of Rochester replied; “Sir, I know myself to be so far unworthy of any such dignity, that I think of nothing less; but if any such thing should happen, assure yourself I should improve that favour to the best advantage that I could in assisting the holy catholic church of Christ; and in that respect I would receive it upon my knees.” Mr. Cromwell making a report of this answer afterwards to the king, the king said with great indignation; “Yea, is he yet so lusty?

2. His holiness could not have studied a more destructive way against Fisher's life, than to fasten this injurious favour upon him. This heightened the king's anger into fury against him. He expounded the pope's act, or rather the act expounded itself, (as capable of no other comment,) as done in his defiance, and therefore a warrant is sent to the lieutenant for his execution. Let not the reader grudge his pains if we describe this bishop from his cradle to (I cannot say his coffin or windingsheet, being made to believe he had neither, but) his grave: the rather, because I collected the same out of his manuscript life, compiled by Richard Hall of Christ-college in Cambridge^d, and communicated unto me by a worthy friend^e. Only be it premised, that the same Hall was a stiff Roman catholic, and therefore accordingly must abatement be made in his relations.

A. D. 1535.
27 Henry
VIII.

The king
enraged
thereat.

3. This John Fisher, born at Beverley in Yorkshire, of Robert his father, (a wealthy man, and a kind of merchant,) anno 1459, was by his parents sent^f to Cambridge to have his education at Michael-house, under Mr. William Melton, his tutor. Admitted, 1484; commenced bachelor of arts, 1488; master of arts, 1491; made proctor, 1495; doctor, 1502; master of the house, thereabouts; bishop of

Bishop
Fisher, his
birth and
breeding.

"Well, let the pope send him a hat when he will; mother of God! he shall wear it on his shoulders then, for I will leave him never a head to set it on." Hall's Life of Fisher, p. 185.]

^d Pitseus de Script. Angliæ, p. 802.

^e Mr. Huis, esquire beadle of

Cambridge. [This MS. was afterwards printed in the year 1655. in 8vo., under the name of Dr. Thomas Bailey. The edition here used is the second, 1739. 12°. Several MSS. of this book are in the British Museum and the Bodleian.]

^f [By his mother, his father dying in early life.]

A. D. 1535. Rochester, 1504; chosen chancellor of Cambridge,
 27 Henry VIII. 1505; confirmed chancellor of Cambridge, 1514.

He was chaplain and confessor to the lady Margaret, countess of Richmond, at whose instance and by whose advice she founded and endowed Christ's and St. John's college in Cambridge. Employed in building of the latter, (her posthume college of St. John's,) and effectually advancing that work, he wanted the accommodation of a convenient lodging, when Dr. Thomas Wilkinson, president of Queen's college, opportunely departed this life: and that society requested bishop Fisher to succeed in his place, which he gratefully accepted, faithfully discharged, and thereby had the advantage to finish his new college in the less time, to his greater contentment.

Different
 characters
 of Fisher.

4. Here I meet with two descriptions of Fisher, as contrary each to other as the religions of the two describers, whereof the one was a rigid papist, the other a zealous protestant:

Hall in his aforesaid manuscript.

Fisher is made by him a very wealthy man, having much plate and furniture, of a great value; and as for his library, no bishop in Europe had the like unto him, insomuch as he intended (as appeareth somewhere in his letter to Erasmus) to found a college of his own; but afterwards, reversing his resolution, in his lifetime he bestowed all his rich plate, furniture, and books on St. John's in Cambridge, and borrowed the same of it again by indenture under his hand and seal for his use during life. But it happened, that at his attainture the king's officers seized on all he had.

Ascham. Commendatitiarum, Ep. 1.

A. D. 1535.
27 Henry
VIII.

“ Joannes Fischerus, episcopus Roffensis, dum fal-
 “ sam doctrinam nimis perverse defendit, optimas
 “ literas in hoc collegio, suis ornamentis et suis
 “ divitiis denudavit. Hic vir nutu suo rexit hoc
 “ collegium; et propterea in manu ejus posita sunt
 “ clarissima ornamenta, quæ Diva Margareta huic
 “ collegio elargita est.—Ejus perversa doctrina, et
 “ illum vita, et nos summis divitiis nostris privavit^f.”

For mine own part, I conceive no covetousness (much less such sacrilege) can be charged on Fisher's account, it being notoriously known that king Henry the Eighth (who formerly favoured him) proffered to remove him from Rochester to Lincoln or Ely, (treble the other in revenue,) which Fisher refused, both in word and print; “Habeant licet alii,” saith he^g, “proventus pinguiores, &c,” being used to say, “He would not change his little old wife, to whom he had been so long wedded, for a wealthier.”

5. It is no wonder if a papist and a protestant cannot agree about Fisher's character, when we find two stiff papists at a vast distance about his estate. Hall, as is aforesaid, makes him very wealthy, which is not improbable, considering he had a paternal bottom whereon, competency of revenue wherewith, long continuance of time wherein, and commendable frugality whereby to build an estate. Not to speak

Variance
betwixt pa-
pists about
Fisher's
wealth.

^f In favour of Fisher I have left the words untranslated. [See Ascham's Epist. p. 293. Oxford, 1703. Fuller undoubtedly mistakes the meaning of the writer, which is only this; that Fisher's rigid adherence to his religious principles was

the cause of depriving the college of its wealth and endowments.]

^g In his Dedicatory Epistle to the bishop of Winchester, in his place against Æcolampadius, [Colon. 1527. See Hall, 17.]

A. D. 1535. that he served a good mistress, the lady Margaret,
²⁷ Henry VIII. known to have rich coffers, and her confessor could
 command the keys thereof. But on the contrary, Sanders^h makes him as poor as Job; insomuch that soldiers coming to seize on his supposed wealth, found (what was quickly told) nothing at all belonging to him save a great barred chest. These, from the facing of iron, concluded the lining thereof silver at least; and having broken it open, found nothing therein but sackcloth and a whip; which put them all to penance, and soundly lashed their covetous expectation. But, leaving his life, come we now to the manner of his death.

He welcomes the news of his death.

6. After the lieutenant of the Tower had received the writ for his execution, because it was then very late, and the prisoner asleep, he was loth to disquiet him from his rest. But in the morning, before five of the clock, he came to him in his chamber in the bell-tower, finding him yet asleep in his bed, and waking him, told him, "He was come to him on a message from the king, to signify unto him that his pleasure was he should suffer death that forenoon." "Well," quoth the bishop, "if this be your errand, you bring me no great news, for I have looked a long time for this message, and I must humbly thank his majesty that it pleaseth him to rid me from all this worldly business. Yet, let me by your patience sleep an hour or two, for I have slept very ill this night, not for any fear of death, I thank God, but by reason of my great infirmity and weaknessⁱ."

Yet labours to preserve his life.

7. "The king's pleasure is further," said the lieutenant, "that you shall use as little speech as

^h De Schism. Ang. p. 92.

ⁱ [Hall, p. 221.]

“ may be, especially of anything touching his majesty, A. D. 1535.
27 Henry VIII.
 “ whereby the people should have any cause to
 “ think of him or his proceedings otherwise than
 “ well.” “ For that,” said he, “ you shall see me
 “ order myself, as, by God’s grace, neither the king
 “ nor any man else shall have occasion to mislike of
 “ my words.” With which answer the lieutenant
 departed from him, and so the prisoner, falling again
 to rest, slept soundly two hours and more : and, after
 he was awaked, called to his man to help him up.
 But first commanded him to take away his shirt of
 hair, (which customably he wore,) and to convey it
 privily out of the house ; and, instead thereof, to lay
 him forth a clean white shirt, and all the best apparel
 he had, as cleanly brushed as might be. And as he
 was arraying himself, his man, seeing him in more
 curiosity and care for the fine and cleanly wearing of
 his apparel that day than was wont, demanded of him,
 “ What this sudden change meant ? ” saying, “ That his
 “ lordship knew well enough that he must put off all
 “ again within two hours, and lose it.” What of
 “ that ? ” said he ; “ dost thou not mark that this is
 “ our marriage day, and that it behoveth us there-
 “ fore to use more cleanliness for solemnity thereof ? ”

8. About nine of the clock the lieutenant came Prepareth
himself for
his death.
 again, and, finding him almost ready, said, “ He
 “ was now come for him.” Then said he to his man,
 “ Reach me my furred tippet to put about my neck.”
 “ O my lord,” said the lieutenant, “ what need ye
 “ be so careful for your health for this little time,
 “ being, as yourself knows, not much above an hour ! ”
 “ I think no otherwise,” said he, “ but yet in the
 “ meantime I will keep myself as well as I can.
 “ For, I tell you truth, though I have, I thank our

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“ Lord, a very good desire and willing mind to die
“ at this present, and so trust of his infinite mercy
“ and goodness he will continue it, yet will I not
“ willingly hinder my health in the meantime one
“ minute of an hour, but still prolong the same, as
“ long as I can, by such reasonable ways and means
“ as Almighty God hath provided for me.” And
with that, taking a little book in his hand, which
was a New Testament lying by him, he made a cross
on his forehead, and went out of his prison door
with the lieutenant, being so weak as that he was
scant able to go down the stairs; wherefore at the
stairs-foot he was taken up in a chair between two
of the lieutenant’s men, and carried to the Tower-
gate, with a great number of weapons about him, to
be delivered to the sheriff of London for execution.

He advanc-
eth to the
place of his
execution.

9. And as they were come to the uttermost pre-
cinct of the liberties of the Tower, they rested there
with him a space, till such time as one was sent
before to know in what readiness the sheriffs were
to receive him. During which space he rose out of
his chair, and standing on his feet, leaned his
shoulder to the wall, and lifting his eyes towards
heaven, he opened a little book in his hand, and
said, “ O Lord! this is the last time that ever I
“ shall open this book, let some comfortable place
“ now chance unto me, whereby I thy poor servant
“ may glorify thee in this my last hour.” And with
that, looking into the book, the first thing that came
to his sight were these words, *Hæc est autem vita
æterna, ut te cognoscant solum verum Deum, et quem
misisti Jesum Christum. Ego te glorificavi super
terram, opus consummavi quod dedisti mihi, &c.*^k and

^k John xvii. 3, &c.

with that he shut the book together, and said, A. D. 1535.
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 “ Here is even learning enough for me to my life’s
 “ end.” And so the sheriff being ready for him, he
 was taken up again among certain of the sheriff’s
 men, with a new and much greater company of
 weapons than was before, and carried to the scaffold
 on the Tower-hill, otherwise called East-Smithfield,
 himself praying all the way, and recording upon the
 words which he before had read.

10. When he was come to the foot of the scaffold, The man-
ner of his
mounting
the scaffold.
 they that carried him offered to help him up the
 stairs, but, said he, “ Nay masters, seeing I am come
 “ so far, let me alone, and ye shall see me shift for
 “ myself well enough:” and so went up the stairs
 without any help, so lively, that it was a marvel to
 them that before knew his debility and weakness.
 But as he was mounting the stairs, the south-east
 sun shined very bright in his face, whereupon he
 said to himself these words, lifting up his hands,
*Accedite ad eum, et illuminamini, et facies vestræ non
 confundentur.* By that time he was upon the scaf-
 fold it was about ten o’clock, where the executioner,
 being ready to do his office, kneeled down to him, as
 the fashion is, and asked him forgiveness. “ I for-
 “ give thee,” said he, “ with all my heart, and I trust
 “ thou shalt see me overcome this storm lustily.”
 Then was his gown and tippet taken from him, and
 he stood in his doublet and hose in sight of all the
 people, whereof there was no small number as-
 sembled to see the execution.

11. Being upon the scaffold, he spake to the His speech
to the
people.
 people in effect as followeth :

“ Christian people :—I am come hither to die for

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“ the faith of Christ’s holy catholic church, and I
 “ thank God hitherto my stomach hath served me
 “ very well thereunto, so that yet I have not feared
 “ death; wherefore I desire you all to help and
 “ assist with your prayers, that at the very point and
 “ instant of death’s stroke, I may in that very
 “ moment stand steadfast without fainting in any one
 “ point of the catholic faith, free from any fear.
 “ And I beseech Almighty God of his infinite good-
 “ ness to save the king and this realm, and that it
 “ may please him to hold his holy hand over it, and
 “ send the king a good council.”

These words he spake with such a cheerful countenance, such a stout and constant courage, and such a reverend gravity, that he appeared to all men not only void of fear, but also glad of death.

His execution.

12. After these few words by him uttered, he kneeled down on both his knees, and said certain prayers. Among which, as some reported, one was the hymn of *Te Deum laudamus*, to the end; and the Psalm, *In te Domine speravi*. Then came the executioner and bound an handkerchief about his eyes; and so the bishop lifting up his hands and heart to heaven, said a few prayers, which were not long, but fervent and devout. Which being ended, he laid his head down over the midst of a little block, where the executioner, being ready with a sharp and heavy axe, cut asunder his slender neck at one blow, which bled so abundantly, that many, saith my author, wondered to see so much blood issue out of so lean and slender a body; though in my judgment, that might rather have translated the wonder from his leanness to his age, it being

otherwise a received tradition, that lean folk have the most blood in them.

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13. Thus died John Fisher, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, on the two and twentieth of June, being St. Alban's day, the proto-martyr of England, and therefore with my author most remarkable. But surely no day in the Romish calendar is such a skeleton, or so bare of sanctity, but (had his death happened thereon) a priest would pick a mystery out of it. He had a lank long body, full six foot high, toward the end of his life very infirm, insomuch that he used to sit in a chair when he taught the people in his diocese.

His age and
stature.

14. His corpse (if our author speaketh truth) was barbarously abused, no windingsheet being allowed it, which will hardly enter into my belief. For, suppose his friends durst, his foes would not afford him a shroud, yet some neuters betwixt both (no doubt) would have done it out of common civility. Besides, seeing the king vouchsafed him the Tower, a noble prison; and beheading, an honourable death; it is improbable he would deny him a necessary equipage for a plain and private burial. Wherefore when Hall tells us, that "the soldiers attending his execution could not get spades to make his grave therewith, but were fain with halberds (in the north side of the churchyard of All-Hallows, Barking) to dig a hole, wherein they cast his naked corpse;" I listen to the relation as inflamed by the reporter's passion. Be it here remembered, that Fisher in his lifetime made himself a tomb on the north side of the chapel in St. John's college, intending there to be buried, but therein disappointed. This Fisher was he who had a cardinal's hat sent

His mean,
not to say
(if true)
barbarous
burial.

A. D. 1535. him, which (stopped at Calais) never came on his
²⁷ Henry head; and a monument made for him, wherein his
 VIII. body was never deposited.

An impu-
 dent impro-
 bable lie.

15. Our author reporteth also, how queen Anna Boleyn gave order his head should be brought unto her, before it was set up on London-bridge, that she might please herself with the sight thereof, and, like another Herodias, insult over the head of this John, her professed enemy. Nor was she content alone to revile his ghost with taunting terms, but out of spite, or sport, or both, struck her hand against the mouth of this dead head brought unto her; and it happened that one of Fisher's teeth, more prominent than the rest, struck into her hand, and not only pained her for the present, but made so deep an impression therein, that she carried the mark thereof to her grave. It seems this was contrary to the proverb, *mortui non mordent*. But enough, yea, too much of such damnable falsehoods. Pass we from Fisher to More, his fellow-prisoner, whom Fisher's execution had not mollified into conformity to the king his pleasure, as was expected.

Sir Thomas
 More's ex-
 traction and
 education.

16. Son he was to sir John More, one of the judges of the King's Bench, who lived to see his son preferred above himself. Bred a common lawyer, but withal a general scholar, as well in polite as solid learning: a terse poet, neat orator, pure Latinist, able Grecian: he was chosen speaker in the house of commons, made chancellor first of Lancaster duchy, then of all England, performing the place with great integrity and discretion. Some ground we have in 'England, neither so light and loose as sand, nor so stiff and binding as clay, but a mixture of both, conceived the surest soil for profit

and pleasure to grow together on: such the soil of A. D. 1535.
 this sir Thomas More, in which facetiousness and 27 Henry VIII.
 judiciousness were excellently tempered together^l.

17. Yet some have taxed him, that he “wore a a Charged for his over-much jesting.
 feather in his cap, and wagged it too often:”
 meaning, he was over-free in his fancies and conceits. Insomuch that on the scaffold (a place not to break jests, but to break off all jesting) he could not hold, but bestowed his scoffs on the executioner and standers by. Now, though innocency may smile at death, surely it is unfit to flout thereat.

18. But the greatest fault we find justly charged A great anti-protestant.
 on his memory is his cruelty in persecuting poor protestants, to whom he bare an implacable hatred. Insomuch that in his lifetime he caused to be inscribed, as parcel of his epitaph on his monument at Chelsea, that he ever was *furibus, homicidis, hæreticisque molestus*: a passing good praise, save after the way which he there calleth heresy, pious people *worship the God of their fathers*. He suffered the next month after Fisher’s execution, in the same place, for the same cause, July 6, and was buried at Chelsea, under his tomb aforesaid; which being become ruinous, and the epitaph scarce legible, hath few years since been decently repaired at the cost (as I am informed) of one of his near kinsmen^m.

19. At this time Katharine dowager, whom we The death and character of queen Katharine dowager.
 will be bold still in courtesy to call a queen, (notwithstanding king Henry’s proclamation to the contrary,) ended her woful life at Kimboltonⁿ. A pious woman toward God, (according to her devotion,)

^l [For an account of his behaviour at his execution, see More’s Life of sir Thomas More, p. 271. ed. 1726.]
^m [Burnet’s Ref. I. p. 709.]
ⁿ [Ibid. p. 385.]

A.D. 1535. frequent in prayer, which she always performed on
 27 Henry her bare knees, nothing else between her and the
 VIII. earth interposed; little curious in her clothes, being
 wont to say, "She accounted no time lost but what
 " was laid out in dressing of her^o;" though art
 might be more excusable in her, to whom nature
 had not been over-bountiful^p: she was rather staid
 than stately; reserved than proud; grave from her
 cradle, insomuch that she was a matron before she
 was a mother. This her natural gravity increased
 with her apprehended injuries, settled in her reduced
 age into an habit of melancholy, and that terminated
 into a consumption of the spirits. She was buried
 in the abbey church of Peterborough, under an
 hearse of black say^q; probably by her own appoint-
 ment, that she might be plain when dead, who
 neglected bravery of clothes when living. A noble
 pen^r tells us, that in intuition to her corpse here
 interred, king Henry, at the destruction of abbeys,
 not only spared the church in Peterborough, but also
 advanced it into a cathedral. If so, it was civilly
 done of him not to disturb her in her grave whom
 he had so disquieted in her bed. The news of her

^o Sanders *De Schismate Anglicano*, [p. 5.]

^p [See also Dr. Heylyn, in his *History of the Reformation*, part II. p. 82. But Speed, a Londoner, who lived much nearer her time, and might probably have obtained his description of her from eyewitnesses, styles her king Henry's beauteous queen. She died in the fifty-second year of her age; according to Burnet, p. 387, in the fiftieth. See also Ballard's *Brit. Ladies*, p. 20. n.,

where will be found a very excellent account of her.]

^q ["Her herse was covered
 " with a black velvet pall,
 " crossed with white cloth of
 " silver, which was afterwards
 " changed for one of black say,
 " but all was swept clean away
 " in the time of the grand re-
 " bellion, a. 1643." (Ballard,
 l. c. p. 25, from Gunton's *History of the Cathedral Church of Peterborough*, p. 57.)]

^r Lord Herbert in his *Henry the Eighth*, [p. 433.]

departure was not unwelcome to queen Anne Boleyn^s, who, though too good a Christian to desire her death, was too wise a woman to be over-sorrowful for the same: seeing formerly she was the king's wife but by sequestration, the true possessor of his bed being yet alive; whereas now Rehoboth^t, she conceived God had made room for her.

20. This Anna Boleyn was great-grandchild to a citizen, sir Jeffrey Boleyn^v, lord mayor of London; grandchild to sir William Boleyn, knight, who lived respectedly in his country; daughter to Thomas Boleyn, earl of Wiltshire, and a great courtier: and she had her birth in England; blood, by her grandmother^w, from Ireland; and breeding in France, under Mary the French queen: so that so many relations meeting in her, accomplished her with an acceptable behaviour to all qualities and conditions of people^x. Of an handsome person, and beautiful face; and therefore that pen^y that reports her lean-visaged, long-sided, gobber-toothed, yellow-complexioned, with a wen in her neck, both manifests his malice, and disparageth the judgment of king Henry, whom all knew well read in books, and better in beauties; who would never have been drawn to so passionate a love without stronger load-

^s [Burnet says (Ref. ib. p. 388.) that queen Anne "expressed too much joy at it, both in her carriage and dress."]

^t Gen. xxvi. 22.

^v [Created earl of Wiltshire after his daughter's promotion, being before, as Cavendish says, "only a bachelor knight." Life of Wolsey, p. 119. By her mother's side she was

"nigh of the Norfolk blood: and of her father's side line-ally descended of the earl of Ormond, he being one of the earl's heirs general." Ibid. p. 123.]

^w Daughter to Thomas earl of Ormond.

^x [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 81.]

^y Sanders de Schismate Anglicano, [p. 15.]

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The character of
queen Anna
Boleyn.

A. D. 1535. stones to attract it. This queen, remembering how
²⁷ Henry VIII. her predecessor lost the king's love with her over-
 austerity, turned herself to a more open and debonair
 behaviour, even generally to all with whom she conversed. Which being observed by her ad-
 versaries, was improved by them to her overthrow; so that she but for a very short time had the sole
 and peaceable possession of her husband. In a word, she was a great patroness of the protestants,
 protector of the persecuted, preferrer of men of merit, (among whom Hugh Latimer,) a bountiful
 reliever of the poor, and the happy mother of queen Elizabeth.

The first reformed convocation.

21. On the eighth of June began a short but sharp parliament, (dissolved the eighteenth of July following,) effecting much in little time, matters it seems being well prepared aforehand, and the house assembled not to debate, but do the king's desires. The parallel convocation began the day after, being one new-modelled, and of a fashion different from all former convocations. Therein the lord Cromwell, prime secretary, sat in state above all the bishops, as the king's vicar or vicegerent-general in all spiritual matters^z. *Deformi satis spectaculo*, saith

^z [According to Burnet, (Ref. I. p. 365,) these are not the same. "The first act of the king's supremacy was his naming Cromwell vicar-general, and general visitor of all the monasteries and other privileged places. This is commonly confounded with his following dignity of vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters; but they were two different places, and held by

"different commissions. By the one he had no authority over the bishops, nor had he any precedence; but the other, as it gave him the precedence next the royal family, so it clothed him with a complete delegation of the king's whole power in ecclesiastical affairs." But Collier proves that he is mistaken (see Eccl. Hist. II. p. 104.), and has published the

my author, *indocto laico cœtui præsidente sacratorum antistitum, omnium, quos ante hæc tempora Anglia unquam habuisset, doctissimorum*^a. In one respect, that place had better become the person of king Henry, than this lord his proxy, all allowing the king a very able scholar. But Cromwell had in power and policy what he lacked in learning, if he may be said to lack it, who, at pleasure, might command the borrowing thereof from the best brains and pens of those of his own party in the convocation.

22. This convocation consisted of two houses: the lower, of the clerks and proctors of their respective cathedrals and dioceses, with the deans and archdeacons therein: the upper, of the bishops, with the lord abbots and priors, (I mean so many of them as voted as barons in parliament,) as may appear by their several subscriptions^b. However, I find not the abbots active in any degree in canvassing matters of religion. Whether this proceeded from any desire of ease, their laziness being above their learning, or out of humility, counting it more proper to permit such disputes to the sole disposal of the bishops, as most concerned therein, or out of fear, loth to stickle on religion, knowing on what ticklish terms they stood. For, in this very parliament, all

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27 Henry VIII.

The silence in the abbots of the convocation.

commission in which Cromwell is appointed vicegerent, vicar-general, commissary, special and principal, with all the power which belongs to the supremacy of the king; see his Collection of Records, N^o. 30.]

^a Godwin's Annals, A. D. 1536. [p. 202. ed. 1653. He

signed the articles of religion printed below, before all the bishops and others.]

^b Concordatum erat per honorandum virum [Cromwell] et reverendos episcopos abbates et priores domus superioris acta convocationis celebrat, an. 1536. fol. antepenult.

[See Burnet, I. p. 388.]

A. D. 1535. 27 Henry VIII. abbeys which could not dispend 200*l.* a year were dissolved, and bestowed on the king; and those rich abbots (which had more than so many thousands yearly) knew that maxim in logic to be true, *Magis et minus non variant speciem*, “more and less do not alter the kind;” and might say with him on the cross, they *were in the same condemnation*, though as yet the sentence was not passed upon them.

The diurnal of this convocation.

23. We will observe the daily motions in this convocation, as with mine own hand I have faithfully transcribed them out of the Records: Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, made the Latin sermon, taking for his text, *The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light^c*. On the Friday following Richard Gwent, archdeacon of London, was presented, and confirmed prolocutor in this convocation. On the same day master William Peter, doctor of the laws, came into the house, as deputed from his master the lord Cromwell, who could not be present, because of his greater employment in parliament. This Dr. Peter claimed the highest place in the house, as due to his master the lord Cromwell, *ideo petiit prædictum locum sibi, tanquam procuratori domini Cromwell^d*; and he (shall I say requested, or) required the same precedency, as due to him, being his proctor, and obtained it accordingly, without any dispute. Though some, perchance, might question whether a deputy's deputy (as one degree further removed) might properly claim his place who was primitively repre-

^c Luke xvi. 8.

1536. fol. 9. [Wilkins' Conc.

^d Records of Cant. A. D. III. p. 803.]

sented. Next Wednesday came in the lord Cromwell in person, and having judiciously seated himself above all, tendered unto them an instrument to be publicly signed by all the convocation, concerning the nullity of the king's marriage with the lady Anna Boleyn^e.

24. Some ten days before^f, archbishop Cranmer at Lambeth held an open court, in the presence of Thomas Audley, lord chancellor, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and most of the privy council. Wherein the king and queen were cited to appear, as they did by their proxies, doctor Richard Sampson^g being the king's, and doctor Nicholas Wotton^h the queen's. Then proceeded the archbishop to discuss the validity of their marriage, and at the last, by his definitive sentence, pronounced the same "invalid, frustrate, and of none effectⁱ." No parti-

^e [Which they signed on the 28th of the same month. See Wilkins as above.]

^f [The word *ten* must not be interpreted literally. The queen received sentence on the 17th, (Burnet, Ref. I. p. 409.) and was beheaded on the 19th of May 1536. On which day a dispensation was granted by the archbishop of Canterbury, authorizing a contract of marriage between the king and lady Jane Seymour. (See Cat. of Manuscripts for the Fœdera, p. 188.) The convocation began to sit the 9th of June, and Cromwell made his motion for confirming the sentence of the invalidity of the king's marriage on the 21st.

^g [Dean of the chapel, and afterwards bishop of Chi-

chester.]

^h [Et Joh. Barbour. See Wilkins, ib. p. 804.]

ⁱ [The king wrought upon her fears to confess a pre-contract, and so it was judged that her marriage was 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. Burnet, Ref. I. p. 409. It is plain that Cranmer was both a mournful and unwilling agent in this affair; for on the confession of the queen, the result could not be otherwise. See also his earnest letter in behalf of the queen in Burnet, Ref. I. p. 402, and Cranmer's Works, I. p. 163. Further interference on his part was pre-

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27 Henry
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A. D. 1536.
Cranmer
solemnly
divorceth
Anna Bo-
leyn from
the king.

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cular cause is specified in that sentence, (still extant in the Record,) and though the judge and court seemed abundantly satisfied in the reasons of this nullity, yet concealing the same unto themselves, they thought not fit to communicate this treasure to posterity; except they shut their coffers on purpose, because there was nothing in them. Sure I am, there is no dashing on the credit of the lady, nor any the least insinuations of in chastity in that instrument; *Præclara domina, et serenissima regina*, being the worst titles that are given her therein.

What
might be
the king's
designs in
this divorce.

25. Men may justly marvel what king Henry meant by this solemn and ceremonious divorce, which the edge of the axe or sword was more effectually to perform the day after, her death being then designed. Was it because he stood on this punctilio or criticism of credit, that he might not hereafter be charged with cruelty for executing his wife, that first he would be divorced from her, and so cannot be said to put his queen, but Anna Boleyn to death? Or, did he first but barely intend her divorce, and afterwards suspecting this would not make sufficient avoidance in his bed to clear all claims, took up new resolutions to take away her life? Or, was it because he conceived the execution would only reach the root, the queen herself, and not blast the branch, the lady Elizabeth, whom by this divorce he desired to render illegitimate? Whatever his aims were, he got her divorce confirmed both by convocation and parliament^j, interesting all

vented by his being forbid the court at the time.

The definitive sentence, as it was presented by Cromwell

to convocation, is printed in Wilkins' Concil. III. p. 803.]

^j [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 421.]

equally therein, that hereafter none should accuse him of this act, but first they must condemn themselves. However, after-ages take the boldness to conceive, that the greatest guilt of Anna Boleyn was king Henry's better fancying of another, which made him, the next day after her death, to mourn so passionately for her in the embraces of a new and beautiful bride, the lady Jane Seymour^k.

26. But to return to the convocation. That instrument of divorce was no sooner tendered therein, but all subscribed it. The papists willingly, the protestants faintly, but all publicly. Yea, in this convocation nothing was propounded in the king's name, but it passed presently. O the operation of the purge of a *præmunire*, so lately taken by the clergy (and an hundred thousand pounds paid thereupon)! How did the remembrance thereof still work on their spirits, and made them meek and mortified! They knew the temper of the king, and had read the text, *The lion hath roared, who will not fear*¹? Gardiner the fox durst not so much as bark to oppose the king, nor the proudest in the place. As for Edmund Bonner, archdeacon of Leicester, present and active in this convocation, I may say, Bonner was no Bonner yet, but a perfect Cromwellist, and as forward as any to promote his designs.

27. On the Friday following Mr. Gwent the prolocutor brought to the upper house of convocation a book containing the *mala dogmata*^m, those erroneous doctrines then (as he complained) publicly preached,

^k [Ibid. p. 416.]

¹ Amos iii. 8.

^m ["Mala dogmata per con-

cionatores infra provinciam

"Cantuar. publice prædi-

"cata."]

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28 Henry
VIII.

The convo-
cation bux-
om to
please the
king in all
things.

A catalogue
of erroneous
opinions
complained
of in the
convo-
cation.

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printed, and professed; requesting reformation thereof, that order might be taken against the future propagation of such dangerous positions. Behold them here transcribed out of the record, partly for novelty sake, (because to my knowledge never printed before,) and partly because (though many wild and distempered expressions be found therein, yet) they contain the protestant religion in ore, which since, by God's blessing, is happily refined.

Erroneous
opinions (as
then ac-
counted)
complained
of in the
convo-
cation.

28. *The protestation of the clergy of the lower house, within the province of Canterbury, with declaration of the faults and abuses which heretofore have, and now be within the same, worthy special reformation*ⁿ:

“ In very humble and reverent manner, with pro-
“ testation, That we the clergy of the lower house
“ within the province of Canterbury, neither in word,
“ deed, or otherwise, directly or indirectly, intend
“ any thing, to speak, attempt, or do, which in any
“ manner of wise may be displeasent unto the king's
“ highness, our most dread sovereign lord, and su-
“ preme head of the church of England; but in all
“ things, according to the command of God, to be
“ most obedient to his grace, to whom accordingly
“ we submit ourselves, minding in no wise by any
“ colourable fashion to recognise, privily or apertly,
“ the bishop of Rome, or his usurped authority, or
“ in any wise to bring in, defend, or maintain the
“ same, into this noble realm, or dominions of the
“ same: but that the same bishop of Rome, with his

ⁿ [I have not been able to find any other copy of this protestation.]



“ usurped authority, utterly for ever with his in-
 “ ventions, rites, abuses, ordinances and fashions, to
 “ be renounced, forsaken, extinguished and abo-
 “ lished; and that we sincerely addict ourselves to
 “ Almighty God, his laws, and unto our said
 “ sovereign lord the king, our supreme head in earth,
 “ and his laws, statutes, provisions and ordinances
 “ made here within his grace’s realm. We think in
 “ our consciences and opinions these errors and
 “ abuses following to have been, and now to be,
 “ within this realm, causes of dissension worthy
 “ special reformation. It is to wit,

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i. “ That it is commonly preached, taught, and
 “ spoken, to the slander of this noble realm, dis-
 “ quietness of the people, damage of Christian souls,
 “ not without fear of many other inconveniences and
 “ perils, That the sacrament of the altar is not to be
 “ esteemed: for divers light and lewd persons be not
 “ ashamed or afeared to say, Why should I see the
 “ sacring of the high mass? Is it any thing else but
 “ a piece of bread, or a little predie round robin?

ii. *Item*, “ That they deny extreme unction to be
 “ any sacrament.

iii. *Item*, “ That priests have no more authority to
 “ minister sacraments than the laymen have.

iv. *Item*, “ That children ought not in any wise to
 “ be confirmed of the bishops afore they come to the
 “ age of discretion.

v. *Item*, “ That all ceremonies accustomed in the
 “ church, which are not clearly expressed in scrip-
 “ ture, must be taken away, because they are men’s
 “ inventions.

vi. *Item*, “ That all those are antichrists that do

A. D. 1536. " deny the laymen the sacrament of the altar *sub*
 28 Henry " *utraque specie.*
 VIII.

vii. *Item*, " That all that be present at mass, and
 " do not receive the sacrament with the priest, are
 " not partakers of the said mass.

viii. *Item*, " That it is preached and taught, That
 " the church, that is commonly taken for the church,
 " is the old synagogue; and, that the church is the
 " congregation of good men only.

ix. *Item*, " It is preached against the Litany, and
 " also said, That it was never merry in England
 " sithence the Litany was ordained, and *sancta*
 " *Maria, sancta Catharina, &c.* sungen and said.

x. *Item*, " That a man hath no free-will.

xi. *Item*, " That God never gave grace nor know-
 " ledge of holy scripture to any great estate or rich
 " man, and that they in nowise follow the same.

xii. *Item*, " That all religions and professions, what-
 " soever they be, are clean contrary to Christ's
 " religion.

xiii. *Item*, " That it be preached and taught, That
 " all things ought to be common, and that priests
 " should have wives.

xiv. *Item*, " That preachers will in nowise conform
 " themselves *ad ecclesiam catholicam*, nor admit or
 " receive *canonicos et probatos authores*, but will
 " have their own fancies and inventions preached
 " and set forward.

xv. *Item*, " That images of saints are not in any
 " wise to be revered; and, that it is plain idolatry
 " and abomination to set up any lights before any
 " images, or in any place of the church the time
 " of divine service, as long as the sun giveth light.

xvi. *Item*, "That it is idolatry to make any ob-
 " lations. A. D. 1536.
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xvii. *Item*, "That it is as lawful to christen a
 " child in a tub of water at home, or in a ditch by
 " the way, as in a font-stone in the church.

xviii. *Item*, "That the water in the font-stone is
 " alonely a thing conjured.

xix. *Item*, "That the hallowed oil is no better than
 " the bishop of Rome his grease or butter.

xx. *Item*, "That priests' crowns be the whore's
 " marks of Babylon.

xxi. *Item*, "That the stole about the priest's neck
 " is nothing else but the bishop of Rome's rope.

xxii. *Item*, "That images, as well of the crucifix
 " as of other saints, are to be put out of the church,
 " and the relics of saints in no wise to be revered.
 " And, that it is against God's commandment, that
 " Christian men should make courtesy or reverence
 " to the image of our Saviour.

xxiii. *Item*, "That it is no sin or offence to eat
 " white meats, eggs, butter, cheese, or flesh in the
 " lent, or other fasting-days commanded by the
 " church, and received by consent of Christian
 " people.

xxiv. *Item*, "That it is lawful to eat flesh on
 " Good Friday, as upon Easter day, or other times
 " in the year.

xxv. *Item*, "That the sinner offending in the lent,
 " or other high feasts of the year, is worthy no more
 " punishment than he that transgresseth in any
 " other time.

xxvi. *Item*, "That confession auricular, absolution,
 " and penance, are nother necessary nor profitable
 " in the church of God.

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xxvii. *Item*, "That auricular confession is only
" invented and ordained to have the secret know-
" ledge of men's hearts, and to pull money out of
" their purses.

xxviii. *Item*, "That the ghostly father cannot give
" or enjoin any penance at all.

xxix. *Item*, "That it is sufficient for a man or
" woman to make their confession to God alone.

xxx. *Item*, "That it is as lawful at all times to
" confess to a layman as to a priest.

xxxi. *Item*, "That confession is but a whispering
" in a priest's ear, and is as well to be made, a mul-
" titude being present, as secretly.

xxxii. *Item*, "That it is sufficient that the sinner
do say, I know myself a sinner.

xxxiii. *Item*, "That bishops' ordinaries and eccle-
" siastical judges have no authority to give any sen-
" tence of excommunication or censure; ne yet to
" absolve or loose any man from the same.

xxxiv. *Item*, "That it is not necessary or profitable
" to have any church or chapel to pray in, or to do
" any divine service in.

xxxv. *Item*, "That the church was made for no
" other purpose, but other to keep the people from
" wind and rain, other else that the people upon
" Sundays and holidays should resort thither to have
" the word of God declared unto them.

xxxvi. *Item*, "That buryings in churches and
" churchyards be unprofitable and vain.

xxxvii. *Item*, "That the rich and costly ornaments
" in the church are rather high displeasure than
" pleasure or honour to God.

xxxviii. *Item*, "That it is pity that ever the mass,
" matins, evensong, or any other divine service was

“ made, or suffered to be read, said, or sung within A. D. 1536.
 “ any church, because it is only to the deluding of 28 Henry
 “ the people. VIII.

xxxix. *Item*, “ That saints are not to be invocated
 “ or honoured: and that they understand not, nor
 “ know nothing of our petitions, nor can be me-
 “ diators or intercessors betwixt us and God.

xl. *Item*, “ That our lady was no better than
 “ another woman; and like a bag of pepper or
 “ saffron when the spice is out: and that she can do
 “ no more with Christ than another sinful woman.

xli. *Item*, “ That it is as much available to pray
 “ unto saints, as to hurl a stone against the wind:
 “ and that the saints have no more power to help
 “ a man, than a man’s wife hath to help her
 “ husband.

xlii. *Item*, “ That dirige, commendations, mass, suf-
 “ frages, prayers, almsdeeds, or oblations, done for
 “ the souls of them that be departed out of this
 “ world, be but vain and of no profit.

xliii. *Item*, “ That the souls departed go straight
 “ to heaven, other to hell.

xliv. *Item*, “ That there is no mean place between
 “ heaven and hell wherein souls departed may be
 “ afflicted.

xlv. *Item*, “ That if there be a place where they
 “ be punished, God is not yet born, nor he that
 “ shall redeem the world.

xlvi. *Item*, “ That prayers, suffrages, fasting, or
 “ almsdeeds, do not help to take away any sin.

xlvii. *Item*, “ That there is no distinction of sins
 “ after this sort, sin to be venial, and sin to be
 “ mortal.

xlviii. *Item*, “ That all sins, after that the sinner

A. D. 1536. ^{28 Henry VIII.} “ be once converted, are made by the merits of
 “ Christ’s passion venial sins, that is to say, sins
 “ clean forgiven.

xlix. *Item*. “ That Almighty God doth not look
 “ for, nor yet require of a sinner after his conversion
 “ from sin any fasting, almsdeed, or any other
 “ penance; but only that the sinner be sorry for his
 “ sins, amending his life, and sinning no more.

i. *Item*, “ That hallowed water, hallowed bread,
 “ hallowed candles, hallowed ashes, hallowed palm,
 “ and such like ceremonies of the church, are of
 “ none effect, and to be taken as trifles and vanities
 “ to seduce the people.

li. *Item*, “ That holidays ordained and instituted
 “ by the church are not to be observed and kept in
 “ reverence, inasmuch as all days and times be like:
 “ and that servile works, as ploughing and carting,
 “ may be done in the same, without any offence at
 “ all, as in other ferial days.

lii. *Item*, “ That the singing or saying of mass,
 “ matins, or evensong, is but a roaring, howling,
 “ whistling, mumming, conjuring and juggling: and
 “ the playing at the organs a foolish vanity.

liii. *Item*, “ That pilgrimage, fasting, almsdeeds,
 “ and such like, are not to be used; and that a
 “ man is not bound to the church, but only to the
 “ preaching.

liv. *Item*, “ That it is sufficient and enough to
 “ believe, though a man do no good works at
 “ all.

lv. *Item*, “ That men be not content to preach of
 “ certain abuses found in pilgrimages, in fasting, in
 “ prayer, in invocation of saints, in reverencing of
 “ images, in almsdeeds, but they will have needs

“ the thing itself taken away, and not enough the
 “ abuses to be reformed. A.D. 1536.
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lvi. *Item*, “ That by preaching the people have
 “ been brought in opinion and belief, that nothing is
 “ to be believed except it can be proved expressly
 “ by scripture.

lvii. *Item*, “ That it is preached and taught, that
 “ forasmuch as Christ hath shed his blood for us and
 “ redeemed us, we need not to do any thing at all
 “ but to believe and repent, if we have offended.

lviii. *Item*, “ That there is of late a new *confiteor*
 “ made after this form, *Confiteor Deo cæli et terræ,*
 “ *peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione, et opere, mea*
 “ *culpa. Ideo deprecor majestatem tuam, ut tu Deus*
 “ *deleas iniquitatem meam, et vos orare pro me.*

lix. *Item*, “ That it is preached, that because auri-
 “ cular confession hath brought forth innumerable
 “ vices, it is clearly to be taken away.

lx. *Item*, “ That the canon of the mass is the com-
 “ ment of some foolish unlearned priest: and that
 “ the names of the saints there expressed are not to
 “ be rehearsed.

lxi. *Item*, “ That water running in the channel or
 “ common river is of as great virtue as the holy
 “ water.

lxii. *Item*, “ That holy water is but juggled water.

lxiii. *Item*, “ That the holy water is more savoury
 “ to make sauce with than the other, because it is
 “ mixed with salt; which is also a very good medi-
 “ cine for an horse with a galled back: yea, if there
 “ be put an onion thereunto, it is a good sauce for a
 “ gibbet of mutton.

lxiv. *Item*, “ That no human constitutions or laws
 “ do bind any Christian man, but such as be in the

A. D. 1536. "Gospels, Paul's Epistles, or the New Testament :
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 VIII. "and that a man may break them without any
 "offence at all.

lxy. *Item*, "That besides seditious preaching, let-
 "ting unity to be had, there are many slanderous
 "and erroneous books that have been made and
 "suffered to go abroad indifferently, which books
 "were the more gladly bought, because of these
 "words, *cum privilegio*, which the ignorant people
 "took to have been an express approbation of the
 "king, where it was not so indeed.

lxvi. *Item*, "That where heretofore divers books
 "have been examined by persons appointed in the
 "convocation, and the said books found full of
 "heresy and erroneous opinions, and so declared,
 "the said books are not yet by the bishops expressly
 "condemned, but suffered to remain in the hands of
 "unlearned people, which ministereth to them
 "matter of argument, and much unquietness within
 "the realm.

lxvii. *Item*, "That apostates, abjured persons, and
 "of notable ill conversation, and infamed, have
 "without license of the king's grace, or the ordinary,
 "taken upon them to preach slanderously^q."

Distemper-
 ed ex-
 pressions
 partly ex-
 cused.

29. The reader hath no sooner perused these
 opinions, but well he may conceive himself to have
 put his hand into Jeremiah's basket of figs, *Those
 that are good, exceeding good; and those that are bad,
 exceeding bad*^p: most of these tenents being true in
 themselves, grounded on God's word, and at this day

^p Jer. xxiv. 3. in Fox's possession. Memor. I.
^q [Strype has also published Ap. lxxiii.]
 these articles from a MS. once

professed by the protestants; but blended with these are some, rather expressions than opinions, (and those probably worse spoken than meant, worse taken than spoken,) which we will not go about in any degree to defend, only may the impartial reader take this into consideration. It happeneth in all heights and heats of oppositions, as in horse-races; wherein the rider, if he doth not go beyond the post, cannot come to the post, so as to win the prize; for being upon the speed, he must go beyond it that he come to it, though afterwards he may rein and turn his horse back again to the very place of the mark. Thus men being in the heat of contest upon the very career of their souls, because of their passions, cannot stop short at the very mark they aim at, but some extravagances must be indulged to human infirmity, which in their reduced thoughts they will correct and amend. As some protestants, no doubt, now lashing out so far in their language, retrenched them afterwards to a just proportion of truth⁹.

30. Two contrary interests visibly discovered themselves in the upper house of this convocation betwixt the bishops therein; and certainly in the lower house, their clerks and chaplains adhered to the parties of their lords and masters^r. An honourable pen^s hath stated the principal parties, whom we implicitly follow herein; only, where he mentions their bare sees, we will add their names and surnames for the better clearing thereof:

⁹ [After various prorogations, nothing was concluded, until the 11th of July, when Fox, bishop of Hereford, produced the Book of Articles printed below, to which the

clergy gave their assent. See Wilkins, III. p. 803.]

^r [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 430.]

^s Lord Herbert in the Life of Henry VIII.

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Protestants for the Reformation.

1. Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury.
2. Thomas Goodrich, bishop of Ely.
3. Nicholas Shaxton, bishop of Sarum.
4. Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester.
5. Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford.
6. John Hilsey, bishop of Rochester.
7. William Barlow, bishop of St. David's.

Papists against Reformation.

1. Edward Lee, archbishop of York.
2. John Stokesley, bishop of London.
3. Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham.
4. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester.
5. Robert Sherborne, bishop of Chichester.
6. Richard Nix, bishop of Norwich^t.
7. John Kite, bishop of Carlisle.

Oh! what tugging was here betwixt these opposite sides? (for I dare not take bishop Latimer's phrase, as he took it out of his text, *Betwixt the children of this generation, and the children of light*^v.) whilst with all earnestness they thought to advance their several designs. But, as when two stout and sturdy travellers meet together, and both desire the way, yet neither are willing to fight for it, in their passage they so shove and shoulder one another, that dividing the way betwixt them both, and yet neither

^t [Nix, bishop of Norwich, was on February 9, 1534, convicted in a *præmunire* in the King's Bench, for a correspondence with Rome. The king, however, in consideration of his great age and infirmities, he having been blind for some years, pardoned him. He died however soon after, Ja-

nuary 14, 1536, five months before the sitting of this convocation. See Godwin, *De Præs. Ang.* p. 440. Burnet, *Ref. I.* p. 431.]

^v [He preached the sermon on this text; *Filii hujus sæculi prudentiores sunt filiis lucis.* Strype's *Mem. I.* 245.]

get the same; so these two opposite parties in the convocation were fain at last in a drawn battle to part the prize between them, neither of them being conquering or conquered: but a medley religion, as an expedient, being made up betwixt them both, to salve (if not the consciences) the credits of both sides.

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31. Some zealots of our age will condemn the Laodicean temper of the protestant bishops, because if stickling to purpose, and improving their power to the utmost, they might have set forth a more pure and perfect religion. Such men see the faults of reformers, but not the difficulties of reformation. These protestant bishops were at this time to encounter with the popish clergy, equal in number, not inferior in learning; but far greater in power and dependencies. Besides, the generality of the people of the land being nusled in ignorance and superstition, could not on a sudden endure the extremity of an absolute reformation. Should our eyes be instantly posted out of midnight into noon-day, certainly we should be blinded with the suddenness and excellency of the lustre thereof. Nature therefore hath wisely provided the twilight, as a bridge by degrees to pass us from darkness to light. Yea, our Saviour himself did at the first connive at the carnality of his apostles, and would not *put new wine into old bottles for fear of breaking*^u. Yea, he had some commandments, which as yet *they were not able to bear*^x; and therefore till they could bear them, his wisdom did bear with them. Thus the best of artists do not always work to the height of

The protestant bishops their moderation vindicated.

^u Matt. ix. 17.

^x John xvi. 12.

A. D. 1536. their own skill, but according to the aptness of the
28 Henry VIII. instruments wherewith, and the capacity of the sub-
 jects whereon, they employ themselves.

The draught of the twilight religion confirmed in this convocation.

34. And here we present the reader with the aforesaid medley religion passed in this convocation, and confirmed with royal assent; requesting him, though it be somewhat long, not to grudge his time and pains, seriously to peruse it. Partly for the authenticalness thereof, being by me transcribed out of the Acts of the Convocation: partly for its usefulness, shewing by what degrees the gospel insinuated itself into the souls of men. What said Zeresh, Haman's wife to her husband? *If thou hast begun to fall before Mordecai, thou shalt not prevail against him, but shalt surely fall before him*^y. Seeing popery began even now to reel and stagger, within few years we shall have it tumble down and lay prostrate with the face thereof at the footstool of truth.

^y Esther vi. 13.

35. * Henry ^athe Eighth, by the grace of God, king ^{A. D. 1536.}
of England and of France, ^bdefensour of the ^{28 Henry}
faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth supreme head ^{VIII.}
of the church of England; to all and singular
our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects,
greeting.

Amongst other cures ^cappertaining unto this our princely office, whereunto it hath pleased ^dAlmighty God of his infinite mercy and goodness to call us, we have always esteemed and thought, ^elike as we also yet esteem and think, ^fthat it most chiefly belongeth unto our said charge, diligently to foresee and cause, ^gthat not only the most holy word and commandments of God should most sincerely be believed, and most reverently be observed and kept of our subjects, ^hbut also that unity and concord in opinions, namely, in such things as do concern our religion, may increase and go forthward, and all

^a the Eighth] the Eight, MS. ^b defensour] defendor, MS.
^c appertaining] committed, MS. ^d Almighty] omitted in MS.
^e like] omitted in MS. ^f that it—and cause] this to be most chief, most ponderous, and of most weight, MS.
^g that not only—our subjects] that his holy word and commandments sincerely may be without let or hindrance of our subjects truly believed, and reverently kept and observed, MS.
^h but also] and, MS.

* [These Articles I have collated with the original copy in the British Museum. (Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. V.) This MS. contains the original signatures of the two houses of convocation, printed in note *, p. 159. It is scarcely needful to mention, that two copies of these Articles, one from bishop

Burnet's History of the Reformation, and one from the edition of Berthelet, in 1536, were reprinted by bishop Lloyd in the Formularies of Faith, Oxford, 8°. 1825. Fuller has followed the latter. The variations of the Cotton MS. are printed at the foot of the page.]

A. D. 1536. occasion of dissent and discord touching the same
²⁸ Henry VIII. be repressed and utterly extinguished.

For the which cause, we being of late to our great regret credibly advertised of such diversity in opinions, as have grown and sprongen in this our realm, as well concerning certain articles necessary to our salvation, as also touching certain ⁱother honest and commendable ceremonies, rites, and usages, ^know a long time used and accustomed in ^lour churches, for ^mconservation of an honest polity, and decent ⁿand seemly order ^oto be had therein: minding to have that unity and agreement established through our said church concerning the premises. And, being very desirous to eschew, not only the dangers of souls, but also the outward unquietness, which, by occasion of the said diversity in opinions (if remedy ^pwere not provided) might perchance have ensued; have not only in our own person at many times taken great pain, study, labours, and travails, but also have caused our bishops, and other the most discreet and best learned men of our clergy of this our whole realm, to be assembled in our convocation, for the full debate-ment and quiet determination of the same. Where, after long and mature ^qdeliberation had of and upon the premises, finally they have concluded and agreed upon ^rthe most special points and articles, as

ⁱ other] omitted in MS. ^k now a long time used and accustomed] omitted in MS. ^l our] our said, MS. ^m conservation of] omitted in MS. ⁿ and seemly] omitted in MS. ^o to be had therein] heretofore of long time used and accustomed, MS. ^p were] had not been, MS. ^q deliberation] deliberation and disputation, MS. ^r the most special points and articles] the said matters, MS.

well ^ssuch as be commanded of God, and are necessary to our salvation, ^tas also divers other matters touching the honest ceremonies, and good and politic orders, as is aforesaid. Which their determination, debatement, and agreement, for ^uso much as we think to have proceeded of a good, right, and true judgment, and to be agreeable to the laws and ordinances of God, and much profitable for the stablishment of that charitable concord and unity in our church of England, which we most desire, we have caused the same to be published, willing, requiring, and commanding you to accept, repute, and take them ^xaccordingly. And further, we most heartily desire and pray Almighty God, that it may please him so to illuminate your hearts, that you, and every of you, may have no less desire, zeal, and love to the said unity and concord, in reading, divulging, and following the same, than we have had and have ^yin causing them to be thus devised, set forth, and published.

And for because we would the said articles, and every of them, ^zshould be taken and understanden of you, after such sort, order and degree, as appertaineth accordingly, we have caused by the like assent and agreement of our said bishops, and other learned men, the said articles to be divided into two sorts; ^awhereof the one part containeth such as ^bbe commanded expressly by God, and ^bbe necessary to our salvation; ^cand the other containeth such things

^s said as] those which, MS. ^t as also divers other matters] as the other, MS. ^u so] as, MS. ^x accordingly— and pray] accordingly: most heartily desiring and praying, MS. ^y in] omitted in MS. ^z should be] to be, MS. ^a whereof the one part containeth] that is to say, MS. ^b be—be] are—are, MS. ^c and the other—have been] and such other as, although they be not expressly commanded of God, nor necessary to our salvation, yet being, MS.

A. D. 1536. ^{28 Henry VIII.} as have been of a long continuance, ^dfor a decent order and honest ^epolity, prudently instituted ^fand used in the church of our realm, and be for that same purpose and end to be observed ^gand kept accordingly, although they be not expressly commanded of God, nor necessary to our salvation. Wherefore, we will and require you to accept the same, after such sort as we have here prescribed them unto you, and to conform yourselves obediently unto the same: whereby you shall not only attain that most charitable unity and loving concord, whereof shall ensue your incomparable commodity, profit and lucre, as well spiritual as other; ^hbut also you shall not a little encourage us to take further travails, pains, and labours for your commodities in all such other matters as in time to come may happen to occur, and as it shall be most to the honour ⁱof God, the profit, tranquillity, and quietness of all you our most loving subjects.

^d for a decent order] omitted in MS. ^e polity] policy, MS.
^f and used in the church of our realm, and be] are, MS.
^g and kept accordingly—whereby you] in like manner. Which ye following after such sort as we have prescribed unto you, MS.
^h but also you shall] but also ye, conforming yourselves, and using these our said articles as aforesaid, shall, MS.
ⁱ of God] of God and others, MS.

^k *The principal Articles concerning our Faith.*A. D. 1536.
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First, As touching the chief and principal Articles of our Faith, it is thus agreed, as hereafter followeth, by the whole clergy of this our realm. We will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people by us committed to their spiritual charge, that they ought and must most constantly believe and defend all those things to be true which be comprehended in the whole body and canon of the Bible; and also in the three creeds or symbols, whereof one was made by the apostles, and is the common Creed which every man useth: the second was made ^lby the council of Nice, and is said daily in the mass: and the third was made by Athanasius, and is comprehended in the Psalm, *Quicumque vult*. And that they ought and must take and interpret all the same things, according to the selfsame sentence and interpretation, which the words of the selfsame creeds or symbols do purport, and the holy approved doctrines of the church do intreat and defend the same.

Item, That they ought and must repute, hold, and take all the same things for the most holy, most sure, and most certain and infallible words of God, and such as neither ought ne can be altered, or convelled by any contrary opinion or authority.

Item, That they ought and must believe, repute, and take all the articles of our faith contained in the said creeds to be so necessary to be believed for man's salvation. That, whosoever being taught will not believe them, as is afore-said, or will obstinately affirm the contrary of them; he, or they, cannot be the very members of Christ, and his spouse the church, but be very infidels or heretics, and members of the devil, with whom they shall perpetually be damned.

Item, That they ought and must most reverently and religiously observe and keep the selfsame words, according to the very same form and manner of speaking, as the

^k The principal Articles concerning our Faith] The Articles of our Faith, MS. ^l by the council] in the holy council, MS.

A. D. 1536. articles of our faith be already conceived and expressed in
²⁸ Henry VIII. the said creeds, without altering in any wise, or varying
 from the same.

Item, That they ought and must utterly refuse and condemn all those opinions contrary to the said articles, which were of long time passed, condemned in the four holy councils, that is to say, in the council of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and all other since that time in any point consonant to the same.

The Sacrament of Baptism.

Secondly, As touching the holy sacrament of baptism, we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought, and must of necessity believe certainly all those things which have been always by the whole consent of the church approved, received, and used in the sacrament of baptism; that is to say, that the sacrament of baptism was instituted and ordained in the New Testament by our Saviour Jesus Christ, as a thing necessary for the attaining of everlasting life, according to the saying of
 John iii. 5. Christ, ^m*No man can enter into the kingdom of heaven, except he be born again of water and the Holy Ghost.*

Item, That it is offered unto all men, as well infants as such as have the use of reason, that by baptism they shall have remission of sins, and the grace and favour of God, according to the saying of ⁿChrist, ^o*Whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved.*
 Mark xvi. 16.

Item, That the promise of grace and everlasting life (which promise is adjoined unto this sacrament of baptism) pertaineth not only unto such as have the use of reason, but also to infants, innocents, and children: and, that they ought therefore, and must needs be baptized; and, that by the sacrament of baptism they do also obtain remission of their sins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very sons and children of God. Inasmuch as

^m *No man—Holy Ghost*] Latin in MS.
^o *Whosoever—saved*] Latin in MS.

ⁿ Christ] John, MS.

infants and children dying in their infancy shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, and else not.

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Item, That infants must needs be christened, because they be born in original sin, which sin must needs be remitted, which cannot be done but by the sacrament of baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost, which exerciseth his grace and efficacy in them, and cleanseth and purifieth them from sin by his most secret virtue and operation.

Item, That children or men, once baptized, can, ne ought ever to be baptized again.

Item, That they ought to repute and take all the Anabaptists and the Pelagians ^ptheir opinions, contrary to the premises, and every other man's opinion agreeable unto the said Anabaptists' ^qor Pelagians' opinions in this behalf, for detestable heresies, and utterly to be condemned.

Item, That men or children having the use of reason, and willing and desiring to be baptized, shall by the virtue of that holy sacrament obtain the grace and remission of all their sins, if they shall come thereunto perfectly and truly repentant, and contrite of all their sins before committed: and also perfectly and constantly confessing and believing all the articles of our faith, according as it was mentioned in ^rthe first article.

And finally, If they shall also have firm credence and trust in the promise of God adjoined to the said sacrament, that is to say, that in and by this said sacrament which they shall receive, God the Father giveth unto them, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, remission of all their sins, and the grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby they be newly regenerated, and made the very children of God, according to the saying of ^sSt. John, and ^tthe apostle St. Peter, ^u*Do penance for your sins, and be each of you baptized in the name of Jesu Christ, and you shall obtain remission of*

^p their] omitted in MS. ^q or Pelagians] or the Pelagians, MS.
^r the first article] the article before or ells not, MS. ^s St. John] Christ,
MS. ^t the apostle] his apostle, MS. ^u Do penance—Holy Ghost]
Latin in MS.

A. D. 1536. *your sins, and shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.*
 28 Henry VIII. And according also to the saying of St. Paul, ^x*God hath*
 Tit. iii. 5. *not saved us for the works of justice which we have done,*
but of his mercy by baptism, and renovation of the Holy
Ghost. Whom he hath poured out upon us most plenti-
fully, for the love of Jesu Christ our Saviour, to the intent
that we being justified by his grace, should be made the in-
heritors of everlasting life, according to our hope.

The Sacrament of Penance.

Thirdly, Concerning the sacrament of penance, we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must ^yconstantly believe, that that sacrament was institute of Christ in the New Testament as a thing so necessary for man's salvation, that no man, which after his baptism is fallen again, and hath committed deadly sin, can without the same be saved, or attain everlasting life.

Item, That like as such men, which after baptism do fall again into sin, if they do not penance in this life shall undoubtedly be damned; even so, whensoever the same men shall convert themselves from ^ztheir naughty life, and do such penance for the same as Christ requireth of them, they shall without doubt attain remission of their sins, and shall be saved.

Item, That ^athe sacrament of perfect penance, which Christ requireth of such manner persons, consisteth of three parties; that is to say, contrition, confession, ^band the amendment of the former life, and a new obedient reconciliation unto the laws and will of God; that is to say, exterior acts in works of charity, according as they be com-
 Luke iii. 8. manded of God, which be called in scripture, ^c*the worthy fruits of penance.*

Furthermore, As touching contrition, which is the first

^x God hath—our hope] Latin in MS. ^y constantly] most constantly, MS. ^z their] the said, MS. ^a the] this, MS. ^b and] with, MS. ^c the worthy fruits of penance] Latin in MS.

part, we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that the said contrition consisteth in two special parts, which must always be conjoined together, and cannot be dissevered; that is to say, the penitent and contrite man must first knowledge the filthiness and abomination of his own sin, ^dunto which knowledge he is brought by hearing and considering of the will of God declared in his laws; and feeling and perceiving in his own conscience that God is angry and displeased with him for the same. He must also conceive not only great sorrow and inward shame that he hath so grievously offended God, but also great fear of God's displeasure towards him, considering he hath no works or merits of his own, which he may worthily lay before God, as sufficient satisfaction for his sins. Which done, then afterward with this fear, shame and sorrow must needs succeed and be conjoined the second part, ^ethat is to wit, a certain faith, trust and confidence of the mercy and goodness of God, whereby the penitent must conceive certain hope and faith that God will forgive him his sins, and repute him justified, and of the number of his elect children, not for the worthiness of any merit or work done by the penitent, but for the only merits of the blood and passion of our Saviour Jesu Christ.

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Item, That this certain faith and hope is gotten, and also confirmed and made more strong by the applying of Christ's words and promises of his grace and favour contained in his gospel, and the sacraments instituted by him in the New Testament. And therefore to attain this certain faith, the second part of penance is necessary, that is to say, confession to a priest, if it may be had; for the absolution given by the priest was institute of Christ to apply the promises of God's grace and favour to the penitent.

Wherefore, As touching confession, we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, that they ought,

^d unto which knowledge] whereunto, MS. ^e that is to wit] viz., MS.

A. D. 1536. and must certainly believe, that the words of absolution pronounced by the priest be spoken by the authority given to him by Christ in the gospel.

²⁸ Henry VIII.

Item, That they ought and must give no less faith and credence to the same words of absolution, so pronounced by the ministers of the church, than they would give unto the very words and voice of God himself, if he should speak unto us out of heaven, according to the saying of Christ,

John xx.
23.

^f *Whose sins soever ye do forgive, shall be forgiven; whose sins soever ye do retain, shall be retained.* ε And again in

Luke x. 16. another place Christ saith, ^h *Whosoever heareth you heareth me.*

Item, That in nowise they do contemn this auricular confession, which is made unto the ministers of the church, but that they ought to repute the same as a ⁱvery expedient and necessary mean, whereby they may require and ask this absolution at the priest's hands, at such time as they shall find their conscience grieved with mortal sin, and have occasion so to do; to the intent they may thereby attain certain comfort and consolation of their consciences.

As touching ^k to the third part of penance, we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, that although Christ and his death be the sufficient oblation, sacrifice, satisfaction, and recompense, for the which God the Father forgiveth and remitteth to all sinners, not only their sin, but also eternal pain due for the same; yet all men truly penitent, contrite and confessed, must needs also bring forth the fruits of penance, that is to say, prayer, fasting, almsdeeds: and must make restitution or satisfaction in will and deed to their neighbours in such things as they have done them wrong and injury in, and also must do all other good works of mercy and charity, and express their obedient will in the executing and fulfilling of God's commandments outwardly,

^f *Whose sins—retained*] Latin in MS. ε And again in another place
Christ saith] omitted in MS. ^h *Whosoever heareth you heareth me*]
Latin in MS. ⁱ very expedient] very and expedient, MS. ^k to]
omitted in MS.

when time, power, and occasion shall be ministered unto them, or else they shall never be saved. For this is the express precept and commandment of God, ¹*Do you the worthy fruits of penance.* And St. Paul saith, ^m*Like as in times past you have given and applied yourselves, and all the members of your body, to all filthy living and wickedness, continually increasing the same; in like manner now you must give and apply yourselves wholly to justice, increasing continually in purity and cleanness of life.* ⁿAnd in another place he saith, ^o*I chastise and subdue my carnal body, and the affections of the same, and make them obedient unto the spirit.*

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²⁸ Henry VIII.

Luke iii. 8.
Rom. vi. 19.

1 Cor. ix.

²⁷.

Item, That these precepts and works of charity be necessary works to our salvation, and God necessarily requireth that every penitent man shall perform the same whensoever time, power, and occasion shall be ministered unto ^pthem so to do.

Item, That by penance, and such good works of the same, we shall not only obtain everlasting life, but also we shall deserve remission or mitigation of these present pains and afflictions in this world, according to the saying of St. Paul, ^q*If we would correct and take punishment of ourselves, we should not be so grievously corrected of God.* And ^rZacharias ^sthe prophet saith, ^t*Turn yourselves unto me, and I will turn again unto you.* And ^uthe prophet Esay saith, ^v*Break and deal thy bread unto the hungry, bring into thy house the poor man, and such as want harbour. When thou seest a naked man, give him clothes to cover him with, and refuse not to succour and help the poor and needy, for he is thine own flesh. And if thou wilt thus do, then shall thy light glister out as bright as the sun in the morning, and thy health shall sooner arise unto thee, and thy justice shall go before thy face, and the glory of God shall gather thee up, that thou shalt*

1 Cor. xi.

³¹.

Zech. i. 3.

Isa. lviii. 7,
8, 9, &c.

¹ *Do you—penance*] Latin in MS. ^m *Like as in—cleanness of life*] Latin in MS. ⁿ And in another place he saith] omitted in MS. ^o *I chastise—the spirit*] Latin in MS. ^p them] him, MS. ^q *If ye would—of God*] Latin in MS. ^r the prophet] omitted in MS. ^s *Turn yourselves—unto you*] Latin in MS. ^t the prophet] omitted in MS. ^u *Break and deal—shall want water*] Latin in MS.

A. D. 1536. *not fall. And whensoever thou shalt call upon God, God shall hear thee: and whensoever thou shalt cry unto God, God shall say, Lo! here I am ready to help thee. Then shall thy light overcome all darkness, and thy darkness shall be as bright as the sun at noondays: and then God shall give unto thee continual rest, and shall fulfil thy soul with brightness; and shall deliver thy body from adversity: and then thou shalt be like a garden that most plentifully bringeth forth all kind of fruits, and like the well-spring that never shall want water.*

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^x *These things, and such other, should be continually taught and inculcated into the ears of our people, to the intent to stir and provoke them unto good works, and by the selfsame good works to exercise and confirm their faith and hope, and look for to receive at God's hand mitigation and remission of the miseries, calamities, and grievous punishments which God sendeth to men in this world for their sins.*

The Sacrament of the Altar.

Fourthly, As touching the sacrament of the altar, we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must constantly believe, that under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there presently do see and perceive by outward senses, is verily, substantially, and really contained and comprehended the very selfsame body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for our redemption. And, that under the same form and figure of bread and wine, the very selfsame body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed, and received y unto and of all them which receive the said sacrament. And, that therefore the said sacrament is to be used with all due reverence and honour; and that every man ought first to prove and examine himself, and religiously to try and search his own

^x These things—for their sins] omitted in MS. y unto, and] omitted in MS.

conscience before he shall receive the same, according to the saying of St. Paul, ^z *Whosoever eateth this body of Christ unworthily, or drinketh of this blood of Christ unworthily, shall be guilty of the very body and blood of Christ.* Wherefore let every man first prove himself, and so let him eat of this bread and drink of this drink; for whosoever eateth it or drinketh it unworthily, he eateth and drinketh to his own damnation, because he putteth no difference between the very body of Christ ^a and other kinds of meat.

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1 Cor. xi.
27, &c.

Justification.

Fifthly, As touching the order and cause of our justification, we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, that this word *justification* signifieth remission of our sins, and our acceptance or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God, that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ.

Item, That sinners attain this justification by contrition and faith joined with charity, after such sort and manner as we before mentioned and declared. Not as though our contrition, or faith, or any works proceeding thereof, can worthily merit or deserve to attain the said justification: for the only mercy and grace of the Father promised freely unto us for his Son's sake Jesus Christ, and the merits of his blood and passion, be the only sufficient and worthy causes thereof. And yet, that, notwithstanding, to the attaining of the ^b same justification, God requireth to be in us, not only inward contrition, perfect faith and charity, certain hope and confidence, with all other spiritual graces and motions; which, as we said before, must necessarily concur in remission of our sins, that is to say, our justification: but also he requireth and commandeth us, that after we be justified, we must also have good works of charity and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of his laws and commandments. For

^z *Whosoever eateth—very body of Christ*] Latin in MS.
kinds of meat] omitted in MS.

^a *and other*

^b *same*] said, MS.

- A. D. 1536. although acceptation to everlasting life be conjoined with
 28 Henry VIII. justification, yet our good works be necessarily required to
 ——— the attaining of everlasting life. And we being justified
 be necessarily bound, and it is our necessary duty to do
 Rom. viii. good works, according to the saying of St. Paul, ^c *We be*
 12, &c. *bound not to live according to the flesh, and to fleshly appetites; for if we live so, we shall undoubtedly be damned. And contrary, if we will mortify the deeds of our flesh, and live according to the Spirit, we shall be saved. For whosoever be led by the Spirit of God, they be the children of God.* And
 Matt. xix. Christ saith, ^d *If you will come to heaven, keep the command-*
 17. *ments.* And St. Paul, ^e speaking of evil works, saith,
 Gal. v. 21. ^f *Whosoever commit sinful deeds shall never come to heaven.*
 Wherefore we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, ^g that God necessarily requireth of us to do good works commanded by him, and that not only outward and civil works, but also the inward spiritual motions and graces of the Holy Ghost: that is to say, to dread and fear God, to love God, to have firm confidence and trust in God, to invoke and call upon God, to have patience in all adversities, to hate sin, and to have certain purpose and will not to sin again, and such other like motions and virtues.
 Matt. v. 20. For Christ saith, ^h *Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven:* that is to say, we must not only do outward civil good works, but also we must have these foresaid inward spiritual motions, consenting and agreeable to the law of God.

ⁱ *Articles concerning the laudable ceremonies used in the Church of Christ; and first of Images.*

As touching images, truth it is, that the same have been used in the Old Testament, and also for the great abuses of

^c *We be bound—children of God*] Latin in MS. ^d *If you will—commandments*] Latin in MS. ^e speaking of evil spirits] *de malis operibus*, MS.
^f *Whosoever—heaven*] Latin in MS. ^g that] and, MS. ^h *Except your—heaven*] Latin in MS. ⁱ *Articles—and first*] omitted in MS.

them, sometime destroyed and put down. And in the New Testament they have been also allowed, as good authors do declare. Wherefore we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, how they ought and may use them. And first, that there be attributed unto them, that they be representers of virtue and good example. And, that they also be by occasion the kindlers and stirrers of men's minds, and make men oft to remember and lament their sins and offences, especially the images of Christ and our Lady. And, that therefore it is meet that they should stand in the churches, and none otherwise to be esteemed. And, to the intent ^kthat rude people should not from henceforth take such superstition as in time past, it is thought that the same hath used to do; We will, that our bishops and preachers diligently shall teach them, and according to this doctrine reform their abuses: for else there might fortune idolatry to ensue, which God forbid. And as for censing of them, and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worshippings, although the same hath entered by devotion, and fallen to custom, yet the people ought to be diligently taught, that they in nowise do it, nor think it meet to be done to the same images; but only to be done to God and in his honour, although it be done before the images, whether it be of Christ, of the cross, ^lof our Lady, or of any other saint beside.

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Of honouring of Saints.

As touching the honouring of saints, we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual ^mcharges, that saints, now being with Christ in heaven, be to be honoured of Christian people in earth, but not with that confidence and honour which are only due unto God, trusting to attain at their hands that which must be had only of God. But, that they be thus to be honoured, because they be known

^k that rude] the, MS. ^l of] or of, MS. ^m charges] charge, MS.

A. D. 1536. the elect persons of Christ, because they be passed in godly
^{28 Henry VIII.} life out of this transitory world; because they already do
 reign in glory with Christ; and, most specially to laud and
 praise Christ in them for their excellent virtues, which he
 planted in them, for example of and by them to such as
ⁿ yet are in this world, to live in virtue and goodness; and
 also not to fear to die for Christ and his cause, as some of
 them did. And finally, to take them in that they may, to
 be the advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ.
 By these ways, and such like, be saints to be honoured and
 had in reverence, and by none other.

Of Praying to Saints.

As touching praying to saints, we will, that all bishops
 and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed
 by us unto their spiritual charge, that albeit grace, remission
 of sin, and salvation, cannot be obtained but of God only,
 by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, which is only suffi-
 cient mediator for our sins; yet it is very laudable to pray
 to saints in heaven everlastingly living, whose charity is ever
 permanent to be intercessors, and to pray for us and with
 us unto Almighty God, after this manner:

“ All holy angels and saints in heaven, pray for us, and
 “ with us, unto the Father, that for his dear Son Jesus
 “ Christ his sake, we may have grace of him, and remission
 “ of our sins, with an earnest purpose (not wanting ghostly
 “ strength) to observe and keep his holy commandments,
 “ and never to decline from the same again unto our lives’
 “ end.” And in this manner we may pray to our blessed
 Lady, to St. John Baptist, to all and every of the apostles,
 or any other saint particularly, as our devotion doth serve
 us: so that it be done without any vain superstition, as to
 think that any saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner
 than Christ; or that any saint doth serve for one thing
 more than ^o another, or is patron of the same. And like-
 wise we must keep holy-days unto God, in memory of Him

ⁿ yet are] are yet, MS.

^o another] other, MS.

and His saints, upon such days as the church hath ordained their memories to be celebrate, except they be mitigated and moderated by the assent and commandment of ^{A. D. 1536.} ^{28 Henry} ^{VIII.} ~~us~~ the supreme head, to the ordinaries; and then the subjects ought to obey it.

Of Rites and Ceremonies.

As concerning the rites and ceremonies of Christ's church; as, to have such vestments in doing God's service as be and have been most part used: as sprinkling of holy-water, to put us in remembrance of our baptism, and the blood of Christ sprinkled for our redemption upon the cross: giving of holy bread, to put us in remembrance of the sacrament of the altar, that all Christian men be one body mystical of Christ, as the bread is made of many grains, and yet but one loaf; and to put us in remembrance of the receiving of the holy sacrament and body of Christ, the which we ought to receive in right charity, which in the beginning of Christ's church men did more often receive than they use nowadays to do: bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, in memory of Christ the spiritual light, of whom Simeon did prophesy, as is read in the church that day: giving of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, to put in remembrance every Christian man in the beginning of Lent and penance, that he is but ashes and earth, and thereto shall return, which is right necessary to be uttered from henceforth in our mother-tongue always on the ^qSunday: bearing of palms on Palm-Sunday, in memory of the receiving of Christ into Hierusalem a little before his death, that we may have the same desire to receive him into our hearts: creeping to the cross, and humbling ourselves to Christ on Good-Friday before the cross, and ^rthere offering unto Christ before the same, and kissing of it in memory of our redemption by Christ made upon the cross: setting up the sepulture of Christ, whose body after his death was buried: the hallowing of the font, and other like exorcisms

^p us] omitted in MS. ^q Sunday] same day, MS. ^r there offering] offering there, MS.

A. D. 1536. and benedictions by the ministers of Christ's church, and all
 28 Henry other like laudable customs, rites and ceremonies, be not to
 VIII. be contemned and cast away, but to be used and continued,
 as things good and laudable, to put us in remembrance of
 those spiritual things that they do signify, not suffering
 them to be forgotten, or to be put in oblivion, but renewing
 them in our memories from time to time; but none of these
 ceremonies have power to remit sin, but only to stir and
 lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our sins be
 forgiven.

Of Purgatory.

Forasmuch as due order of charity requireth, and the Book of Maccabees and divers ancient doctors plainly shewen, that it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed; and forasmuch also as such usage hath continued in the church so many years, even from the beginning; we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that no man ought to be grieved with the continuance of the same; and, that it standeth with the very due order of charity, a Christian man to pray for souls departed, and to commit them in our prayers to God's mercy, and also to cause other to pray for them in masses and exequies, and to give alms to other to pray for them, whereby they may be relieved and holpen of some part of their pain. But, forasmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof, and kind of pains there also, be to us uncertain by scripture, therefore this, with all other things, we remit to †Almighty God, unto whose mercy it is meet and convenient for us to commend them; trusting that God accepteth our prayers for them, referring the rest wholly to God, to whom is known their estate and condition. Wherefore it is much necessary that such abuses be clearly put away which under the name of purgatory hath been advanced, as, to make men believe that through the bishop of †Rome's pardons souls might clearly be delivered out of

† Almighty God] God Almighty, MS.

† Rome's] Rome his, MS.

purgatory and all the pains of it; or, that masses said at *scala cæli*, or otherwise in any place, or before any image, might likewise deliver them from all their pain, and send them straight to heaven. And other like abuses*.

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* [These articles were signed by the following persons, and in the order in which they now stand. Burnet has committed several errors in the list printed in his History. Addenda, N^o. I.

Thomas Crumwell.	Henricus Abbas de Gratiis.
ardus Ebor. T. Cantuarien.	Anthonius Abbas de Eynsham.
Joannes London.	Robertus prior Shen.
Johes. Lincoln.	Robertus prior siue Mgr. ordinis de
ibertus Dunelmens. Johes. Lincoln. no-	Sempringham.
mine procuratorio pro Dno. Jo-	Ricus. Abbas de Notteley.
hanne Exon.	Hugo prior de Huntyngdon.
Jo. Bathoniensis.	Willmus. Abbas de Stratford.
Thomas Elien.	Gabriel Abbas de Buckfestria.
Johes. Lincoln. nomine procuratorio	Henricus Abbas de Wardona.
pro Dno. Rowlando Covent. et	Joannes prior de Merton.
Lichef.	Ric. prior de Walsyngham.
Johes. Bangor.	Thoms. Abbas de Garendan.
Nicolaus Sarisburiens.	Thomas Abbas de Stanley.
Edoardus Herefordens.	Richard. Abbas de Bytlesden.
Hugo Wigorn.	Ricus. prior de Lanthoni.
Joannes Roffen.	Robertus Abbas de Thama.
Rich. Cicestr.	Johes. prior de Newenham.
Wilelmus Norwicensis.	Radulphus prior de Kyme.
Willmus. Menevens.	Richardus Abbas de Bruera.
Robertus Assaphen.	Robert. Abbas de Welhowe.
	Bartholomeus prior de Ouerey.
Robertus Abb. S. Albani.	Willm. de Birgaveni.
Willmus. Abbas Westm.	Thomas Abbas de Abendon.
Johes. Abbas Burie.	
Ricus. Abbas Glastonie.	
Hugo Abbas de Redyngge.	
Robertus Abbas Malmesber.	
Clemens Abbas Eveshamen.	
Johes. Abbas de Bello.	
Wilelm. Sci. Petri Glocestrie.	
Richardus Abbas Winchelcombensis.	
Johes. Abbas de Croyland.	
Robertus Abbas de Thorney.	
Robertus Abbas de Waltham.	
Joannes Abbas Cirencestræ.	
Johes. Abbas Texber.	
Thomas prior Couent.	
Johes. Abbas de Oseney.	

Inferior domus.

Ri. Gwent archi. London et Breck.
Robertus Aldrydg Arch. Colcest.
Thomas Bedyll Archidiacon. Cornub.
Ricus. Strete Arch. Derby et procur.
cleri Couen. et Lich.
David Pole Archnus. Salop. procura-
tor Archi. et cleri Couen.
Ricardus Doke Archnus. Sarum.
Edmundus Boner Archi. Leycestrie.
Thomas Baghe Archid. Surriæ.
Ricardus Rawson Arch. Ess.
Edmundus Cranmer Achnus. Cant.

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The convo-
cation dis-
solved, and
what acted
in parlia-
ment.

36. Nothing else of moment passed in this convocation, save that on the 20th of July, Edward [Fox] bishop of Hereford brought in a book containing the king's reasons, conceiving it unfit in person or by proxy to appear at the general council, lately called by the pope at Mantua (afterward removed to Trent); and then the convocation, having first confirmed the king's reasons, was dissolved.

It was transacted, in relation to church or churchmen, in the contemporary parliament ^x,

Polydorus Virgilius Archidiaconus Vuellen.	Leonardus Saville pcur. cleri Archi. Lewen.
Ricardus Coren Arch. Oxon.	SimonMatthew pcurator cleri London.
Henricus Morgan procur. Cleri Lincoln.	Synfrid Ogle Arch. Salopp.
Petrus Vannes Arch. Wigorn.	Richardus Layton Arch. Buks.
Georgius Hennage Decanus Lincoln.	Hugo Coren pcurator cleri Hereforden.
Milo Spenser proc. Cleri Norwics.	Ricardus Sparcheford pcurator cleri Hereford.
Willmus. Knyghte Archi. Cestrie.	Mauritius Greffyth pc. cleri Roff.
Gamaliell Clyfton procur. eccl. Hereford. et capituli, &c.	Willmus. Bukmastre pcurat. cleri London.
Johannes London decanus Walingfordie.	Ricardus Shelton M. collegii de Metyngnam per me W. Glyn. Arch. Angles.
Nicolaus Metcalfe Arch. Roffens.	Robart Evans Decanus Bangorn.
Willmus. Hedge procur. cleri Norwicen.	Walter Cretyng Archid. Bathon.
Adam Traves Arch. Exon.	Thomas Bagard procurator cleri Dioc. Wigorn.
Ric. Vuoleman Decan. Welles.	Jo. Nase pcurat. cleri Bathon. et Wellen.
Thoms. Brerewood Archnus. Bar. procurator capt. et cleri Exon.	Georgius Wyndam Arch. Norwyc.
Georgius Carew Archus. Totten. pcurator et capituli et cleri Exon.	Willm. Maye proc. cleri Elien.
Thomas Benet procurat. cleri et capituli Sar.	Rolandus Philipps procurator capli. ecclie. cathedralis Dni. Pauli London.
Ricus. Arche pcurator cleri et capituli Sar.	Joannes Bell Archidiacon. Glocestr.
Petrus Ligham pcurator cleri Cant.	Joannes Chambre Divi Stephn. Decanus et Bedford Arch.
Edmundus Steward procurator cleri Winton.	Nicolaus Wilson.]
Johes. Rayne pcurator cler. Lincoln.	

^x See them in the Statutes at large. [Authentic Collection, III. p. 651.]

i. That felons abjuring for petty treason should not have clergy^y.

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ii. That every ecclesiastical and lay-officer shall be sworn to renounce the bishop of Rome and his authority, and to resist it to his power, and to repute any oath taken in the maintenance of the said bishop, or his authority, to be void. And the refusing the said oath, being tendered, shall be adjudged high treason^z.

iii. That fruits, during the vacation of a benefice, shall be restored to the next incumbent, whose charge for first-fruits shall begin from the first vacation^a.

iv. Which spiritual persons shall be resident upon their benefices, and which not; and for what causes^b.

v. Release of such who have obtained licenses from the see of Rome^c.

But all these are set down at large in the printed statutes, and thither we refer the reader for satisfaction; as, to our History of Abbeys, to be informed about the rebellion in the north, occasioned in this year by these alterations in religion.

37. Towards the end of this year, the faithful servant of God, William Tyndal, *alias* Hichins^d, was martyred at Fylford in Flanders, born about Wales, bred first in Oxford, then in Cambridge, after schoolmaster to the children of Mr. Welch, a bountiful housekeeper in Gloucestershire. To his house repaired many abbots of that county, (as indeed no one shire in England had half so many mitred ones which voted in parliament,) and clergymen, whom

The birth, breeding, first persecution, and far travelling of William Tyndal.

^y Cap. 1. ^z Cap. 10. ^a Cap. 11. [^b Cap. 13.] ^c Cap. 16.
^d Bale, in vita, p. 658. [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 323.]

A. D. 1536.
28 Henry
VIII.

Tyndal so welcomed with his discourse against their superstitions, that afterwards they preferred to forbear master Welch his good cheer, rather than to have the sour sauce therewith—master Tyndal's company. But this set their stomachs so sharp against him, that he was forced to quit Gloucestershire, and tender his service to Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London, a great scholar himself, and therefore probable to prove a patron to a learned man. Him Tyndal presented in vain with an oration out of Isocrates, which he had translated into English. But, though he sued for himself in two tongues, Greek and English, both proved ineffectual; the bishop returning, That he had no already than he could well maintain. On this denial, over hastes Tyndal beyond the seas; and, after much travelling, fixeth at last at Antwerp, where he became clerk to the company of English merchant adventurers.

He translateth the New, and most part of the Old Testament.

38. Here he began with the New Testament, (as of most concernment to man's salvation,) and, with the help of John Frith, the Baruch to this Jeremy, translating it out of the Greek original, finished, printed, and published it. Then he proceeded to the Old, and accomplished it from Genesis to Nehemiah inclusively, but translated none of the Prophets save Jonah^e, being prevented by death. I presume he rendered the Old Testament out of the Latin, his best friends not entitling him to any skill at all in the Hebrew. And remarkable it was, that sailing to Hamburgh to print the Pentateuch^f, he lost all his books and copies by shipwreck, which doubled his pains in re-translating it. But here he lighted on

^e Bale, ut prius.

^f Fox, Martyrol. vol. II. p. 364.

the help of Miles Coverdale, afterward bishop of Exeter, to assist him; and safely they went through the work, even when the sweating sickness swept away thousands in the city with a general mortality: as if the useful sweating of their brains were a preservative against the hurtful sweating of their bodies. And indeed painfulness in a lawful calling is the best antidote against a public infection.

39. Yet none will deny, but that many faults needing amendment are found in his translation; which is no wonder to those who consider, first, such an undertaking was not the task for a man, but men: secondly, no great design is invented and perfected at once: thirdly, Tyndal, being an exile, wanted many necessary accommodations: fourthly, his skill in Hebrew was not considerable; yea, generally, learning in languages was then but in the infancy thereof: fifthly, our English tongue was not improved to that expressiveness whereat at this day it is arrived. However, what he undertook was to be admired as glorious; what he performed, to be commended as profitable; wherein he failed, is to be excused as pardonable, and to be scored on the account rather of that age, than of the author himself. Yea, Tyndal's pains were useful, had his translation done no other good than to help towards the making of a better; our last translators having in express charge from king James to consult the translation of Tyndal.

40. But when the Testament of Tyndal's translation came over into England, O how were the popish clergy cut to the heart! how did their blear-eyes smart at the shining of the gospel in a vulgar tongue! Down must their Dagon, if this ark be set

A. D. 1536.
28 Henry
VIII.

Faults in his
translation
confessed
and ex-
cused.

Tyndal and
his trans-
lation both
martyred
with fire.

A. D. 1536. up : down their Diana, if Paul be permitted to
 28 Henry VIII. preach to the people. Some said, that the Bible
 ought not to be translated; some, that it could not
 be, that it was impossible^g; others, that the trans-
 lating thereof would make men rebel against the
 king: and why, I pray, seeing they shall read
 therein, *Let every soul be subject to the higher
 powers^h, &c.*, and many other places pressing obe-
 dience? Some were not so much angry with the
 text, as with Tyndal's comment, his preface before,
 and notes upon the same: in fine, they did not only
 procure his book to be publicly burnt in Paul's
 churchyard, but also their malice (which hath long
 arms to reach at such distance) contrived and ef-
 fected the strangling and burning of Tyndal in
 Flandersⁱ.

A parallel
 betwixt St.
 Paul and
 Tyndal.

41. Bale calleth him the apostle of the English.
 And indeed some general parallel (far be it from me
 to enforce it to an absolute conformity) may be
 observed betwixt St. Paul and our Tyndal: St. Paul
 withstood and defeated the power of Elymas the
 sorcerer^j; Tyndal, with the grace and gravity of his
 company, put a magician out of countenance, being
 brought thither to shew a cast of his skill by en-

^g Fox, ut prius.

^h Romans xiii. 1.

ⁱ [There is a proclamation
 by the king, without date, but
 set forth probably about 1542,
 enjoining that after the last
 day of August next ensuing
 no one shall have in his pos-
 session "the text of the New
 Testament of Tyndale's or
 Coverdale's translation in
 English, nor any other than
 "is permitted by the act of

"parliament made," nor any
 printed book or manuscript set
 forth in the names of Frythe,
 Tyndale, Wiclif, Joye, Raye,
 Basyle, Beale, Barnes, Cover-
 dale, Tournour, Tracy, or any
 other, containing matter con-
 trary to the doctrine set forth
 in the parliament at Westmin-
 ster, in the ... year of this
 reign. See Transcripts for the
 Fœd. p. 228. Strype's Cr. p. 99.]

^j Acts xiii. 8.

chanting^k: St. Paul, in Thyatira, converted his jailer and all his household^l; Tyndal, during his year and half durance, converted his keeper, his daughter, and other of his family^m: St. Paul was *in perils by waters, in perils by robbers, in perils amongst false brethren*ⁿ; so was Tyndal, whom one Philips, pretending much friendship, by cunning insinuation betrayed to his destruction. We take our leaves of Tyndal with that testimony which the emperor's procurator or attorney-general (though his adversary) gave of him, *Homo fuit doctus, pius, et bonus*: "He was a learned, a godly, and a good-natured man^o."

A. D. 1536.
28 Henry
VIII.

^k Fox, [II.] p. 367.

^l Acts xvi. 33.

^m Fox, ut prius.

ⁿ 1 Cor. xi. 26.

^o [Fox in his account of Tyndale observes that "it is of him reported, that as he was in the castle [of Vilworden] prisoner, there was much writing and great disputing to and fro, between him and them of the university of Lovaine; which was not past nine or ten miles from the place where he was prisoner; in such sort that they all had enough to do, and more than they could well wield, to an-

swer the authorities and testimonies of the scripture, whereupon he most pithily grounded his doctrine." Martyrol. II. p. 367. It is not perhaps generally known that Jacobus Latomus, the celebrated opponent of Luther, wrote a confutation of Tyndale's treatise, which he composed in prison, "Super hac assertione, sola fides justificat apud Deum: in quo quidem libro omne bonorum operum merita tollere conabatur." See Latomi Opera, f. 182. b. ed. Lovanii, 1579.]

SECT. V.

TO

CLIFFORD CLIFTON, ESQ.^a

I know not of what place properly to name and inscribe you, whether of Middlesex, where you have your present dwelling, or of Nottinghamshire, whence first you fetched your name, or from Derbyshire, and other neighbouring counties, wherein you are heir apparent to a fair inheritance. I envy not your deserved happiness, but only observe it is almost as difficult to fix a rich man as a beggar; the one for his variety, the other for his want of habitation. But be you styled from what place you please, be pleased also to accept this expression of my service unto you. All that I will add is, that seeing two

^a [Arms. Sable, some cinquefoyles and a lion rampant, argent. Descended from a very ancient family, situated at Clifton in Nottinghamshire, as early as the time of the Conqueror. He was the son of sir Gervas Clifton, one of the earliest baronets created by James I., and Frances, his

second wife, who was a daughter of Francis, the earl of Cumberland. Clifford Clifton married Frances, a daughter of sir Heneage Finch, and his family succeeded to the baronetcy. Sir Clifford died in 1670. See Thoroton's Nottinghamshire, I. p. 102.]

ancient and honourable families (the one of Norman, the other of Saxon extraction) have met in your name, may their joint virtues be united in your nature.



REAT the king's profit at this time A. D. 1537.
 from the office for the receipts of 29 Henry VIII.
 tenths and first-fruits, which was now The begin-
 first set up in London, and something ning of the
 must be observed of the original first-fruits
office.

thereof: such monies formerly were paid to the pope, who, as *pastor pastorum*, claimed *decimas decimarum*; entitling himself thereunto partly from Abraham (a priest) paying tithes to Melchizedeck the high-priest^b, partly from the Levites in the Mosaical law paying the second tithes, that is, the tithes of their tithes to the priest: *Thus shall you offer an heave-offering unto the Lord of all your tithes, which ye receive of the children of Israel; and ye shall give thereof the Lord's heave-offering to Aaron the priest*^c. Hereupon the pope had his collectors in every diocese, who sometimes by bills of exchange, but generally in specie, (to the great impoverishing of the land,) yearly returned the tenths and first-fruits of the English clergy to Rome.

2. But the pope being now dead in England, the king was found his heir at common law as to most Commis-
 of the power and profit the other had usurped. But sioners em-
 now as the clergy changed their landlord, so their ployed to
 rents were new rated, (and, I believe, somewhat rate all ec-
 raised,) commissioners being employed in all counties clesiastical
 (the bishop of the diocese being always one of them) prefer-
 to value their yearly revenue, that so their tenths ments.
 and first-fruits may be proportioned accordingly.

^b Gen. xiv. 20. Heb. vii. 4.

^c Num. xviii. 28.

A. D. 1537. ^{29 Henry VIII.} These raters were the chiefest persons in all counties under the degree of barons, and I had a project to present their names, as of men of unquestionable extraction, none as yet standing on the ruins of abbeys to heighten their mean birth into the repute of gentility.

Surrey.

Nicholas Carew, knt.; Matthew Brown, knt.; Thomas Stidolfe, esq.; John Banister, gent.

Huntingdonshire.

Richard Sapcot, knt.; Lawrence Taylard, knt.; John Gostwick, esq.; John Goodrick, esq.

Devonshire.

William Courtney, knt.; Thomas Dennis, knt.; John Birnall, mayor of Exeter; John Hull, auditor; William Simonds, auditor; John Ford, auditor; John Southcote, auditor.

Somersetshire.

William Stourton, knt.; John Horsey, knt.; Andrew Lutterell, knt.; Thomas Speke, esq.; Hugh Powlet, esq.; Henry Capel, knt.^d; William Portman, gent.; Roger Kinsey, auditor.

Staffordshire.

John Talbot, knt.; John Gifford, knt.; Walter Wrotley, esq.; John Wrotley, gent.

Cheshire.

John Holford, knt.; Peter Dutton, knt.; George Booth, esq.; Thomas Alston, esq.; Richard Ligh, esq.; William Brereton, esq.

But my design failed, when I found the return of the commissioners' names into the office so defective, that in most counties they are wholly omitted.

^d In this method they are named.

3. These commissioners were empowered by the king to send for the scribes and notaries of all bishops and archdeacons, to swear the receivers and auditors of incumbents, to view their register books, Easter books, and all other writings, and to use all other ways to know the full value of ecclesiastical preferments, with the number and names of persons enjoying the same. They were to divide themselves by three and three, allotting to every number so many deaneries, and to inquire the number and names of all abbeys, monasteries, priories, brotherships, sisterships, fellowships, &c., houses religious and conventual, as well Charter-house^e as others, (these Carthusians being specified by name, because proudly pretending privileges of papal exemption,) and meeting together to certify into the exchequer, at the time limited in their commission, the true value of such places or preferments. Herein, reparations, fees of inji-s^f were not to be deducted, but perpetual rents, pensions, alms, synods, fees paid out yearly to persons, were to be allowed.

4. This being a work of time exactly to perform, took up some years in the effecting thereof. Devonshire and Somerset were done in the twenty-seventh, Staffordshire, and many other counties, in the thirty-fourth of king Henry the Eighth, and most of Wales not till the reign of king Edward the Sixth. Yea, I am credibly informed, that in Ireland (to which kingdom such commissions were afterwards extended) the commissioners, partly tired with their troublesome work, partly afraid to pass the dangerous

A. D. 1537.
29 Henry
VIII.

Instruc-
tions given
to the com-
missioners.

Some years
spent in the
work.

^e Transcribed with my own hand out of the original in the office. ^f No clerk in the office could read this word.

A. D. 1537.
29 Henry
VIII.

hill of rushes, (in Irish, Sleue-Logher,) never came into the county of Kerry, the south-west extremity of that island. So that the clergy thereof (though the poorest of the poorest in Ireland) enjoy this privilege, that they are presently put into their livings, or benefices rather, without any payments.

Vicarages
why so
high rated.

5. But no such favour was allowed to any place in England, where all were unpartially rated, and vicarages valued very high according to their present revenue by personal perquisites. In that age, he generally was the richest shepherd who had the greatest flock, where oblations from the living and obits for the dead (as certainly paid as predial tithes) much advanced their income. In consideration whereof, vicarages (mostly lying in market towns and populous parishes) were set very high, though soon after those obventions sunk with superstition: and the vicars in vain desired a proportionable abatement in the king's books; which once drawn up were no more to be altered.

Queen
Mary re-
mits tenths
and first-
fruits.

6. Now queen Mary, a princess, whose conscience was never purse-ridden, as one who would go to the cost of her own principles, did by act of parliament exonerate, acquit, and discharge the clergy from all first-fruits. As for tenths, the same statute^g ordereth them to be paid to cardinal Pole, who from the same was to pay the pensions allowed by her father to monks and nuns at the dissolution of abbeys: yet so, that when such persons, who were but few and aged (all named in a deed indented) should decease, all such payments of the clergy, reserved *nomine decimæ*, should cease, and be clearly extinct and determined for ever.

^g 2 & 3 Philip and Mary, cap. 4.

7. But her sister queen Elizabeth succeeding her, A. D. 1537.
29 Henry VIII. and finding so fair a flower as first-fruits and tenths fallen out of her crown, was careful quickly to gather Queen Elizabeth resumeth them. it up again, and get it reset therein. A princess most facile to forgive injuries, but inexorable to remit debts; who knowing that necessitous kings are subject to great inconveniences, was a thrifty improver of her treasure. And no wonder if she were exact (though not exacting) to have her dues from the clergy, who herein would not favour her grand favourite sir Christopher Hatton, who by the way was master of this first-fruits office, and was much indebted unto her for monies received; all which arrears her majesty required so severely and suddenly from him, that the grief thereof cost him his life. I say this queen in the first of her reign resumed first-fruits and tenths, only with this ease to parsonages not exceeding ten marks, and vicarages ten pounds, that they should be freed from first-fruits^h. A clause in this statute, empowering the queen to take all that was due unto her from the first day of this parliament, was so improved by her officers in the exchequer, (who sometimes have none of the softest palms to those that fall into their hands,) that many ministers were much vexed thereby: yea, one observeth that the courtesy intended to the clergy by queen Mary in remitting their tenths, proved in event an injury to many, so vexed about their arrearsⁱ.

8. In vain have some of late heaved at this office, which is fastened to the state with so considerable a The state, profit, and policy of this office. revenue, as it advanced thereunto by tenths and

^h See the statute, 1 Eliz. cap. 4.

ⁱ M. Parker, Ant. Brit. in vita Reginaldi Poli. [p. 527.]

A. D. 1537. ^{29 Henry VIII.} first-fruits. The former certain, the latter casual, as depending on the uncertain deaths of incumbents, and such as succeed them. Many indeed accuse such payments, as popish in their original. But could that be superstitious which was plucked down by queen Mary, and set up again by queen Elizabeth? Besides, suppose them so in their first foul fountain, since being shifted, yea, strained through the hands of protestant kings, tenths have their old property altered, and acquire no doubt a new purity to themselves. And the advocates for this office do pertinently plead, that there ought to be a badge of subjection¹ of the clergy to the secular power, by public acknowledgment of their dependence thereon, which by such payments is best performed.

A. D. 1538. ^{John Lambert condemned, and why.} 9. John Lambert, alias Nicolson, bred in Cambridge, had lately been much persecuted by archbishop Warham about some opinions he held against the corporal presence in the sacrament. And now being fallen into fresh troubles on the same account, to make the quicker work, (following the precedent of St. Paul appealing to Cæsar,) he appeals to the king^m; who having lately taken upon him the title of the supreme head of the church of England, would shew that head had a tongue could speak in matters of divinity. In Whitehall, the place and day is appointed, where an act-royal was kept; the king himself being the opponent, and Lambert the

¹ Some say such a vectigal from the clergy is mentioned in Bede. [It would be no inconsiderable tax on their ingenuity to find it.]

^m [Fuller is inconsistent with himself and other histo-

rians; for Lambert does not appear to have appealed to the king, but his trial was removed to the court by the suggestion of Gardiner. Strype's Mem. p. 65.]

answerer; and where his highness was worsted or wearied, archbishop Cranmer supplied his place, arguing, though civilly, shrewdly, against the truth and his own private judgment ^{A. D. 1538.} ^{30 Henry VIII.} ^{_____} ^{_____}

10. Was not this worse than keeping the clothes of those who killed St. Stephen, seeing this archbishop did actually cast stones at this martyr in the arguments he urged against him? Nor will it excuse Cranmer's cowardice and dissimulation to accuse Gardiner's craft and cruelty, who privily put the archbishop on this odious act, such Christian courage

ⁿ See Fox, Acts and Mon. [II. p. 425. For a full account of this disputation, see Fox, l. l. Strype's Cranmer, p. 65. The reader will find that Cranmer was not only an unwilling actor in this scene, but shewed also a charity and humbleness which even his adversaries must admire. Lambert was not condemned by the archbishop, but by the king in person, Cromwell reading the sentence. Before this was passed, there was a disputation, which was opened by a speech from Sampson bishop of Chichester, (or, according to Burnet, Dr. Hayes, Ref. I. p. 506.) The king disputed against the first position; and then commanded Cranmer to continue the argument;— "who first making a short preface unto his hearers, began his disputation with Lambert very modestly, saying, 'Brother Lambert, let this matter be handled between us indifferently, that if I do convince this your argument to be false by the scriptures, you will willingly

"refuse the same; but if you shall prove it true by the manifest testimonies of the scripture, I do promise I will willingly embrace the same," &c. — The observations therefore of Fuller are not just. It is very clear that Cranmer's sentiments respecting the sacrament of the eucharist underwent a gradual change. And though at the time of Lambert's trial he had given up the doctrine of transubstantiation, yet he was still a believer in the corporal presence, and did not arrive at the opinions which he finally held on this subject till 1546, when he was brought over from these sentiments by Ridley, who had been converted by reading the treatise of Bertram. See Cranmer's Answer to Smythe's Preface, vol. III. p. 13. (of his works.) Preface to the Defence of C. D. Embdæ, 1557. His Examination before Brokes, vol. IV. p. 97. (Works), and also Jenkyn's Preface, p. lxxiii, where the subject is very clearly discussed.]

Cranmer's
unexcus-
able cow-
ardly dissi-
mulation.

A. D. 1538.
30 Henry
VIII.

being justly expected from a person of his parts and place, as not to be acted by another contrary to his own conscience. I see not therefore what can be said in Cranmer's behalf, save only that I verily hope, and steadfastly believe, that he craved God's pardon for this particular offence, and obtained the same on his unfeigned repentance. And because the face of men's faults is commonly seen in the glass of their punishment, it is observable, that as Lambert now was burnt for denying the corporal presence, so Cranmer (now his opponent) was afterwards condemned, and died at Oxford for maintaining the same opinion; which valour, if sooner shewn, his conscience had probably been more cleared within him, and his credit without him to all posterity.

Dutchmen
broach
strange
opinions.

11. A match being now made up by the lord Cromwell's contrivance betwixt king Henry and the lady Anne of Cleves^o, Dutchmen flocked faster than

^o [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 513. 543. The commission to his ambassadors, archbishop Cranmer, Audeley, and others, to treat for this marriage with the duke of Cleves, is dated Sept. 24, 1539, and the ratification on the 10th of November. (See Cat. of Transcripts for the Fœd. p. 217.) The definitive sentence of her divorce was concluded in convocation on the 9th of July, 1540. The material instrument of her submission and approbation was executed on the 11th of the same month. On the 13th of July the king sent to her lord John Russell with a token, 500 marks of

gold, and a letter thanking her for her discreet behaviour, promising her after the end of the session of parliament an annuity of 4,000 marks, and a house at Richmond and at Bletchingly. On the 17th the same lords were sent to Richmond to discharge such servants as attended upon her as queen, and appoint others to wait upon her as the king's sister. On the 21st the king sent again to her with presents, and to see that her house was fully established. On which occasion she delivered the messenger a letter for her brother, stating she was satisfied with her treatment. And also sent

formerly into England: many of these had active souls, so that whilst their hands were busied about their manufactures, their heads were also beating about points of divinity. Hereof they had many rude notions, too ignorant to manage them themselves, and too proud to crave the direction of others. Their minds had a by-stream of activity more than what sufficed to drive on their vocation; and this waste of their souls they employed in needless speculations, and soon after began to broach their strange opinions, being branded with the general name of anabaptists. These anabaptists for the main are but Donatists new dipped, and this year their name first appears in our English Chronicles; for I read that four anabaptists, three men and one woman, all Dutch, bare fagots at Paul's cross, and three days after a man and woman of their sect were burnt in Smithfield ^p.

A. D. 1539.
3^d Henry
VIII.

12. It quickly came to the turn of queen Anne of Cleves to fall, if not into the displeasure, out of the dear affection of king Henry the Eighth. She had much of Katharine dowager's austerity, little of Anna Boleyn's pleasant wit, less of the beauty of

A. D. 1540.
Queen
Anne of
Cleves why
divorced.

the king the ring delivered to her at their pretended marriage, with a request that it might be broken in pieces. See the notarial instrument of this proceeding, dated July 29, among the Transcripts for the new *Fœdera*, p. 220. Two other reasons against this marriage were pleaded in convocation; first, that the king had married her against his consent; and, next, that the marriage had never been con-

summated; and accordingly it was judged null and of no force. Burnet, Ref. I. p. 562. See the letter of the convocation to the king in the First Collection of Records, p. 308, but more correctly printed, together with the signatures, in the State Papers, p. 629. It is also printed, with a full account of the process of the divorce from Cranmer's Register, in Wilkins' Concil. III. p. 851.]
^p Stow in his Chron. p. 576.

A. D. 1540. **Jane Seymour.** Some feminine impotency, that she answered not her creation, was objected against her, though only her pre-contract with the son of the duke of Lorraine was publicly insisted on, for which, by act of parliament now sitting, she was solemnly divorced.

The reparations the king made her.

13. King Henry durst not but deal better with Anne of Cleves than with such his wives which were his native subjects: not so much for love of her, as for fear of her brother the duke of Cleves, considerable (if not much in himself) in his union with the protestant princes of Germany. Wherefore he restored her all her jewels, assigned her precedency above all English, (save his own that should be queen, and children,) graced her with a new-devised style of, His adopted sister, (by which from henceforward he saluted her in his letters, and she in answer subscribed herself,) allotted her Richmond-house for her retirement, with an augmentation of means for her maintenace^q. And now let her be glad that she escaped so well, seeing all which had reference to king Henry's bed came off gainers, if savers of their own lives and reputations. She returned no more into her own country, but living, and dying anno 1557, in England, was buried in Westminster church, at the head of king Sebert, in a tomb not yet finished; none other of king Henry's wives having any, and this Anne but half a monument^r.

Reformation goes backwards.

14. In the last parliament, reformation running a race with superstition hardly carried it by the head's

^q [He assigned her an estate of 3,000*l.* per annum. See Burnet, Ref. I. p. 564.]
^r Stow's Survey, p. 513.

length; but it was hoped that in this new parliament (now sitting) true religion would run her rival quite out of distance: whereas, alas! it not only stood still, but went backwards, the Six Articles being therein enacted, that whip with six knots, each one (as heavily laid on) fetching blood from the backs of poor protestants^s.

15. King Henry was much blamed for passing this act. Indeed, power and profit being the things politic princes chiefly desire, king Henry had already attained both by his partial reformation. Power, by abolishing the pope's usurpation in his dominions; profit, by seizing on the lands and goods of suppressed monasteries. And thus having served his own turn, his zeal wilfully tired to go any further, and (only abolishing such popery as was in order to his aforesaid designs) he severely urged the rest on the practice of his subjects.

16. Herein he appeared like to Jehu king of Israel^t, who utterly rooted out the foreign idolatry

A.D. 1539.
31 Henry
VIII.

King Henry
justly
blamed.

Compared
with king
Jehu.

^s [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 513. See the king's draught of an act of these Six Articles in Wilkins' Concilia, vol. III. p. 848, where the articles are given at length. The sixth is thus expressed; "that auricular confession is necessarily to be retained and continued, used and frequented in the church of God," and not "of necessity to salvation," which was the very issue of debate; the popish party labouring to have it declared that auricular confession "was commanded by Christ as "a part of the sacrament of "penance;" on which their

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arguments were confuted by the king and Cranmer, to whose reasonings the house assented, declaring that "though it was good and profitable, yet it was not necessary by any precept of the gospel." See Burnet, Ref. I. Add. p. 738, and p. 519, where they are printed as worded in the act published on this occasion.]

^t [This was Calvin's comparison. See the letters of Fr. Baldwin to J. Calvin, prefixed to a treatise entitled; G. C. (George Cassander) Author libelli de officio pii viri, &c. Paris, 1564.]

A. D. 1539. of Baal, (fetched from the Zidonians, and almost
 31 Henry VIII. appropriated to the family of Ahab,) but still wor-
 shipped the calves in Dan and Bethel, the state-
 idolatry of the kingdom; so our Henry, though
 banishing all outlandish superstition of papal de-
 pendence, still reserved and maintained home-bred
 popery, persecuting the refusers to submit there-
 unto.

The six
 bloody
 articles.

17. For, by the persuasion of bishop Gardiner (in defiance of archbishop Cranmer, and the lord Cromwell, with might and main opposing^v it) it was enacted:

i. That in the sacrament of the altar, after consecration, no substance of bread or wine remaineth, but the natural body and blood of Christ.

ii. That the communion in both kinds is not necessary *ad salutem*, by the law of God to all persons.

iii. That priests, after orders received, may not marry by the law of God.

iv. That vows of chastity ought to be observed [by the law of God].

v. That it is meet and necessary that private masses be admitted and continued in churches.

vi. That auricular confession must be frequented by people, as of necessity to salvation^w.

^v [All except the first article, Cranmer not having as yet altered his sentiments upon that subject. See above, p. 173. note, and Burnet, Ref. I. p. 515, where the substance of Cranmer's arguments against these articles may be seen.]

^w [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 519. These articles were offered to the house in the shape of que-

ries by the duke of Norfolk on the 16th of May, the committee who had been elected from the house "to draw up articles of agreement," of which the archbishop was the head, not having been able to come to an agreement. On the 30th of May, the lord chancellor, sir Thomas Audley, moved that a bill might be

Laws bad, as penned, worse, as prosecuted, which by some bishops' extensive interpretations were made commensurate to the whole body of popery.

A. D. 1539.
31 Henry
VIII.

18. Indeed, the lord Cromwell (unable to right his own) had a design to revenge himself on the opposite party, by procuring an act, that "popish priests convicted of adultery should be subject to the same punishment with protestant ministers that were married^x." But Gardiner, by his greatness, got that law so qualified, that it soon became *lex edentula*, whilst the other remained *mordax*, death being the penalty of such who were made guilty by the six articles, though Nicholas Shaxton of Salisbury, and Hugh Latimer of Worcester, found the especial favour to save themselves by losing of their bishoprics^y.

The lord
Cromwell's
design
miscarrieth.

19. And now began Edmund Bonner, *alias* Savage, (most commonly called by the former, but too truly known by the latter name,) newly made bishop of

Bonner first
beginneth
to Bonner
cit.

brought in for punishing those who offended against these articles: and a bill drawn up for that purpose by the archbishop of York was approved, and after going through the usual process, received the royal assent on the 28th of June. See Burnet, l. c.]

^x [On the 16th of June, three days after Cromwell's arrest by the duke of Norfolk, a bill was brought in for moderating the statute of the six articles in the clauses that related to the marriage of priests, or their incontinency with women. By which the pains of death were turned to for-

feitures of goods and chattels. (Burnet, Ref. I. p. 565.) But I do not find any such act or design of Cromwell as here mentioned by our author.]

^y [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 533. They did not escape entirely, for being presented for speaking against these articles, they were both imprisoned: Shaxton was confined till the 13th of July, 1546, [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 682.] when having recanted, he was dismissed; but Latimer was not released till the accession of Edward VI., about a year after. (Burnet, ib. II. p. 51.)]

A. D. 1539. London^z, to display the colours of his cruelty
 31 Henry VIII. therein, which here I forbear to repeat, because
 cited at large by Mr. Fox. For I desire my Church
 History should behave itself to his Book of Martyrs,
 as a lieutenant to its captain, only to supply his
 place in his absence, to be supplemental thereunto
 in such matters of moment which have escaped his
 observation.

A. D. 1540. 20. Match-makers betwixt private persons seldom
 Cromwell falls into the king's displeasure, and people's hatred.
 find great love for their pains, betwixt princes often
 fall into danger, as here it proved in the lord Crom-
 well, the grand contriver of the king's marriage with
 Anne of Cleves^a. On him the king had conferred
 honours so many, and so suddenly, that one may
 say, the crudities thereof lay unconcocted in his
 soul, so that he could not have time to digest one
 dignity before another was poured upon him. Not
 to speak of his mastership of the jewel-house, he
 was made baron, master of the rolls, the king's vicar-
 general in spiritual matters, lord privy seal, knight
 of the garter, earl of Essex, lord great chamberlain
 of England. And my author^b observeth, that all
 these honours were conferred upon him in the com-
 pass of five years, most of them possessed by him
 not five months; I may add, and all taken from
 him in less than five minutes, with his life on the
 scaffold.

Why Cromwell was deservedly envied. 21. This was the cause why he was envied of the
 nobility and gentry, being by birth so much beneath
 all; by preferment so high above most of them.

^z [He succeeded Stokesley
 bishop of London.]

^a [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 550.]

^b Camden's Brit. in Essex,
 p. 328.

Besides, many of his advancements were interpreted not so much honours to him, as injuries to others, as being either in use improper, or in equity unfit, or in right unjust, or in conscience unlawful for him to accept. His mastership of the rolls, such who were bred lawyers conceived it fitter for men of their profession. As for the earldom of Essex conferred upon him^c, though the title lately became void by the death of [John] Bouchier, the last earl without male issue, (and so in the strictness of right in the king's free disposal,) yet because he left Anne, a sole daughter behind him, Cromwell's invading of that honour bred no good blood towards him amongst the kindred of that orphan, who were honourable and numerous. His lord great chamberlainship of England, being an office for many years hereditary in the ancient and honourable house of Oxford, incensed all of all that family, when beholding him possessed thereof. His knighthood of the garter, which custom had appropriated to such who by three degrees at least could prove their gentle descent, being bestowed on him, did but enrage his competitors thereof, more honourably extracted. As for his being the king's vicar-general in spiritual matters, all the clergy did rage thereat, grutching much that king Henry the substance, and more, that Cromwell, his shadow, should assume so high a title to himself^d. Besides, Cromwell's name was odious unto them on the account of abbeys dissolved, and

^c [He was created earl of Essex, April 14, 1540; and therefore bishop Burnet thinks "that the true causes of Cromwell's fall must be found in some other thing than his "making up the king's marriage." Burnet, Ref. I. p. 550.]

^d [See Burnet's Ref. I. p. 527.]

A. D. 1540. no wonder if this Samson plucking down the pillars of the popish church had the rest of the structure falling upon him. These rejoiced when the duke of Norfolk arrested him for treason at the council table, whence he was sent prisoner to the Tower^e.

Cromwell's
admirable
parts.

22. And now to speak impartially of him, though in prison. If we reflect on his parts and endowments, it is wonderful to see how one quality in him befriended another. Great scholar he was none, (the Latin Testament gotten by heart being the masterpiece of his learning,) nor any studied lawyer, (never long living, if admitted, in the inns of court,) nor experienced soldier, (though necessity cast him on that calling when the duke of Bourbon besieged Rome,) nor courtier in his youth, (till bred in the court, as I may call it, of cardinal Wolsey's house,) and yet, that of the lawyer in him so helped the scholar, that of the soldier the lawyer, that of the courtier the soldier, and that of the traveller so perfected all the rest, (being no stranger to Germany, well acquainted with France, most familiar with Italy,) that the result of all together made him for endowments eminent, not to say admirable.

Articles
charged

23. It was laid to his charge, first, that he had

^e [See the occasion of their quarrel in Burnet, Ref. I. p. 531. Cromwell was arrested by the duke of Norfolk June 13, 1540; 1541 according to Fox, II. p. 513. (Burnet, Ref. I. p. 552.); the bill of attainder was brought in against him on the 17th of June, and read the first time, on the 19th the second and third time, and

passed the king's seal on the 29th. On the 30th of the same month his deposition respecting the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves was taken at the Tower (Burnet, ib. Coll. I. p. 307.), and on the 28th of July he was brought to the scaffold. Fox, l. c. Burnet, Ref. I. p. 594.]

exceeded his commission in acting many things of high consequence without acquainting the king therewith; dealing therein, though perchance wisely for the state, not warily for himself^e. Indeed, it is impossible for such officers, managing not only multitudes, but multiplicity of matters, but that in some things they must mistake. As in many words there wanteth not iniquity^f, so in the actors of many affairs faults are soon found out. He was also accused to set at liberty certain persons not capable of it; for granting licenses and commissions destructive to the king's authority; for being guilty of heresy himself, and favouring it in others. Traitorous speeches were also charged upon him, spoken two years before in the church of St. Peter's the Poor, in Broad-street^g; the avouchers thereof pretending, that, as hitherto they had concealed them for love of themselves, fearing Cromwell's greatness, so now, for the love of the king, they revealed the same. Indeed, on the first manifesting of the king's displeasure against him, the foes of Cromwell had all their mouths open, and his friends their mouths shut up.

24. The mention of St. Peter's in Broad-street mindeth me of a passage, not unworthy to be recited, of an injury offered by this lord Cromwell to many poor men in the same parish. And, because every one is best able to tell his own tale, take it in the words of John Stow, being himself deeply concerned therein:

^e [See the substance of the act of attainder in Burnet, Ref. I. p. 556, and at full length in the Collections to that volume, p. 292.]

^f Prov. x. 19.

^g ["On the last day of " March, in the thirtieth year " of your most gracious reign." Act of Attainder in Burnet, Ref. I. Coll. p. 297.]

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32 Henry
VIII.

upon the
lord Crom-
well.

An inju-
rious act to
many poor
people
charged
on the lord
Cromwell.

A. D. 1540.
32 Henry
VIII.

“ [The lord Cromwell having finished his house in
“ Throgmorton-street in London,] and having some
“ reasonable plot of ground left for a garden, he
“ caused the pales of the gardens adjoining to the
“ north part thereof on a sudden to be taken down,
“ twenty-two foot to be measured forthright into the
“ north of every man’s ground, a line there to be
“ drawn, a trench to be cast, a foundation laid, and
“ an high brick wall to be builded. My father had
“ a garden there, and there was a house standing
“ close to his south pale: this house they loosed
“ from the ground, and bare upon rollers into my
“ father’s garden twenty-two foot, ere my father
“ heard thereof: no warning was given him, nor
“ other answer, when he spake to the surveyors of
“ that work, but that their master, sir Thomas, com-
“ manded them so to do. No man durst go to argue
“ the matter, but each man lost his land; and my
“ father paid his whole rent, which was six shillings
“ and eightpence the year, for that half which was
“ left. Thus much of mine own knowledge have I
“ thought good to note, that the sudden rising of
“ some men causeth them to forget themselves^h.”

I am moved the rather to believe our author herein, because elsewhere he alloweth this lord his deserved praise for his virtues, and especially his hospitality, affirming he had often seen at the lord Cromwell’s gate above two hundred persons served twice every day with meat and drink sufficientⁱ. Nor can I see what may be said in excuse of this oppression, except any will plead, that *Abimelech’s*

^h Survey of London, p. 187. ⁱ Stow’s Survey of London, p. 74.

servants violently took away the wells from Abraham^j, and yet Abimelech himself never knew more or less thereof. A. D. 1540.
32 Henry VIII.

25. As for the passionate expressions of Cromwell; a knight^k, aged well-nigh eighty, whose mother was daughter to the lord Cromwell's son, hath informed me, that the principal passage whereon the lord's enemies most insisted was this; it being told the lord Cromwell that one accused him for want of fidelity to the king, Cromwell returned in passion, "Were he here now, I would strike my dagger into his heart," meaning, into the heart of the false accuser; and therein guilty of want of charity to his fellow-subject, not of loyalty to his sovereign. But seeing the words were a measuring-cast as uttered (though not as intended) to whom they should relate, the pick-thank repeater avowed them uttered against the king himself. So dangerous are dubious words and ambiguous expressions, when prevalent power is to construe and interpret the meaning thereof.

26. Ten days after his arrest^l he was attainted of high-treason in parliament, and brought on the scaffold.

^j Gen. xxi. 26.

^k Sir I. Strode of Parnham in Dorsetshire. [The words charged upon him in the act of attainder are these; "If the king would turn from it (sc. certain doctrines uttered by Robert Barnes) yet I would not turn; and if the king did turn, and all his people, I would fight in the field in mine own person with my sword in my hand against him and against all others;

"and then and there most traitorously pulled out his dagger, and held it on high, saying these words; 'Or else this dagger thrust me to the heart, if I would not die in that quarrel against them all; and I trust if I live one year or two, it shall not be in the king's power to resist or let it if he would.'" Burnet, *ib.*]

^l [This is incorrect. See note, p. 453.]

The worst passionate speech objected against him.

His speech on the scaffold.

A. D. 1540. scaffold the next week to execution. Here he spake
 3^d Henry VIII. the following words unto the people, which the
 reader is requested the more seriously to peruse, that
 thereby he may be enabled to pass (if concerned
 therein) his verdict in what religion this lord died^m.

“ I am come hither to die, and not to purge
 “ myself, as some think peradventure that I will.
 “ For, if I should so do, I were a very wretch, and a
 “ miser. I am by the law condemned to die, and
 “ thank my Lord God that hath appointed me this
 “ death for mine offence. For, sithence the time
 “ that I have had years of discretion, I have lived a
 “ sinner, and offended my Lord God, for the which I
 “ ask him heartily forgiveness. And it is not un-
 “ known to many of you, that I have been a great
 “ traveller in this world, and, being but of a base
 “ degree, was called to high estate, and sithence the
 “ time I came thereunto I have offended my prince,
 “ for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness,
 “ and beseech you all to pray to God with me, that
 “ he will forgive me. And now I pray you that be
 “ here, to bear me record I die in the catholic faith,
 “ not doubting in any article of my faith, no, nor
 “ doubting in any sacrament of the church. Many
 “ have slandered me, and reported, that I have been
 “ a bearer of such as have maintained evil opinions,
 “ which is untrue. But I confess, that like as God
 “ by his Holy Spirit doth instruct us in the truth, so
 “ the devil is ready to seduce us, and I have been
 “ seduced; but bear me witness that I die in the
 “ catholic faith of the holy church. And I heartily

^m [Burnet, Ref. I. p. 569.]

“ desire you to pray for the king’s grace, that he
 “ may long live with you in health and prosperity: ^{A.D. 1540.}
 “ and that after him his son, prince Edward, that ^{32 Henry VIII.}
 “ goodly imp, may long reign over you. And once
 “ again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as
 “ life remaineth in this flesh I waver nothing in my
 “ faith.” And so making his prayer, &c.ⁿ

The general terms wherein this his speech is couched hath given occasion for wise men to give contrary censures thereof.

Fox in his marginal note on this speech, p. 515.

“ A true Christian confession of the lord Cromwell
 “ at his death.”

Lord Herbert in the Index of his History, under C.

“ Cromwell died a Roman catholic, notwith-
 “ standing he had been such a destroyer of the
 “ church^o.”

ⁿ [Fox’s Acts, &c. II. p. 512.]
^o [This misrepresentation arose from his use of the expression, “ catholic faith.” But it was then used,” says Burnet, “ in England in its true sense in opposition to the novelties of the see of Rome. . . . His praying in English, and that only to God through Christ, without any of those tricks that were used when those of that church died, shewed he was none of theirs.” Ref. I. p. 570. This remark of Burnet is not correct. See note on Story’s death below. This prayer, made after his speech on the scaffold, is printed at length in Fox, II. p. 513, from whom this whole account has been taken, without acknowledgment, by subsequent writers. It begins thus: “ O Lord Jesus, which art the only health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them which die in thee. . . . I see and knowledge that there is in myself no hope of salvation, but all my confidence, hope, and trust, is in thy most merciful goodness. I have no merits, nor good works which I may allege before thee, &c.” The reader

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VIII.

True it is, so wary were Cromwell's expressions, that Luther and Bellarmine might in their own persons have said the same, without any prejudice to their own principles; and many conceive that the most which these his words amount to, will but make him a six-articles protestant.

His prayer,
whereby
his speech
may be in-
terpreted.

27. But let Cromwell's politic speech be in part expounded by his plain prayer which he immediately after made, (too long here to insert, but set down at large in Mr. Fox,) and which speaketh him a true protestant. And if negative arguments avail aught in this matter, no superstitious crossing of himself, no praying to saints, no desiring of prayers for him after his death, &c., may evidence him no papist in the close of his life. Indeed, anti-Cromwellists count this controversy (of the religion he died in) not worth the deciding, no papists conceiving the gain great to get him on their side, and some protestants accounting the loss as little to part with him. However, this right ought to be done to his memory, in fixing it on its own principles, and not misrepresenting the same to posterity.

Heaven is
just in
earth's in-
justice.

28. Remarkable is that passage in his speech, wherein he confesseth himself by law condemned to die, because a story dependeth thereupon. Not long ago an act had passed in parliament, that one might be attainted of treason by bill in parliament, and consequently lose his life, without any other legal trial, or being ever brought to answer in his own defence^P. The lord Cromwell was very active in

will see from these expressions, but more clearly from the entire prayer, what foundation there is for lord Herbert's assertion.]

P [This instance was in the person of the countess of Sarum (Gertrude Blount), mother of cardinal Pole, whom a year before Cromwell had caused to

procuring this law to pass, insomuch that it is generally believed, that the arm and hammer of all king Henry's power could never have driven on this act through both houses, had not Cromwell first wim-^{A. D. 1540.}
^{32 Henry}
^{VIII.}
bled an hole for the entrance thereof, and politicly prepared a major part of lords and commons to accept the same. For, indeed otherwise it was accounted a law injurious to the liberty which reason alloweth to all persons accused, and which might cut out the tongue of innocency itself, depriving her of pleading in her own behalf. Now, behold the hand of Heaven! It happened that this lord first felt the smart of this rod which he made for others, and was accordingly condemned before ever he was heard to speak for himself.

Nec lex est justior ulla
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.

Most just it is, that they bad laws who make
Should themselves first of their own laws partake.

Thus, those who break down the banks, and let in the stream of arbitrary power, (be it into the hands of prince or people,) are commonly the first themselves which without pity are drowned in the deluge thereof.

29. Thus far I have swam along with the wind and tide of all our English historians, in charging of Cromwell herein. But I find one author of strong credit[¶] (such he needs to be who swims against the stream) acquitting the said lord, deriving his intelli-<sup>Yet the lord
Cromwell
by a great
person
acquitted
herein.</sup>

be attainted and condemned in parliament, a. 1539, without being brought to her answer. See Burnet's Ref. I. p. 530, 720.]

¶ Sir Edward Coke, part iv. of Institut. in Jurisdiction of Courts, p. 37. [ed. 1644.]

A. D. 1540. gence from sir Thomas Gawdie, a grave judge, then
³² Henry VIII. living, who acquainted him as followeth: “ King
 ——— “ Henry VIII. commanded him (the lord Cromwell)
 “ to attend the chief justices, and to know, whether
 “ a man that was forthcoming might be attainted of
 “ high-treason by parliament, and never called to
 “ his answer?” The judges answered, that “ it was a
 “ dangerous question, and that the high court of
 “ parliament ought to give examples to inferior
 “ courts for proceeding according to justice, and no
 “ inferior court could do the like, and they thought
 “ that the high court of parliament would never do
 “ it. But, being by the express commandment of
 “ the king, and pressed by the said earl to give a
 “ direct answer,” they said, that “ if he be attainted
 “ by parliament, it could not come in question after-
 “ wards, whether he were called or not called to
 “ answer;——and the act of attainder being passed
 “ by parliament, did bind as they resolved.” The
 party against whom this was intended was never
 called in question; but the first man after the said
 resolution that was so attainted, and never called to
 answer, was the said earl of Essex: whereupon that
 erroneous and vulgar opinion amongst our historians
 grew, that he died by the same law which he himself
 had made.

His exem-
 plary gra-
 titude.

30. But, grant this lord Cromwell faulty in this
 and some other actions, in the main he will appear a
 worthy person, and a great instrument of God’s glory
 in the reforming of religion, and remarkable for
 many personal eminencies. Commonly when men
 are (as in a moment) mounted from meanness to
 much wealth and honour, first they forget them-
 selves, and then all their old friends and acquaint-

ance. Whereas on the contrary, here gratitude grew with his greatness, and the lord Cromwell conferred many a courtesy on the children from whose father's master Cromwell had formerly received favours. As he was a good servant to his master, so was he a good master to his servants; and foreseeing his own fall, (which he might have foretold without the spirit of prophecy some half a year before,) he furnished his men, which had no other livelihood to subsist by, with leases, pensions, and annuities, whereby after his death they had a comfortable maintenance^r.

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^r [The character of Cromwell has generally been touched with a gentler hand than it deserves. That he suggested to Henry VIII. many unconstitutional acts and aggressions, especially on the clergy, is certain: that he was not a sincere servant to his master is also more than doubtful. He began life as a clerk in the English factory at Antwerp: afterwards became a military adventurer, served under the duke of Bourbon, and was present at the siege of Rome. Subsequently he was employed as a commercial agent to a Venetian merchant; and after this anomalous career in Italy, he returned home to study the law. (See Tytler's Henry VIII. p. 305.) When Wolsey fell into disgrace, he attached himself to the court, and rose rapidly into favour, as unscrupulous in his suggestions as he was unscrupulously used by the king. (See this History, iii. p. 78.) He was loaded with

preferments, holding at the same time the offices of chancellor of the exchequer, and chief secretary, royal vicegerent, vicar-general, and principal commissary; by which latter title he was vested with the spiritual authority which belonged to the king, as supreme head of the church. Few men with such powers are likely to bear their faculties meekly; but Cromwell had ruled with an arrogant and uncontrolled authority: he was disliked by the nobility for his upstart dignity, he had offended the clergy by his crooked policy in the debates respecting the supremacy, and he was liked as little by the middle and lower classes for the unscrupulous methods which he and his unprincipled agents had employed in dissolving the monasteries; and it needed only the alienation of the king's favour to produce his ruin. I will conclude this note with a sketch of his character from the pen

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32 Henry
VIII.

His care
for his
children.

31. One so faithful to his servants cannot be suspected for an infidel in not providing for his family, of his own children. It was not therefore his ambition, but providence, that on the same day wherein he was created earl of Essex he procured Gregory his son (which otherwise had been but a lord by courtesy) to be actually made baron Cromwell of Okeham. Which honour, because inherent in the son, was not forfeited on his father's attainure, but descends at this day on his posterity.

An eminent
instance of
his humi-
lity.

32. We will conclude his story with this remarkable instance of his humility: formerly there flourished a notable family of the Cromwells at Tattershall in Lincolnshire, especially since sir Ralph Cromwell married the youngest sister and coheir of

of one whose learning and moderation cannot be questioned. " Uncommon natural abilities, " indefatigable application, a " profound knowledge of men's " weak parts, caution in conceal- " ing and craft in accomplishing " his purposes, a devotedness " to the will of his sovereign, " and an occasional indifference " as to the means he employed " to gratify it, are views of his " character which admit of no " question. Some writers have " extolled the moderation " which was exhibited by a " man, who was raised from " the lowest origin to the ex- " ercise of an almost uncon- " trollable power; but the re- " search of an ingenious writer " has demonstrated the fallacy " of such an opinion. Al- " though a principal mover in " that great religious revo-

lution, which partially re- " stored truth and liberty to " his country, his own theo- " logical opinions have been " made matter of dispute; and " could we trust to the au- " thenticity of the speech which " he is said to have delivered " on the scaffold, it might be " doubted whether, after all, " he did not die in the faith of " the Romish church. It ap- " pears that he was in the " practice of drawing up short " notes or remembrances to " guide his memory when he " attended the king or coun- " cil. Some of these have " been preserved, and they " exhibit him as equally tyran- " nical and unjust, despising " the authority of the law, and " unscrupulous in the use of " the torture." Tytler's Henry VIII. p. 425.]

William, the last lord Deincourt^s. Now there wanted not some flattering heralds, (excellent chemists in pedigrees, to extract any thing from any thing,) who would have entituled this lord Cromwell to the arms of that ancient family, extinct (in the issue male thereof) about the end of king Henry the Sixth. His answer unto them was, that "he would not wear another man's coat, for fear the right owner thereof should pluck it off over his ears:" and preferred rather to take a new coat, viz. Azure, or, a fess inter three lions rampant, or, a rose gules, betwixt two choughs proper^t, being somewhat of the fullest; the epidemical disease of all arms given in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

33. After the execution of the lord Cromwell, the parliament still sitting, a motley execution happened in Smithfield, three papists hanged by the statute for denying the king's supremacy, and as many protestants burnt at the same time and place, by virtue of the six articles, dying with more pain, and no less patience^u.

Papists.

Edward Powell, Thomas Abel, Rich. Fetherston^v.

^s Camden's Brit. in Lincolnshire, [p. 407.]

^t See Vincent on Brooke in the earls of Essex, [p. 185.]

^u [Burnet's Ref. I. p. 590. On the 30th of July, two days after Cromwell's death. Fox, Acts, &c. II. p. 526. The same writer says that they were not brought to their answers, nor yet knew any cause of their condemnation: and this is afterwards asserted by Dr. Barnes in his speech to

the people at his execution (ib. p. 527.). It appears however, from the words of the act, that they were condemned for perverting scripture to support their heresies. See Burnet, Ref. I. p. 594. Strype has given a more complete account of these men and their doctrines. Memorials, I. p. 367.

^v [These three persons are mentioned above as having written against the divorce. See Book V. Cent. xvi. §. 17.]

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32 Henry
VIII.

Protestants.

Robert Barns, doctor of divinity; Thomas Garret [or Garrard], William Jerom^w, bachelors of divinity.

This caused was by the difference of religions in the king's privy council, wherein the popish party called for the execution of these protestants, whilst the protestant lords in the council, (out of policy to repress the others' eagerness, or if that failed, out of desire to revenge it,) cried as fast, that the laws might take effect on the papists. And whilst neither side was able to save those of their own opinions, both had power to destroy those of their opposite party. They were dragged on hurdles, coupled two and two, a papist and a protestant^x, (cattle of different kinds yoked to draw, or rather to be drawn together,) insomuch as a Romanist professeth, that to the three papists this their unequal matching was to them, *ipsa morte gravius ac intolerabilius*^y, "more heavy and intolerable than death itself:" but the protestants expressed no such distaste hereat, not angry out of principles of pride for the joining of their bodies together, but grieved out of the grounds of charity, that their souls soon after should so far be parted asunder. A stranger, standing by, did wonder (as well he might) what religion the king was of, his sword cutting on both sides, protestants for heretics, and papists for traitors, of whom in the same month^z, Laurence Cooke, prior of Doncaster,

^w Godwin in Henry the VIII. p. 131 = 245. ed. 1653.

^x Their names are enumerated in Fox, Acts, &c. II. p. 529.

^y Sanders de schismate Angl. p. 159.

^z [Fox says in August. Acts, &c. II. p. 540.]

and six others, were sent the same way for the same offence.

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32 Henry
VIII.

34. But to return to such acts of the parliament as concern the church, therein a statute was made, commanding every man “fully, truly, and effectually “to divide, set out, yield or pay all and singular “tithes and offerings, according to the lawful customs and usages of the parishes and places where “such tithes or duties shall grow, arise, come, or be “due^a.” And remedy is given for ecclesiastic persons before the ordinary; and for laymen, that claimed appropriated tithes by grant from the crown, in the secular courts by such actions as usually lay possessions had been subject to. The occasion of which statute is intimated in the preamble thereof, “because in few years past many presumed more “contemptuously, and commonly than in times past “had been seen or known to substract and withdraw “their lawful and accustomed tithes. Encouraged “thereunto for that that divers lay persons having “tithes to them and their heirs, had no due remedy “by order and course of the ecclesiastical laws to “recover their right.” And no wonder, seeing their sovereign had set them so large and so late a precedent in destroying of abbeys, if subjects thought that in their distance and proportion they might also be bold to detain the rights of the church, especially because it seemed unreasonable that they should receive wages who did no work, and that the hire of the labourers in the vineyard should be given to lazy lookers-on. This statute, in favour of lay-impropriators, was beneficial to the clergy to recover

A statute
made for
recovery of
tithes.

^a 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 7.

A. D. 1540.
 32 Henry
 VIII.

their predial tithes at common law, being equally advantaged by that which was not principally intended for them, because of the concurrence of their interest, in case of tithes. A statute also made, that “it was lawful for all persons to contract marriage “who are not prohibited by God’s law^b.” For although Gregory the Great (who had not less learning, but more modesty than his successors) did not flatly forbid the marriage of cousin-germans as unlawful, but prudentially dissuade it as unfitting; yet after-popes prohibited that and other degrees further off, thereby to get money for dispensations. What a mass these amounted unto, their own auditors can only compute, seeing Solomon himself sent ships but every third year to Ophir for gold^c; whereas his holiness, by granting such faculties, from those Indies made annual returns of infinite profit. And this law came very conveniently to comply with king Henry’s occasions, who had the first-fruits thereof, and presently after married Katharine Howard, cousin-german to Anna Boleyn, his second wife, which, by the canon law, formerly was forbidden, without a special dispensation first obtained.

Acts of this
 year’s con-
 vocation.

35. But now to step out of the parliament into the convocation, a place more proper for our employment, there we shall find archbishop Cranmer landing in his barge at Paul’s-wharf, and thence proceeding on foot, with the cross carried before him, into the choir of Paul’s; where, at the high altar bishop Bonner officiated (if I speak properly) a mass of the Holy Ghost, Dr. Richard Cox, archdeacon of

^b 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 38. Burnet, Ref. I. 567 = 283.]
 [See the reasons for this act in ^c 1 Kings x. 22.

Ely, preached a Latin sermon on this text, *Vos estis sal terræ*. Richard Gwent, doctor of law, and archdeacon of London, was chosen prolocutor. Then intimation was given, that the king allowed them liberty to treat of matters in religion, to peruse the canons *de simonia vitanda*, with other ecclesiastical constitutions; to continue the good ones, and make new ones *pro temporis exigentia*. In the third session on Friday, several bishops were assigned to peruse several books of the translation of the New Testament, in order as followeth^d:

A. D. 1542.
33 Henry
VIII.

^d Transcribed with my own hand out of the Records of Canterbury. [Bishop Burnet thinks that Fuller has mistaken the year; "and that which he calls the convocation of this year was the convocation of the year 1542: for he tells us that their seventh session was the 10th of March. (See p. 201.) Now in this year the convocation did not sit down till the 13th of April, but that year it sat all March. So likewise he tells us of the bishops of Westminster, Gloucester, and Peterborough bearing a share in this convocation: whereas these were not consecrated before winter, and could not sit as bishops in this synod. And besides, Thirlby sat at this time in the lower house." Ref. I. p. 572 = 286.

The bishop is right, according to the extracts made from the registers by Dr. Heylin, printed in Wilkins, III. p. 862, if by 1542 he means the *civil*

year. But he is wrong in saying that Fuller has fixed the seventh session to the 10th of March. (See p. 201.) The following is a brief abstract of the proceedings of convocation: on their first session, Jan. 20, the usual ceremonies were performed. On the second, Jan. 27, the archbishop declared the king's pleasure that the house should correct ecclesiastical abuses, directing their attention to such of the errors in the English translation of the Bible as required correction, &c. On the third, Feb. 3, the question was put whether they would retain the present translation of the Bible; and it was resolved, that it could not be retained with its present errors, that it should be examined, and time given for exhibiting the errors to the house. On the fourth, Feb. 10, no business. On the fifth, Feb. 13, the prolocutor exhibited the result of the examinations of the Old Testament by those who had been appointed to

A. D. 1542.
33 Henry
VIII.

Archbishop Cranmer; Matthew.
John Lincoln^e; Mark.
Stephen Winchester^f; Luke.
Thomas Ely^g; John.
Nicholas Rochester^h; Acts of the Apostles.
Richard Chichesterⁱ; Romans.
John Sarum^k; I. and II. Corinthians.
William St. David's^l; Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians,
Colossians.
John Worcester^m; I. and II. Thessalonians.
Robert St. Asaphⁿ; Timothy, Titus, Philemon.
Robert Llandaff^o; I. and II. Peter.
John Hereford^p; Hebrews.
Thomas Westminster^q; James, I. II. and III. John,
Jude.
John Gloucester^r; } Revelation.
John Peterborough^s; }

this task; and a select committee was appointed to examine both Old and New Testaments. On the sixth, Feb. 17, Gardiner read the list which is printed by Fuller, §. 36. On the seventh, Feb. 14, (read 24,) a discussion was held respecting the abolishing of images, and teaching the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Decalogue in the vulgar tongue. On the eighth, March 3, it was determined that the "Use of Sarum" should be observed in all churches. On the ninth, March 10, the archbishop declared the king's pleasure that the Old and New Testament should be examined by both universities. On the tenth, March 17, three papers were read respecting matrimony, institution, &c., and the convocation was prorogued till

the 28th, thence to the 3rd of April, and so on till the 16th of Feb. next year, 1543; on the 21st of which month, being the nineteenth session, the archbishop declared that it was the king's pleasure that all mass books, &c. in the church of England should be examined and castigated from legends, popish saints, &c., and that one chapter should every Sunday and holiday throughout the year be read from the Bible in English to the people. The correction of these books was entrusted to the bishops of Sarum and Ely.]

^e Longland.	^f Gardiner.
^g Goodrich.	^h Heath.
ⁱ Sampson.	^k Capon.
^l Barlow.	^m Bell.
ⁿ Parfew.	^o Holgate.
^p Skip.	^q Thirlby.
^r Wakeman.	^s Chambers.

Why Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, then A. D. 1542. and there present, had no part in this perusal al- 33 Henry VIII. lotted him, as I find no reason rendered thereof, so I will not interpose my own conjecture.

36. In the sixth session Gardiner publicly read a catalogue of Latin words of his own collection out of the Testament, and desired that for their genuine and native meaning, and for the majesty of the matter in them contained, these words might be retained in their own nature as much as might be; or be very fitly englished, with the least alteration, being in number and order here inserted^t:

Words in the Testament which Gardiner desired might be preserved entire in the translation.

Ecclesia, pœnitentia, pontifex, ancilla, contritus, olocausta^t, justitia, justificare, idiota, elementa, baptizare, martyr, adorare, dignus, sandalium, simplex, tetrarcha, sacramentum, simulachrum, gloria, conflictationes, ceremonia, mysterium, religio, Spiritus sanctus, spiritus, merces, confiteor tibi Pater, panis præpositionis, communio, perseverare, dilectus, sapientia, pietas, presbyter, lites, servus, opera, sacrificium, benedictio, humilis, humilitas, scientia, gentilis, synagoga, ejicere, misericordia, complacui, increpare, distribueretur orbis, inculpatus, senior, conflictationes, apocalypsis, satisfactio, contentio, conscientia, peccatum, peccator, idolum, prudentia, prudenter, parabola, magnifico, oriens, subditus, didragma, hospitalitas, episcopus, gratia, charitas, tyrannus, concupiscentia, ciseria, apostolus, apostolatus, egenus, stater, societas, zizania, mysteriū^v, Christus, conversari, profiteor, impositio manuum, idololatria, Dominus, sanctus,

^t Acta Synod. Cant. an. 1541. p. 48, 49. Take faults and all, as in the original.

^v Though sensible of tautology, (otherwise spelt,) I durst not vary from the original. [These errors have been

corrected in the list given by Wilkins, Conc. III. p. 861, without authority however, as the catalogue of them was evidently transcribed from Fuller. See also Strype's Memorials, I. p. 371.]

A. D. 1542. confessio, imitator, pascha, innumerabilis, inenarrabilis,
 33 Henry VIII. infidelis, paganus, commilito, virtutes, dominationes,
 ——— throni, potestates, hostia.

The pa-
 pists' plot
 therein.

36. The judicious reader hath no sooner perused these words, but presently he sorts them in two ranks: first, some few untranslatable, without loss of life or lustre: these are continued in our English Testament entire, it being conceived better that ministers should expound these words in their sermons, than alter them in their texts. But besides these, most of the second sort are not so emphatical in themselves, but that they may be rendered in English, without prejudice of truth. Wherefore Gardiner's design plainly appeared in stickling for the preserving of so many Latin words to obscure the scripture; who, though wanting power to keep the light of the word from shining, sought out of policy to put it into a dark-lanthorn; contrary to the constant practice of God in scripture, levelling high hard expressions to the capacity of the meanest. For foreign terms are always brought in, like Joseph, with an interpreter^x. Emmanuel doth not pass without an exposition, *God with us*^y: nor Ephatha escape, but commented on, *be thou opened*^z: besides, the popish bishop multiplied the mixture of Latin names in the Testament, to teach the laity their distance; who though admitted into the outward court of common matter, were yet debarred entrance into the holy of holies of these mysterious expressions, reserved only for the understanding of the high-priest to pierce into them. Moreover, this made Gardiner not only tender, but fond to have

^x Gen. xlii. 23.

^y Matt. i. 23.

^z Matt. vii. 34.

these words continued in kind without translation; A.D. 1542.
 because the profit of the Romish church was deeply 33 Henry VIII.
 in some of them concerned: witness the word
penance, which, according to the vulgar sound, con-
 trary to the original sense thereof, was a magazine
 of will-worship, and brought in much gain to the
 priests, who were desirous to keep that word, because
 that word kept them. I find not what entertain-
 ment Gardiner's motion met with, it seems so sus-
 pended in success, as neither generally received nor
 rejected.

36. In a following session^a, Cranmer, archbishop March 10.
 of Canterbury, informed the house, that "it was the Cranmer
 "king's will and pleasure, that the translation both stickleth for
 "of the Old and New Testament should be exa- the univer-
 "mined by both universities." sities' ap-
 This met with much probation.
 opposition in the house, all the bishops, Ely and
 St David's excepted, making their protests to the
 contrary. These affirmed, "the universities were
 "much decayed of late, wherein all things were
 "carried by young men, whose judgments were not
 "to be relied on, so that the learning of the land
 "was chiefly in this convocation." But the arch-
 bishop said, "he would stick close to the will and
 "pleasure of the king his master, and that the uni-
 "versities should examine the translation." And
 here (for aught I can find to the contrary) the
 matter ceased, and the convocation soon after was
 dissolved.

37. The cruel prosecution of the protestants still The six
 continued on the six articles. And yet the parlia- articles
 ment now somewhat abated the illegal fury thereof: somewhat
mitigated.

^a [That is, the ninth. See Wilkins, Conc. iii. p. 862.]

A. D. 1545. for formerly any active officer of the bishops at his
 37 Henry VIII. pleasure molested all suspected persons, and prosecuted some to death. But afterwards it was required, that "such offenders should first be found guilty by "a jury of twelve men;" a rub to the wheels of their cruelty, that it saved the lives of some, and prolonged the deaths of others^b.

Nov. 23.
 The acts of
 the last parliament in
 this king's
 reign.

38. Now began the last parliament in the king's reign, wherein many things of consequence were enacted: first, an act against usury. Secondly, for tithes in London^c. Thirdly, for an exchange of lands betwixt the king's majesty and Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Holgate,

^b [At the passing of this act of the Six Articles, in 1539, it was enacted, that if any should speak, preach, or write against the first clause, they should be burnt as heretics, and their goods confiscated; if against the other clauses, they should be condemned to die as felons, and their lands and goods be forfeited. For the execution of the act, commissions were issued to bishops and others, enabling them to take informations, by the oaths of two persons, as to inquire by the oaths of twelve men; all such accusations having the same effect in law, as if the matter therein contained had been presented by a verdict of twelve men. 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14. But in the year 1543 it was found necessary to modify this act, owing to the numerous false accusations, to which it afforded considerable facility. It was accordingly enacted, that none should be arraigned

for any offence under this act except on the presentment of twelve persons: that such presentments should be made within twelve months after the offence committed; and that no person should be arrested before indictment, except by a warrant from two of the council. 36 Hen. VIII. c. 5. For the method of proceeding upon this act previous to these alterations, the reader may consult Fox, II. p. 530. See also Burnet, Ref. I. pp. 644=258. 661=321. Fox, II. p. 566. A further modification of this act seems to have been intended in 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1, which allowed persons teaching contrary to the religion established since 1540, the year of passing the Six Articles, to recant; for the second offence they were to bear a fagot, for the third to suffer death.]

^c See the printed statutes of this year.

archbishop of York, and Edmund Bonner, bishop of London; which the king annexed to the duchy of Lancaster. Fourthly, an act for union of churches, not exceeding the value of six pounds. Lastly, that doctors of the civil law, being married, might exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

39. At this time also, by the king's command, were the stews suppressed. A line or two I hope will not defile our Church-history in the description and detestation of such filthy persons and practices. There stood a place on the south bank over against London^d called the Stews, where live fishes were formerly kept, there to be washed in ponds from their slime and muddiness, to make the more wholesome and pleasant food, which was the original use of these Stews, and the proper meaning of the word^e. Afterwards the place was converted to a worse use, but still retaining its own name, from the scouring of fish to the defiling of men; brothel-houses being built there, and publicly permitted by the state. These were sixteen in number, known by the several signs, whereof one was the cardinal's hat^f, and it is to be feared that too many of the clergy (then forbidden marriage) were too constant customers to it. Such who lived in these colleges of lust were called single women, and pity it was so good a name should be put upon so lewd persons.

40. Divers constitutions were made in the eighth year of king Henry the Second for the regulating of these houses, whereof some may inoffensively, yea, profitably be inserted.

^d [That is, in the borough of Southwark.]

^e Camden's Brit. in Middle-

sex, [p. 312. So used in the statutes, 37 Hen. VIII. c. 6.]

^f Stow's Survey, p. 449.

A. D. 1545.
37 Henry VIII.

The original of stews.

The regulation of the stews.

A.D. 1545. i. "No stew-holder should keep open his doors
 37 Henry VIII. "on the holy days, or keep any in his house on
 "those days.

ii. "No single woman to be kept against her will,
 "if out of remorse of conscience she would leave
 "that lewd life.

iii. "No stew-holder to receive any man's wife, or
 "any woman of religion.

iv. "No man to be drawn or enticed into any of
 "those houses, and the constables and bailiffs were
 "every week to search the same. They were not to
 "sell bread, ale, flesh, fish, wood, coal, or any
 "victuals^g."

This was done, partly because they should not engross those trades, being the livelihood of more honest people, and partly lest simple chapmen, in seeking for such necessaries, should be inveigled into sin. Such women living and dying in their sinful life were excluded Christian burial, and had a plot of ground far from the parish church appointed for them, called, The single woman's churchyard.

The impos-
 sibility to
 legitimate
 what in it-
 self is un-
 lawful.

41. These cautions and constitutions could not make them, who are bad in themselves, to be good, though haply keeping some who were bad from being worse; such a toleration of sin being utterly unlawful. For though natural poisons may by art be so qualified and corrected to make them not only not noxious, but in some cases (as wisely applied) cordial, yet moral poisons, I mean, things sinful of themselves can never be so ordered and regulated, but that still they will remain pernicious and un-

^g [These constitutions are printed at greater length in Stow's Survey, ib.]

lawful; the only way to order and amend, being to remove and extirpate them.

A. D. 1545.
37 Henry
VIII.

42. Yet there wanted not those (better idle than so employed) who endeavoured with arguments to maintain, some (so shameless) the necessity, but more the conveniency, of such brothel-houses. No wonder if wanton wits pleaded for wanton women. Whoredom (like the whores) was painted over with politic reasons for the permission thereof, which may easily be washed away if the following parallel be but seriously perused.

Argument
pro and con
about
stews.

1. Man's infirmity herein, since his natural corruption, is grown so general, it is needful to connive at such houses, as a kind of remedy to prevent worse incontinency with married women, the whole land being the cleaner for the public sinks or sewers of the stews.

1. It is absurd to say, and belibelleth Divine Providence, that any thing is really needful that is not lawful. Such pretended necessity, created by bad men, must be annihilated by good laws. Let marriage run in its proper channel, being permitted to all persons, and then no need of such noisome sinks, which may well be dammed up. The malady cannot be accounted a remedy: for whilst matrimony is appointed and blessed by God to cool the heat of lust, whoredom doth double the drought thereof.

2. As Moses permitted divorce^h to the Jews, stews may be connived at on the same account, for the hardness of men's hearts.

2. Christians ought not so much to listen to Moses his permission, as to Christ his reprehension thereof. Besides, some faults had a cover for them in the twilight of the law, which have none in the sunshine of the gospel.

^h Mark x. 5.

A. D. 1545.
37 Henry
VIII.

3. Strange women were no strangers in Israel itself under their best kings; two of that trade publicly known pleaded before king Solomonⁱ. These were publicly repaired unto and known by the attire of an harlot^j.

4. Many great families were preserved thereby, whose younger brethren, abstaining from marriage, did not cumber the same with numerosity of children.

5. Such stews are fashionable in foreign nations; yea, in Rome itself.

6. The suppressing of stews would not make men more chaste, but more close: not more sincerely honest, but secretly wanton. In all populous places male incontinency will meet with a female counterpart, and so reciprocally.

3. Christians must conform themselves to the necessary members and commendable ornaments of the Jewish commonwealth, but not to the wens and ulcers thereof.

4. Where harlots have preserved one house, they have destroyed an hundred. Besides, we must not do evil that good may come thereof. Nor can many children be accounted evils to men, which are blessings from God.

5. Let the paramount whore tolerate whores, which, as a branch of popery was now banished England, more honour it is for us to go before foreign nations in reformation, than to follow them in their corruptions.

6. This undeniable truth is sadly granted. Perchance there may now be no English folk adulterers, but England was then an adulteress, so long as stews were openly licensed. It was a national sin when publicly permitted: which now is but personal, though too generally committed.

Thus chastity, by the countenance of authority, got at last a final conquest of wantonness. Indeed formerly, in the one and twentieth year of Henry the

ⁱ 1 Kings iii. 16.

^j Prov. vii. 10.

Seventh^k, for a time the stews were closed up; but afterwards opened again, though reduced from sixteen to twelve; but now, by the king's commandment, this regiment of sinners was totally and finally routed, the king's pleasure herein proclaimed by sound of trumpet, and their houses peopled with other inhabitants of honest conversation.

A. D. 1546.
38 Henry
VIII.

43. We lately mentioned the exchange of land betwixt the king and the two archbishops. On which account be it remembered, though I find not the exact year, Otford in Kent was given the king, whereof thus our great antiquary: "William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, built Otford for himself and his successors, so sumptuously, that, for to avoid envy, Cranmer, who next succeeded him, was constrained to exchange it with king Henry the Eighth^l." Could the clergy have found out the mean betwixt baseness and bravery, too sordid and too sumptuous, they might have fixed themselves therein with the more security; whilst their palaces, built so big as to receive, and so beautiful as to invite the king and his court, made (especially if lying near London) covetousness to long after them. And, although some competent consideration was given in exchange, yet politic prelates disliked such commutations, as which guaged the root of episcopal lands from their first property and ancient foundation.

Prelates
their loss
by pomp.

44. The last person of quality which suffered

The character of
Anne Ayscough.

^k Rob. Fabian in his Chronicle, anno 1506. [quoted by Stow, ib.]

^l Camden in his Brit. in Kent, [p. 232. This was not

the only manor which for secular policy (alas!) Cranmer resigned to the king. See Strype's Cranmer, p. 625.]

A. D. 1546. ^{38 Henry VIII.} martyrdom in this king's reign was Anne Ayscough, *alias* Kyme^m. She was worshipfully extracted, the daughter of sir William Ayscough, of Kelsay in Lincolnshire, of the age of twenty-five years; whose wit, beauty, learning, and religion, procured her much esteem on the queen's side of the court, and as much hatred from the popish persecuting bishops. But the Jesuitⁿ condemns her for leaving her husband at home, and "gadding to gospel, and gossip it "at court," always subscribing herself, not by her married, but maiden surname: the rather, because, being often examined what reason she could give of forsaking her husband, she refused to answer to any, save to the king alone. Master Fox turneth off the whole matter to John Bale, and, I having his manuscript in my hand, thought fit to insert this his following account thereof, though not knowing whether the same will give the reader satisfaction^o.

Her plea
for leaving
her hus-
band.

45. A match was made, by the power of their parents, betwixt Mr. Kyme his son in Lincolnshire, and sir William Ayscough his eldest daughter, who chanced to die before the completing thereof. Sir William, loth to lose so rich an heir, and having payed part of her portion, for lucre's sake compelled this Anne, his second daughter, to supply her sister's place, and to marry him against her own will and

^m [Burnet's Ref. I. p. 682.]

ⁿ Parsons' Three Conversations, &c. III. 491.

^o [This is evidently no other than a MS. copy of Bale's first and latter "Examination of "Anne Askewe, lately martyred in Smithfield by the "Romish pope's upholders, "with the elucidation of John

"Bale." 12mo. Of these the first was printed at Marburg in the land of Hesse, in November, 1546, and the other at the same place in January, 1547. The forty-fifth paragraph in the text is almost a verbal quotation from the book. See the reference below.]

consent; notwithstanding, the marriage once past, she demeaned herself like a Christian wife, and bare him two children^p. In process of time, by oft reading of the sacred Bible, she clearly fell from all papistry, to a perfect belief in Jesus Christ. Whereupon, her husband was so offended, that (by suggestion of the priests) he violently drove her out of his house. And she on this occasion sought from the law a divorce; and, because of his cruel usage, would not return unto him again, thinking herself free from that uncomely kind of coacted marriage, by the doctrine of St. Paul, *But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother or sister is not under bondage in such cases: but God hath called us to peace*^q. This is the effect of what our author speaketh in moe words. Now whether this rule laid down by St. Paul betwixt Christian and heathen be also commensurate betwixt protestant and papist, is not my work to decide. Perchance she would only answer to the king for her behaviour towards her husband, as hoping for some tenderness from his highness, because of some general conformity in the first part of her case with the king's: as who for by-respects was first married to, then divorced from his brother's wife.

46. Her several examinations are largely penned by herself, extant in Mr. Fox, where the reader may find them. But be it remembered, that, whereas heresy only was charged upon her, without the least suspicion of treason, yet was she racked to detect

A. D. 1546.
38 Henry
VIII.

She is first
racked, and
then burnt.

^p Bale's Manuscript, p. 91, fol. and Strype's Mem. I. p. 387. 92. [See Bale's Latter Exam. and Life of Cranmer, 206, for of A. Ayscough, fol. 15. ed. some remarks on Bale's work.] 1547. Burnet's Ref. I. p. 341. ^q 1 Cor. vii. 15.

A. D. 1546. some court ladies of her opinion, by the lord
 38 Henry VIII. Wriothesley, the then, and sir Robert Rich, the next,
 lord chancellor^r. But whether it was noble in these lords, or legal in these lawyers, or conscientious in these chancellors, to rack one already condemned to death, belongeth to others to determine. Their cruelty extorted no discovery from her, whose constancy now made recompense for her former infirmities. If it be true what is charged upon her, that before she had twice subscribed the real presence in the sacrament of the altar, but zealously died at last in the earnest denial thereof, being amongst those who, according to the precept in the prophet, *glorified the Lord in the fires*^s. Her suffering in Smithfield was most solemnly performed, where three men, Nicholas Belenian, priest of Shropshire, John Lascelles, gentleman of the household of king Henry the Eighth, and John Adams, a poor tailor of London, were all burnt together^t. Three couple of qualities meeting together in four persons, clergy and laity, male and female, gentle and simple, made the fuel of the same fire.

Her prose
and poetry.

47. John Bale registers this Anne Ayscough amongst the number of his English learned writers^u, for her examinations, letters, and poems, wrote with her own hand^v; though the Jesuit^w jeers him for his pains, as if no works, save those of the needle,

^r Fox, II. 578. [One of those who assisted her was Lady Denny, whose husband managed to get the Abbey lands of Waltham from Henry VIII.]

^s Isa. xxiv. 15.

^t [See the letters from the council in London to secretary Petre, and to the council with

the king, respecting their proceedings against Crome, Latimer, Lascelles, and others, for denying the corporal presence. State Papers of Henry VIII. vol. I. p. 842 sq.]

^u [P. 670.]

^v [Printed in Fox, II. p. 572.]

^w Parsons, ut prius, [p. 494.]

became her sex. I have seen a manuscript of her verses, (afterwards printed at Marpurg in Germany,) and must confess I better approve her charity in the four last, than her poetry in all the rest^w:

Yet, Lord, I thee desire,
For that they do to me,
Let them not taste the hire
Of their iniquity.

However, those that have drunk deeper than she of Helicon would be loth to pledge her in the bitter cup of martyrdom. So I take my leave of her memory.

48. Now began the troubles of queen Catherine Parr, whom the king married some two years since. For he, either being or believing himself wronged by his last wife, whom he married for a maid, resolved now to take a widow to wife, who had given proof of her chastity and loyalty to her former husband; and thereupon married this Catherine, the daughter of sir Thomas Parr, of Kendal, the relict of John Nevill, lord Latimer; one of great piety, beauty, and discretion. Next to the Bible, she studied the king's disposition, observing him to her utmost. And need she had of a nimble soul, to attend at all times on his humour, whose fury had now got the addition of frowardness thereunto. She was rather nurse than wife unto him, who was more decayed by sickness and intemperance than old age.

49. Yet sometimes she would presume to discourse with the king about points of religion, defending the protestant tenets by scripture and

^w [These are likewise printed in Bale's "Latter Examination, &c." fol. 63, printed at Marpurg in 1547.]

A. D. 1546. reason; and sometimes would hold up the king very
 38 Henry VIII. close hard at it. This displeased him, who loved
 looseness and liberty, in his clothes, arguments, and
 actions; and was quickly observed by Gardiner and
 others, who were the queen's enemies. Hereupon,
 taking advantage of an unhappy juncture of time,
 Gardiner drew up articles against her, and had got
 them subscribed with the king's own hand, to re-
 move her to the Tower; whither had she been sent,
vestigia nulla retrorsum, without doubt she had fol-
 lowed the way of his former wives in that place.

By God's
 providence
 defeated.

50. But Divine Providence ordereth all things to
 fall out for the good of God's children. Chancellor
 Wriothesley put the paper of those articles (precious
 jewels!) in no worse cabinet than his own bosom^y.
 Hence it casually fell out, was taken up by one of
 the queen's servants, and brought to her grace, who,
 on her sickness and submission to the king, obtained
 his pardon, signed and sealed unto her with many
 kisses and embraces. As for such her enemies,
 who came at the present to attach her, (intending,
 by virtue of the king's warrant, to send her the
 shortest way to her long home,) they were sent back
 with what made worse rumbling than a flea in the
 ear,—even the taunts and threats of the enraged
 king against them^z.

Parsons his
 wild intel-
 ligence.

51. And yet Parsons tells us^a, that, “notwith-
 standing, the king purposed to have burned her, if
 “he had lived.” I know not whence he derived

^y [“Falling from the bosom and somewhat improbable story.]
 “of one of the aforesaid coun-
 cillors,” says Fox, (Martyr. ^z [Fox, Ib. II. 584.]
 II. 583,) who is, I believe, the ^a In his Examination of
 only authority for this romantic Fox's “Martyrs,” in June,
 c. 10. p. 433.

this his strange intelligence, and therefore, justly suspect the truth hereof; the rather, because I find her in great grace with the king, as appeareth by the good language and great legacy he gave her in his will, which here we thought fit to transcribe, both for the rarity thereof, and because containing many passages which may reflect much light upon our Church History^b.

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^b [By a letter from Maitland to secretary sir William Cecil, (printed by Burnet in vol. I. of Collection of Records, p. 405 = 267.) it appears that this will was never signed by the king, and consequently was never a legal document: and that "in the time of his sickness being divers times pressed to put his hand to the will written, he refused to do it." Yet notwithstanding this objection, and the observations of various writers, there is a curious entry in the last monthly lists of instruments, in this reign, "to the number of fourscore and six, which the king's majesty caused me, William Clare, to stamp with his highness' secret stamp at divers times and places in this moneth of January, an. 38. Hen. VIII." At the eighty-fifth number is the following: "Your majesty's last will and testament, bearing date at Westminster the 30th day of December last past, written in a book of paper, signed

" above in the beginning, and
" beneath in the end, and
" sealed with the signet in the
" presence of the earl of Hertford, Mr. Secretary Pagett, Mr. Denny, and Mr. Herbert, and also in the presence of certain other persons, whose names are subscribed with their own hands as witnesses to the same; which testament your majesty delivered then in our sights with your own hand to the said earl of Hertford, as your own deed, last will and testament, revoking and annulling all other your highness' former wills and testaments." State Papers, vol. I. p. 897.] This entry is also of great importance, in another point, as tending to exculpate Somerset from the charge which Mr. Tytler seems to have brought against him of possessing himself of the will illegally. (Original Letters for Reign of Edward VI. I. 19.) The king having delivered the will with his own hands into Somerset's keeping.]

HENRY THE EIGHTH'S WILL.

A. D. 1546. ^{38 Henry VIII.} IN the name of God, and of the glorious and blessed Virgine our Lady Saint Marie, and all the holy companie of Heaven. We Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and on earth immediately under God the supreme head of the Church of England and Ireland, of that nomme the eighth; calling to our remembrance the great gifts and benefits of Almighty God given unto us in this transytory life, we give unto him our most humble and lowlie thanks, acknowledging ourselves insuffycient in euerie parte to deserue or recompence the same; but feare that wee have not worthlie receiued the same. And considering furthermore with ourselues that wee be as is all mankind mortall, and borne in synne, believing nevertheless and hoping that every Christian creature living heere in this transytory and wretched world under God, and dying in stedfast and perfect faith, indeavouring and exercising himself to execute in his lifetime (if he have leisure) such good deeds and charytable workes as Scripture commandeth, and as maie be to the honour and pleasure of God, is ordained by Christ's passion to be saved and to attaine eternal life, of which number we verilie trust by his grace to be one: And that euerie creature, the more high he is in estate, honour, rule, and authoritie in this world, the more he is bound to loue, serue, and thanke God, and the more diligentlie to endeavour himselfe to doe good and charitable workes, to the laud, honour, and praise of Almighty God and the profit of his soule: We also calling to our remembrance the dignitie, state, honour, rule, and governaunce, that Almighty God hath promoted us unto in this world, and that neyther wee nor any other mortall creature knoweth the time, nor place, when nor where it shall please Almighty God to calle him out of this transitory world. Willing therefore and minding, by God's grace, before our

passage out of this world, to dispose, give, ordaine, our last mind [and] will, and to lament in that sort as we trust shall be acceptable to Almightye God, our onlie Saviour Jesus Christ, and all the holie companie of Heaven, and the due satisfaction of God's brethren in earth, now being of wholle and perfect minde, adhering wholly to the right faith of Christ and his doctrine, renouncing and abhorring alsoe our olde and detestable life, and being in perfecte minde and will by his grace never to returne to the same nor such like, and minding by God's grace never to varie therefrom, as long as any remembrance, breath, or inward knowledge doth or maie remaine within this mortal bodie, most humble and hartelie doe commend and bequeath our soule to Almightye God, who in persone of the Sonne redemed the same with his most pretious bodie and blood in time of his passion, and, for our better remembrance thereof, hath lefte heere with us in his church militant the consecration and administration of his pretious bodie and blood, to our no litle consolation and comforte, if we as thankfullie accept the same as he lovinglie and undeservedly on our behalf hath ordained it for our only benefitte and not for his: Also, we doe instantlie desire and require the blessed Virgine Marie his mother, with all the holy companie of Heaven, continually to pray for us and with us while we live in this world, and in time of passing out of the same, that we maie the sooner obtayne eternall life after our departure out of this transitory life, which we doe both hope and claime by Christ's passion and word. And as for my bodie, which when the soule is departed shall then remaine but as a dead carcasse, and soe returne to the vild matter that it was made of, were it not for the crown and dignitie which God hath called us unto, and that we would not be an infringer of worldly policies and customes when they be not contrarie to God's lawes, we would be content to have it buried in any place accustomed for Christian folks were it never soe vild, for it is but ashes, and to ashes it shall returne againe; nevertheless, because we would be loath in the reputation of the

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people to doe iniury to the dignitie which we are unworthlie called unto, we are content, and also by these presents, our Last Will and Testament, doe will and ordaine, that our bodie be buried and enterred in the quire of our Colledge of Winsor, midway between the halls and the high altar; and there to be made and set, as soon as convenientlie maie be donne after our descease, by our executors, at our costs and charges (if it be not donne by us in our lifetime), an honourable tombe for our bones to rest in, which is well onward and almost made therfore already, with a fair grate about it, in which we will alsoe the bones of our true and loving wife Queene Jane be put alsoe, and that there be provided, ordained, made, and sette, at the costs and charges of us, or by our executors (if it be not donne in our lifetime), a convenyent aulter, honorablie prepared and aparelled with all manner of things requisite and necessarie for dailie masses there to be said perpetually as long as the world shall indure: Alsoe we will the tombes and aultars of King Henry the Sixth, and alsoe of King Edward the Fourth, our great unkle and grandfather, be made more princelie, in the same places where theie now be, at our charges. And alsoe we will and spetially desire and require that where and whensoever it shall please God to call us out of this transitory world to his infynite mercie and grace, be it beyond the seas or in any other place without the realme of England, or within the same, that our executors, soe soone as convenyentlie theie maie, shall cause all devine service accustomed for dead folkes to be celebrated for us in the next propper place where it shall fortune us to depart out of this transytorie life; and over that we will, that whensoever and wheresoever it shall please God to call us out of this transytory life, to his infinite mercie and grace, be it within this realme or without, that our executors, in as goodlie, briefe, and convenyent haste as thaie can or maie order, prepare, or cause our bodie to be removed, conveyed, or brought into the said colledge of Winsor, and the service of Placebo and Dirige, with a sermon and mass,

on the morrowe, at our costs and charges, devoutlie to be donne, observed, and kepte solemnlie, there to be buryed and enterred in the place appointed for our said tomb to be made for the same intent, and all this to be donne in as devout wise as it can or maie be donne. And we will and charge our executors, that thaie dispose and give in alms to the most poore and needie people that maie be found, (common beggars as much as may be avoided), in as short space as possible theie may after our departure out of this transitorie life, 1000 marks of lawful monee of England, parte in the same place and thereabouts where it shall please God to call us to his mercie, partly in the way, and parte in the same place of our burial, after their discretions. And to move the poor people that shall have our almes to praie heartilie unto God for the remission of our offences and the welth of our soule, also we will, with as convenient speed as maie be donne after our departure out of this world, if it be not donne in our life time, that the Deane and Channons of our free chappell of Saint George, within our castle of Winsor, shall have manors, lands, tenements, and spiritual promotions, to the yearlie value of 600*l.* over all charges, made sure to them and their successours for ever, uppon these conditions hereafter ensuing. And, for the due accomplyshment and performance of all other things conteyned with the same, in the form of an indenture, signed with our own hand, shall be passed, by waie of covenants for that purpose, between the said Deane and Channons, and our executors (if it pass not between us and the said Deane and Channons in our life), that is to say, the said Deane and Channons and their successors for ever, shall finde two priests to saie masses at the said aulter, to be made where we have appointed our tombe to be made and stand, and also after our decease keepe yearlie foure sollemne obits for us within the said Colledge of Winsor, and at eurie of the said obits to cause a solemn sermon to be made, and also at every of the said obits to give to poore people an alms of 10*l.*; and also to give forever yearlie for ever to 13 poore men, which shall be

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A.D. 1546. called Poore Knights, to everie of them 12*d.* by daie; and
 38 Henry VIII. ——— once in the yeare, yearlie for ever, a long gowne of white
 cloth, with the Garter uppon the brest imbrothered, with a
 shield and crosse of Saint George within the Garter, and a
 mantle of red cloth; and to such a one of the 13 Poore
 Knights as shall be appointed governor and head of them
 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* forever yearly, over and above the said 12*d.*
 by the daie: And also to cause everie Sondaie in the yeare
 for ever a sermon to be made at Winsor aforesaid, as in
 the said indenture and covenants shal be more fullie and
 particulerlie expressed; willing, charging and requiring
 our sonne Prince Edward, all our executors and coun-
 sellors which shal be named hereafter, and all our heires
 and successors which shall be kings of this realme, as theie
 will answeare before Almightye God at the dreadfull daie
 of judgement, that theie and everie of them doe see the
 said indenture and assurement to be made between us and
 the said Deane and Channons, or between them and our
 said executors, and all things therein, maie be duly put in
 execution, observed, and kept for ever perpetuallie, accord-
 ing to this our last will and testament. And as concerning
 the order and disposition of the imperiall crowne of these
 realmes of England and Ireland, with our title of France,
 and all dignities, honours, preeminences, prerogatives,
 authorities, and jurisdictions to the same annexed or be-
 longing, for the sure establishment of the succession of the
 same; and also for a full and plaine gifte, disposition,
 assignment, declaration, limitation, and appointment, with
 what conditions our daughters Meary and Elizabeth shall
 severallie have, hold, and enjoy, the said imperiall crowne
 and other the premisses after our decease; and for defaulte
 of issue and heires of the severall bodies of us and our said
 sonne Prince Edward, lawfullie begotten, and his heirs;
 and alsoe for a full gifte, disposition, assignment, declara-
 tion, limitation, and appointment, to whom, and of what
 estate, and in what manner, forme, and condition, the said
 imperiall crowne and other the premisses shall remaine and
 come after our decease; and for default of issue and heires

of the severall bodies of us and of our said sonne Prince Edward, and of our said daughters Meary and Elizabeth, lawfullie begotten, we by these presents doe make and declare our last will and testament concerning the said imperiall crowne, and all other the premisses, in manner and forme following: that is to saie, we will by these presents, that, immediatelie after our departure out of this present life, our said sonne Prince Edward shall have and enioie the said imperiall crowne and realm of England and Ireland, our title of France, with all dignites, honours, preeminencies, prerogatives, authorities and jurisdictions, lands and possessions to the same annexed or belonging to him and his heires of his bodie lawfullie begotten; and, for default of such issue of our said sonne Prince Edward's bodie lawfullie begotten, we will the said imperiall crowne, and all other the premisses, after our two deceases, shall whollie remaine and come to the heires of our body lawfullie begotten of the body of our entirelie beloved wife Queene Katherine that now is, or of any other our lawfull wife that we shall hereafter marie; and for lacke of such issue and heires, we will also, that, after our decease, and for default of heires of the severall bodies of us and of our said sonne Prince Edward lawfullie begotten, the said imperiall crowne, and all other the premisses, shall whollie remaine and come to our said daughter Mary and the heires of her bodie lawfully begotten, upon condition that our said daughter Mary, after our decease, shall not mary, nor take any persone to her husband, without the asent and consent of the Previe Counsellors and others appointed by us to our dearest sonne Prince Edward aforesaid to be of counsaile, or of the most parte of them, or the most part of such of them as shal be then alive, thereunto had before the said marriage, in wryting, sealed with their seales; all which condityons, we declare, limit, appointe, and will, by these presents, shal be knit and invested to the said estate of our daughter Mary in the said imperiall crowne, and all other the premisses; and if it fortune that our said daughter doe die without issue of her bodie lawfullie begotten, we will

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³⁸ Henry
 VIII.

A. D. 1546. that, after our decease, and for faulte of issue of the severall bodies of us, of our said sonne Prince Edward, lawfullie begotten, and of our daughter Mary, the said imperyall crowne, and all other the premisses, shall whollie remaine and come to our said daughter Elizabeth, and to the heires of her bodie lawfullie begotten, uppon condition that our said daughter Elizabeth, after our decease, shall not marry, nor take any personne to her husband without the assent and consent of the Previe Counsellors, and others appointed by us to be of counsalle with our said dearest sonne Prince Edward, or of the most parte of such of them as shall be then alyve, thereunto, before the said maryage, had in wryting, sealed with their seales; which condition, we declare, limit, appointe, and will, by these presents, shal be to the said estate of our said daughter Elizabeth in the said imperyall crowne, and other the premisses, knit and invested. And if it shall happen that our said daughter Elizabeth do die without issue of her bodie lawfullie begotten, we will, that, after our decease, and for defaulte of issue of the severall bodies of us and of our said sonne Prince Edward, and of our said daughters Mary and Elizabeth, the said imperiall crowne and other the premisses, after our decease, shall whollie remaine and come to the heires of the bodie of the Ladie Frances our neece, eldest daughter to our late sister the French Queene, lawfullie begotten. And for defaulte of such issue of the bodie of the said Ladie Frances, we will that the said imperyall crowne and other the premisses, after our decease, and for faulte of issue of the several bodies of us, and of our said sonne Prince Edward, and of our said daughters Mary and Elizabeth, and of the Ladie Frances, lawfullie begotten, shall whollie remaine and come to the heires of the body of the Lady Eleanor our neece, second daughter to our said late sister the French Queene, lawfullie begotten. And if it happen the said Eleanor to die without issue of her bodie lawfullie begotten, we will, that after our decease, and for defaulte of issue of the severall bodies of us, and of our said sonne Prince Edward, and of

our said daughters Mary and Elizabeth, and of the said Ladie Frances and Ladie Eleanor, lawfullie begotten, the said imperiall crowne and other the premisses shall whollie remaine and come to the next rightfull heirs. Alsoe we will, that, if our said daughter Mary doe marrie without the consent and agreement of the Previe Counsellors, and others appointed by us to be of counsell to our said sonne Prince Edward, or the most of them, or the most parte of such of them as shal be then alive, thereunto, before said marriage, had in wryting, sealed with their seales, as is aforesaid, that then and from thenceforth, for lacke of heires of the severall bodies of us and of our said sonne Prince Edward lawfullie begotten, the said imperiall crowne, and other the premisses, shall wholly remaine be and come to our said daughter Elizabeth, to the heires of her bodie lawfully begotten, in such manner and forme as though our said daughter Meary were then dead without any issue of the bodie of our said daughter Mary lawfvly begotten, any thing conteyned in this our will, or in any acte of parlement or statut to the contrary, notwithstanding. And in case that our said daughter the Lady Mary doe keepe and performe the said conditions, expressed, declared, and limitted to her estate in the said imperiall crowne, and other the premisses, by this our last will declared; and that our said daughter Elizabeth for her parte doe not keepe and performe the said condition declared and limitted by this our last will to the estate of the said Ladie Elizabeth in the said imperiall crowne of these realmes of England and Ireland, and other the premisses; we will, that then and from thenceforth, after our decease, and for lacke of heires of the several bodies of us and of our said sonne Prince Edward, and of our said daughter Mary, lawfullie begotten, the said imperiall crowne, and other the premisses, shall whollie remaine and come to the next heires of the bodie of the said Ladie Frances lawfully begotten, in such manner and forme as though the said Ladie Elizabeth were then dead, without any heires of her bodie lawfullie begotten, any thing conteyned in this will,

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A. D. 1546. or in any acte or statute to the contrary, notwithstanding;
 38 Henry VIII. the remainders over, for lacke of issue of the said Ladie
 ——— Frances lawfullie begotten, to be and contynued to such
 persons in like remainders and estates as is before limited
 and declared. And we being now at this tyme, thankes be
 to God, of perfecte memory, doe constitute and ordaine
 these personages following our executors, and performers of
 this our last will and testament; willing commanding and
 praying them, to take upon them the occupation and
 performance of the same as executors; that is to saie, the
 Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Wrytheslie, Chan-
 cellor of England; the Lord St. John, Great Master of
 our House; the Erle of Hertford, Great Chamberlain of
 England; the Lord Russell, Lord Previe Seale; the
 Viscount Lisle, High Admirall of England; the Bishop of
 Duresme, Tonstall; Sir Anthonie Browne, Knight, Master
 of our Horse; Sir Edward Montague, Knight, Chiefe
 Judge of the Common Pleas; Justice Bromley; Sir Ed-
 ward North, Knight, Chancellor of the Augmentations;
 Sir William Paget, Knight, our Chiefe Secretarie; Sir
 Anthony Denny, Sir William Herbert, Knights, Chief
 Gentlemen of our Previe Chamber; Sir Edward Wotton,
 Knight, and Mr. Doctor Wotton his brother; all these
 we will to be our executors, and counsellors of the Previe
 Counsell with our said sonne Prince Edward, in all matters
 both concerning his private affaires and publique affaires
 of the realm, willing and charging them, and everie of
 them, as theie must and shall answere at the daie of judg-
 ment, trulie and fullie to see this my last will performed in
 all things, with as much speede and diligence as maie be,
 and that none of them presume to meddle with any of our
 treasure, or to doe any thing appointed by our said will
 alone, unless the most parte of the wholle number of their
 co-executors doe consent, and by wryting agree to the
 same. And we will that our said executors, or the most
 parte of them, may lawfullie doe what theie shall think
 convenyent for the execution of this our will, without being
 troubled by our said sonne, or any other, for the same;

Names of
 the execu-
 tors.

Thomas
 Cranmer.

Edward
 Seymour.

John
 Dudley.

willing further, by this our last will and testament, that Sir Edmund Peckham, our trustie servant, and yet Coferer of our House, shall be Tresurer, and have the recepte and laying out of all such treasure and monye as shall be defrayed by our executors for the performance of this our last will; straightlie charging and commanding the said Sir Edmund, that he paie no great some of moneye but he have first the handes of our said executors, or of the most part of them, for his discharge touching the same; charging him further, uppon his allegiance, to make a true accounte of all such somes as shall be delivered to his hands for this purpose. And, since we have now named and constituted our executors, we will and charge them, that, first and above all things, as they will answer before God, and as we put our singular trust and confidence in them, that theie cause all our due debts that can reasonable be showed and proved before them, to be trulie contented and paide as soone as they conveyentlie canne or maie after our decease, without longer delay; and that they doe execute these points first, that is to saie, the payment of our debts, with redrese of iniuries, if any such can be duly proved, though to us they be unknown, before any other part of this our will and testament, our buryell funerell and exequies excepted. Furthermore, we will that all such grants and guifts as we have made, given, or promised to any, which be not yet perfected, under our sign or any our seals as theie ought to be, and all such recompenses for exchanges, sales, or any other thing or things as ought to have been made by us, and be not yet accomplished, shall be perfected in everie pointe towards all manner of men, for discharge of our conscyence; charging our executors, and all the rest of our counsellors, to see the same donne, performed, fynished, and accomplished, in everie pointe, foreseeing that the said guifts, grants, promises, and recompenses, shall appeare to our executors, or the most parte of them, to have been granted, made, accorded, or promised by us in any manner of wise. Further, according to the lawes of Almighty God, and for the

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A. D. 1546. fatherly love which we beare to our sonne Prince Edward,
 38 Henry VIII. and to this our realme, we declare him, according to justice,
 ————— equitie, and conscyence, to be our lawfull heire, and doe
 give and bequeath to him the succesyon of our realmes of
 England and Ireland, with our title of France, and all our
 dominions, both on this side the seas and beyond, a con-
 venyent portion for our will and testament to be reserved.
 Also, we give unto him all our plate, stuffe of household,
 artillery, ordnance, munytions, ships, cables, and all other
 things and implements to them belonging: And money
 also, and jewels, saving such portions as shall satisfie this
 our last will and testament; charging and commanding
 him, on paine of our curse (seeing he hath so loving a
 father of us, and that our cheife labour and studdie in this
 world is to establish him in the imperiall crowne of this
 realme after our decease, in such sorte as may be pleasing
 to God, and to the wealth of this realme, and to his owne
 honour and quyet), that he be ruled and ordered, both in
 his marriage, and also in ordering of the affaires of the
 realme, as well outward as inward; and alsoe in all his own
 private affaires, and in giving of offices of charge by the
 advise and counsell of our right entirely beloved counsel-
 lors, the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Lord Wriothesly,
 Chancellour of England; the Lord St. John, Great Master
 of our House; the Lord Russell, Lord Privie Seal; the
 Earl of Hertford, Great Chamberlain of England; the
 Viscount Lisle, High Admirall of England; the Bishop
 Tonstall of Duresme; Sir Anthony Browne, Knight,
 Master of our Horses; Sir William Pagett, our Chief
 Secretary; Sir Anthony Denny; Sir William Herbert;
 Justice Montague, and Bromley; Sir Edward Wotton;
 Mr. Doctor Wotton, and Sir Edward North; whom we
 ordaine, name, and appointe, and by these presents, signed
 with our hand, doe make and constitute our Previe Counsell
 with our said sonne, and will that theie have the governe-
 ment of our most deere sonne Prince Edward, and of all
 our realmes, dominyons, and subjects, and all the affaires
 publique and private, untill he shall have accomplished the

18th yeare of his age. And for because the varietie, and number of things, affaires, and matters, are and may be such as, we not knowing the certaintie of them before, cannot conveyentlie prescrybe a certaine order or rule unto our said counsellors for their behaviour and proceedings in this charge, which wee have now, and do appoint unto them, about our said sonne, during the time of his minoritye aforesaid; we therefore, for the special trust and confidence which we have in them, will, and by these presents doe give and grant full power and authoritie unto our said counsellors, that they all, or the more parte of them, being assembled in counsell together, or if any of them fortune to die, the more parte of them which shall be for the time living, being assembled in counsell together, shall and maie make, devise, and ordaine, what things soever theie, or the most parte of them, as aforesaid, shall, during the minoritye of our said sonne, thinke meete, necessarie or conveyent, for the benefit, honour, and suretie, or the weale, proffit, and comodite of our said sonne, his realmes, domynions, or subjects, or the discharge of our conscience, and the same things devised, made, or ordained by them, or the more parte of them as aforesaid, shall and maie lawfullie doe, execute, and accomplishe, or cause to be done, executed, and accomplished, by their discretions, or the discretions of the more parte of them aforesaid, in as large and ample manner as if we had or did express unto them, by a more spetiall commissyon under our great seale of England, every particular cause that maie chaunce or occurre during the time of our sonne's minoritye, and the self-same manner of proceeding which theie shall for the same time thinke meete to use and followe; willing and charging our said sonne, and all others which shall hereafter be counsellors to our said sonne, that they never charge, molest, trouble, or disquiet our aforesaid counsellors, nor any of them, for the devising or doing, nor any other person for the doing of that theie shall devise, or the more parte of them devise or doe, assembled as is aforesaid. And we doe charge expreslie the same our entirelie be-

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 38 Henry
 VIII.

loved counsellors and executors, that they shall take upon them the rule and charge of our said sonne and heire, in all his causes and affaires, and of the whole realme, doing nevertheless all things as under him and in his name, untill our said sonne and heire shall be bestowed in marriage by their advise, and that the 18th yeare be expired; willing and desyring furthermore our said trustie counsellors, and then all our trustie and assured servants, and thirdlie all other our loving subjects, to aid and assiste our forenamed counsellors in the execution of the premisses during the aforesaid time; not doubting but they will in all things deale soe trulie and uprightly as theie shall have cause to think them well chosen for the charge comytted unto them, straightlie charging our said counsellors and executors, and in God's name we exhort them, that, for the singuler and spetiall confydence which we have and ever had of them, to have a due and diligent eye, perfecte zeale, love, and affection to the honour, suretie, estate, and dignitie, of our said sonne, and the good estate and prosperitie of this our realm; and that, all delaies set aparte, they will aid and assyste our said counsellors and executors to the performance of this our present testament and last will in evrie parte, as they will answer before God at the day of judgment, *cum venerit judicare vivos et mortuos*. And furthermore, for the speciall trust and confydence which we have in the Earles of Arondle and Essex that now be, Sir Thomas Cheny, Knight, Thresurer of our Household; Sir John Gage, Knight, Comptroller of our Household; Sir Anthony Wingfield, Knight, our Vice-Chamberlaine; Sir William Peter, Knight, one of our two Principall Secretaries; Sir Richard Rich, Knight; Sir John Baker, Knight; Sir Ralphe Sadler, Knight; Sir Thomas Seamer, Knight; Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edmund Peckham, Knights; they, and everie of them, shall be of counsell for the aiding and assisting of the forenamed counsellors and our executors, when theie or any of them shall be called by our said executors, or the more parte of the same.

Item, We bequeath to our daughters Mary and Elizabeth's maryages, theie being married to any outward Potentate by the advise of our said counsellors (if we bestowe them not in our lifetime) 10,000*l.* in monnye, plate, jewells, and household stuffe, for each of them, or a larger sum, as to the discretion of our executors, or the more parte of them, shall be thought conveyent; willing them on my blessinge to be ordered, as well in marriage as in all other lawfull things, by the advise of our said counsellors; and, in case they will not, then the som to be mynished at the counsellors discretion.

A. D. 1546.
38 Henry
VIII.

Further, our will is, that from the first houer of our death untill such tyme as the said counsellors can provyde eyther of them or both some honourable maririages, theie shall have each of them 3000*l.* *ultra reprisas* to live on; willing and charging the said counsellors to lymit and appointe to either of them such sage officers and mynisters for ordering thereof as it maie be employed, both to our honour and theirs. And for the great love, obedyence, chastnes of life, and wisdome, being in our forenamed wife and queene, we bequeath unto hir, for hir propper use, and as it shall please hir to order it, 3000*l.* in plate, jewells, and stuff of household, besides such apparell as it shall please her to take of such as she hath already: and further, we give unto her 1000*l.* in monnye, with the injoying of her dowrie and jointure, according to our grante by acte of parliament. Furthermore, for the kindness and good service that our said executors have shewed unto us, we give and bequeath unto each of them such soms of monnye, or the value of the same, as hereafter ensueth: First, to the Arclibishop of Canterbury 500 markes; to the Lord Wrytheslie 500*l.*; to the Lord St. John 500*l.*; to the Lord Russell 500*l.*; to the Erle of Hertford 500*l.*; to the Viscount Lisle 500*l.*; to the Bishop of Duresme 300*l.*; to Sir Anthony Browne 300*l.*; to Sir William Paget 300*l.*; to Sir Anthony Denny 300*l.*; to Sir William Herbert 300*l.*; to Justice Mountague 300*l.*; to Justice Bromley 300*l.*; to Sir Edward North 300*l.*; to

A. D. 1546. ^{38 Henry VIII.} Sir Edward Wotton 300*l.*; to Mr. Doctor Wotton 300*l.*; also for the spetiall love and favour that we beare to our trustie counsellors, and other our servants hereafter following, we give and bequeath unto them such sommes of money, or the value thereof, as is tottad uppon their heads; First, to the Erle of Essex 200*l.*; to Sir Thomas Cheney 200*l.*; to the Lord Herbert 200*l.*; to Sir John Gage 200*l.*; to Sir Thomas Seymour 200*l.*; to John Gates 200*l.*; to Sir Thomas Darcie, Knight, 200*l.*; to Sir Thomas Specke 200 merkes; to Sir Phillip Hobbie 200 merkes; to Sir Thomas Paston 200 merkes; to Sir Maurice Barklie 220 merkes; to Sir Ralph Sadler 200*l.*; to Sir Thomas Carden 200*l.*; to Sir Peter Mewtas 200 merkes; to Edward Bellingham 200 merkes; to Thomas Audlie 200 merkes; to Edmund Harman 200 merkes; to John Penne 100 merkes; to Henry Nevill 100*l.*; to William Synbarbe 100*l.*; to Richard Cooke 100*l.*; to John Osburne 100*l.*; to David Vincent 100*l.*; to James Rufforth, Keeper of our House here, 100 merkes; to Richard Cicell, Yoman of our Robes, 100 merkes; to Thomas Sternhold, Grome of our Robes, 100 merkes; to John Rowland, Page of our Robes, 50*l.*; to the Erle of Arondle, Lord Chamberlyne, 200*l.*; to Sir Anthony Wingfield, Vice-Chamberlyne, 200*l.*; to Sir Edmund Peckham 200*l.*; to Sir Richard Rich 200*l.*; to Sir John Baker 200*l.*; to Sir Richard Southwell 200*l.*; to Mr. Doctor Owen 100*l.*; to Mr. Doctor Wendy 100*l.*; to Mr. Doctor Cromer 100*l.*; to Thomas Alsop 100 merkes; to Patricke — 100 merkes; to — Aylett 100 merkes; to Henry Forest 100 merkes; to Richard Ferrers 100 merkes; to — Holland 100 merkes; to the four Gentlemen Ushers of our Chamber (being daily waiters) 200*l.* in all. And we will alsoe that our executors, or the more parte of them, shall give orders for the payment of such legacyes as they shall thinke meete to such our ordinary servants as unto whom we have not appointed any legacy by this our present testament. Finally, this present wryting in paper we ordaine and make our last will and testament; and will the same be reputed and taken to all

intents and purposes for our good, strong, available, most A. D. 1546.
 perfecte and last will and testament; and doe declare all 38 Henry VIII.
 other wills and testaments made at any time by us to be
 voide and of none effect.

In witness whereof we have signed it with our hand, in our palace of Westminster, the 30th daie of December, in the yeare of our Lord God 1546, after the computation of the Church of England, and of our raigne the 38th yeare, being present, and called to be witnesses, the persons which have wrytten their names hereunder.

HENRY R.

JOHN GATE. WILLIAM SAINTBARBE. ROBERT HEWICKE.
 WILLIAM CLERKE.
 RICHARD COOKE. PATRICK. EDWARD HARMAN.
 GEORGE OWEN.
 HENRY NEVILL. DAVID VINCENT. THOMAS WENDY.

51. This the king's will was drawn up some two When this will was made. years since, before he went to Boulogne, as is intimated in a passage, "Be it beyond the sea," &c., which now was only fairly written over again, without any alteration, save that Stephen Gardiner was expunged from being one of his executors^a. It seems, that formerly, finding none substituted in Gardiner's room, he appointed seventeen executors, that so a decisive vote might avoid equality of voices. And although, in this will, provision is made for "multitude of masses to be said for his soul," yet one^b, pretending to extraordinary intelligence herein, would persuade us, that king Henry intended in his

^a [Burnet's Reformat. I. p. 349. ed. fol. See also the copy of this will in Bedford's Here-

ditary Right, &c. App. VIII.]
^b Fox, in his Acts and Monuments, II. p. 647.

A. D. 1546. 38 Henry VIII. latter days so thorough a reformation, as not to have left one mass in the land, if death had not prevented him.

Legacies scarcely paid.

52. Amongst his servants in ordinary attendance, to whom legacies were bequeathed, Richard Cecil, there named "yeoman of the robes," was the father to William Cecil, afterwards baron of Burghley, and lord treasurer of England. Thomas Sternhold, "groom of the robes," and afterwards of the bed-chamber to king Edward VI.^c, was one of them who translated the Psalms into English metre, being then accounted an excellent poet; though he who wore bays in those days deserveth not ivy in our age. Now, seeing by the rules of justice, and the king's own appointment, his debts were to be paid before his legacies; and seeing many of his personal debts remained unsatisfied till the days of queen Elizabeth, probably most of these legacies were never paid, especially to inferior persons: as if it were honour enough for them to have such sums bequeathed unto though never bestowed upon them.

Monument made for the king by the cardinal.

53. Whereas mention in this will of "a monument well onwards and almost made," it is the same which cardinal Wolsey built for king Henry, and not for himself, as is commonly reported. Wherefore, whereas there goeth a tale, that king Henry, one day finding the cardinal with the workmen making his monument, should say unto him, "Tumble yourself in this tomb whilst you are alive; for, when dead, you shall never lie therein;" it is a mere fiction, the cardinal originally intending the same for the king, as appeareth by the ancient in-

^c "Ab intimo cubiculo." Baleus, Cent. p. 728.

scription thereupon^d, wherein king Henry was styled "lord" (not king) "of Ireland," without addition of "supreme head of the church," plainly shewing the same was of ancient date in the days of the cardinal.

54. Whereas the lady Mary and Elizabeth, their marriages are so severely conditioned, that, if made without consent of the council, they were to forfeit their right to the crown; men interpret it as provided *in terrorem*, and not otherwise. Yet this clause was it which afterwards put so plausible a pretence on Wyatt his rebellion; which, though made of rotten cloth, had notwithstanding a good colour thereon. Now, whereas the king's neices (the daughters to Mary his younger sister) were not clogged in this his will with such restrictions concerning their marriages, the plain reason was, because both of them were already married before this will was made: Frances, the elder, to Henry Gray, marquess Dorset, afterward duke of Suffolk; and Eleanor, the younger, to Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland.

55. The portion of but ten thousand pounds apiece left to his two daughters, was not much unproportionable to the value of money, as it went in that age, though a sum small for such an use in our days. And I have heard, that queen Elizabeth, being informed that Dr. Pilkington, bishop of Durham, had given ten thousand pounds in marriage with his daughter; and, being offended that a prelate's daughter should equal a princess in portion, took away one thousand pounds a year from that

A. D. 1546.
38 Henry
VIII.

Why his
nieces more
at liberty
than his
daughters.

Ten thou-
sandpounds
the portion
of a prin-
cess.

^d Godwin, in Henry VIII. p. 200. [= 155. ed. 1653.]

A. D. 1546. bishopric, and assigned it for the better maintenance
 38 Henry of the garrison of Berwick.
 VIII.

Much of
 arbitrariness in this
 will.

56. Very much of his own arbitrariness appears in this will of king Henry, entailing the crown according to his own fancy, against all right and reason. For, first, how unjust was it, that his female issue by queen Katharine Parr, his last wife, (had he had any,) should inherit the crown before Mary and Elizabeth, his eldest daughters by his former wives! If Mary and Elizabeth were not his lawful children, how came they by any right to the crown? If his lawful children, why was their birthright and seniority not observed in succession? Well it was for them that Henry Fitzroy, his natural son, (but one of supernatural and extraordinary endowments,) was dead; otherwise (some suspect) had he survived king Edward the Sixth, we might presently have heard of a king Henry the Ninth, so great was his father's affection, and so unlimited his power to prefer him.

The Scotch line quite left out.

57. But the grand injury in this his testament is, that he quite passeth over the children of Margaret, his eldest sister, married into Scotland, with all her issue, not so much as making the least mention thereof.

58. Great indeed, when this will was first made, was the antipathy which, for the present, possessed him against the Scotch, with whom then he was in actual war; though at other times, when in good humour, very courteous to his kindred of that extraction. For, most sure it is, that when Margaret Douglas, his sister's daughter, was married to Matthew, earl of Lennox, he publicly professed, that, "in case his own issue failed, he should be right glad

“ some of her body should succeed to the crown ;” as it came to pass^e.

A.D. 1546.
38 Henry
VIII.

59. Of the eleven witnesses, whose names are subscribed to his will, the nine first are also legatees therein, and, therefore, (because reputed parties,) not sufficient witnesses, had it been the will of a private person. But the testaments of princes move in a higher sphere than to take notice of such punctilios ; and, foreigners being unfit to be admitted to such privacies, domestical servants were preferred, as the properest witnesses, to attest an instrument of their lord and master.

Legatees
witnesses in
kings wills.

60. It is but just with God, that he who had too much of his will done, when living, should have the less, when dead, of his testament performed. The ensuing reformation swept away the masses and chantry-priests founded to pray for his soul. The tombs of Henry the Sixth and Edward the Fourth (the one the last of Lancaster, the other the first of York, the titles of both which houses met in this Henry,) remain at this day *in statu quo prius*, without any amendment. Where, by the way, seeing in this will king Henry the Sixth is styled his uncle, I cannot make out the relation in the common sense of the word, except any will say, that kings' uncles (as their cousins) are oft taken in a large and favourable acception. But the main wherein his will missed the intent is, in that the Scotch line, neglected and omitted by him, (ordinary heirs are made in heaven, heirs to crowns in the heaven of heavens,) came in their due time to the throne, their undoubted right thereunto recognized by act of parliament.

Little of his
will per-
formed.

^e Henry lord Darnley. her son, father to king James.

A. D. 1546.
38 Henry
VIII.

His disease,
and the
manner of
his death.

61. After the making of this his will, he survived a full month, falling immediately sick. He had *sesquecorpus*, a body and half, very abdominous and unwieldy with fat; and it was death to him to be dieted, so great his appetite; and death to him not to be dieted, so great his corpulency. But now all his humours repaired to one place, and settled themselves in an old sore in his thigh, which quickly grew to be greatly inflamed. Here flame met with fire, the anguish of the sore with an hot and impatient temper; so that, during his sickness, few of his servants durst approach his presence. His physicians, giving him over, desired some, who tendered the good of his soul, to admonish him of his estate. But such, who could fly with good tidings, would not halt to him with ill news. Besides, lately a law was made, that none should speak any thing of the king's death. Which act, though only intended to retrench the predictions and mock prophecies of soothsayers, yet now all the courtiers, glad of so legal a covert for their cowardice, alleged it, to excuse themselves to inform the king of his approaching end. At last sir Anthony Denny went boldly unto him, and plainly acquainted him of his dying condition; whereupon archbishop Cranmer was, by the king his desire, sent for, to give him some ghostly counsel and comfort.

His hope
expressed
by speech-
less gesture.

62. But before Cranmer, then being at Croydon, could come to him, he was altogether speechless, but not senseless. The archbishop exhorted him to place all his trust in God's mercies thorough Christ, and besought him, that, if he could not in words, he would by some sign or other testify this his hope; who then wringed the archbishop's hand as hard as

he could, and shortly after expired, having lived A. D. 1546.
 fifty five years and seven months, and thereof 38 Henry VIII.
 reigned thirty seven years, nine months, and six Jan. 28.
 days.

63. As for the report of Sanders, that king Henry, Lying Slanders.
 perceiving the pangs of approaching death, called for
 a great bowl of white wine, and, drinking it off,
 should say to the company, "We have lost all;"—it
 is enough to say, It is a report of Sanders. As loud
 a lie is it what he affirmeth, that the last words
 heard from his mouth were, "The monks! the
 "monks!" and so gave up the ghost. This may go
 hand in hand with what another catholic^f relates,—
 that a black dog (he might as truly have said a blue
 one) licked up his blood, whilst the stench of his
 corpse could be charmed with no embalming;
 though, indeed, there was no other noisomeness than
 what necessarily attendeth on any dead body of
 equal corpulency.

64. Vices most commonly charged on his memory His vices and virtues.
 are: first, *covetousness*. He was an eminent instance
 to verify the observation, *omnis prodigus est avarus*;
 vast his profusiveness, (coming a fork after a rake,)
 not only spending the great treasure left him by his
 father, but also vast wealth beside, and yet ever in
 want, and rapacious to supply the same. Secondly,
cruelty; being scarce ever observed to pardon any
 noble person whom he condemned to death. I find
 but two black swans in all the current of his reign
 that tasted of his favour herein. And, therefore,
 when Arthur lord Lisle, imprisoned, and daily ex-
 pecting death in the Tower, was unexpectedly set

^f Richard Hall in his MS. Life of bishop Fisher.

A. D. 1546. free, he instantly died of sudden joy^g; so that it
 38 Henry seems king Henry's pity proved as mortal as his
 VIII. cruelty. Thirdly, *wantonness*; which cannot be ex-
 cused. But these faults were (if not over) even
 poised with his virtues, of valour, bounty, wisdom,
 learning and love of learned men, scarce one dunce
 wearing a mitre all his days.

Why king
 Henry's
 monument
 never per-
 fected.

65. The monument mentioned in his will, as
 "almost made," was never all made, but left imper-
 fect; whereof many reasons are rendered. Some
 impute it to the very want of workmen, unable to
 finish it, according to the exactness wherewith it
 was begun; a conceit, in my mind, little better than
scandalum seculi, and very derogatory to the art and
 ingenuity of our age. Others more truly ascribe it to
 the costliness thereof, which deterred his successors
 from finishing of it^h. Indeed, king Henry the Seventh,
 in erecting his own monument in his chapel at
 Westminster, did therein set a pattern of despair for
 all posterity to imitate. And yet Sanders tells usⁱ,
 that queen Mary had a great mind to make up his
 tomb, but durst not, for fear a catholic should seem
 to countenance the memory of one dying in open
 schism with the church of Rome. As for his imper-
 fect monument, it was beheld like the barren fig-
 tree, bearing no fruit, and cumbering the ground^j,
 (I mean the chapel wherein it stood;) and therefore
 it was, since these civil wars, took down and sold
 by order of parliament.

Cardinal
 Pole his
 project.

66. In the reign of queen Mary it was reported,
 that cardinal Pole (whose spleen generally vented

^g Godwin in Henry VIII.,
 p. 181 [= 248.]

^h Ibid., p. 113 [= 156.]

ⁱ De Schismate Anglicano,
 p. 216 [= 181.]

^j Luke xiii. 7.

itself against dead men's bodies) had a design, with the principal clergy of England, to take up and burn the body of king Henry the Eighth. This plot is said to be discovered by Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster^k. But because Weston was justly obnoxious for his scandalous living, (for which at that time he stood committed to the Tower,) and bare a personal grudge to the cardinal, his report was the less credited, as proceeding from revenge and desire to procure his own enlargement.

67. Indeed, when a vault, seven years since, was pierced in the midst of the quire at Windsor, therein to inter the corpse of king Charles, they lighted on two coffins therein. Now (though no memory alive could reach the same, yet) constant tradition, seconded with a coincidency of all signs and circumstances^l, concluded these coffins to contain the bones of king Henry VIII., and his dear queen Jane Seymour. And yet the bigness of the coffin (though very great) did not altogether answer that giant-like proportion which posterity hath fancied of himⁿ.

^k Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 2102.

^l See more hereof at the burial of king Charles I., [in the latter pages of this History.]

ⁿ [The opinion which is generally entertained of the unwieldy size and corpulency of

this king, and to which Fuller has before referred, is directly contradicted by Grafton, a very credible and respectable authority. According to this writer, the king was of personage "tall and mighty, *not gross*, but in a comely proportion." p. 1282.]

A. D. 1546.
38 Henry VIII.

The bones of king Henry abused.

100

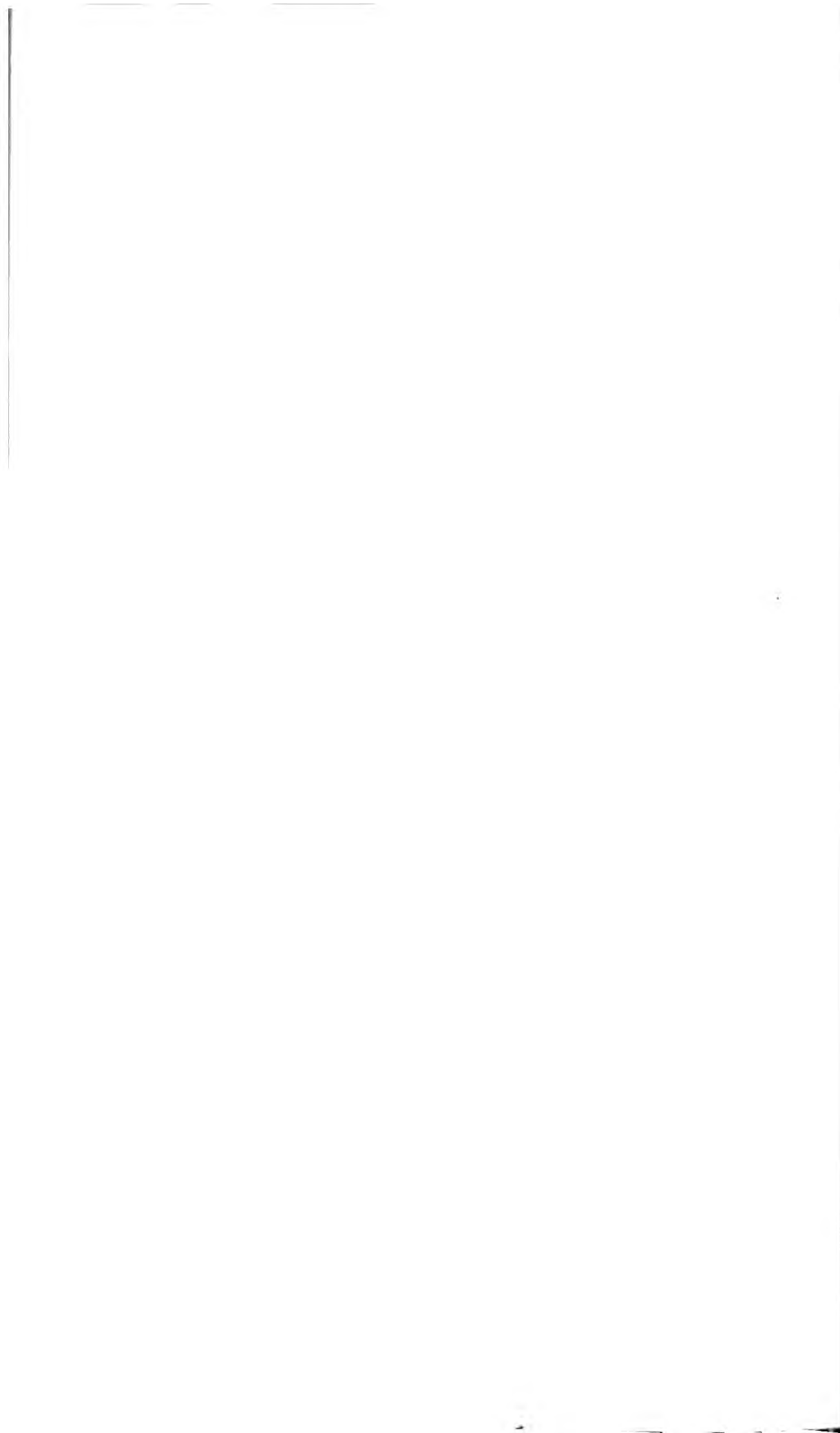
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THE
CHURCH HISTORY
OF
BRITAIN.



THE SIXTH BOOK,
BEING THE HISTORY OF ABBEYS IN ENGLAND; OF THEIR
ORIGINAL, INCREASE, GREATNESS, DECAY, AND
DISSOLUTION.



TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM COMPTON^a,
SON AND HEIR TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
JAMES,
BARON COMPTON OF COMPTON, AND EARL OF
NORTHAMPTON.

AVING formerly proved at large^b,
that it is lawful for any, and expedient
for me, to have infant patrons for my
books, let me give an account why
this parcel of my history was set apart for your
honour, not being cast by chance, but led by choice
to this my dedication.

^a [William James, heir to James, third earl of Northampton, and only son by his first wife, Isabella, daughter and coheir of Richard Sackville, earl of Dorset. This infant patron of Fuller died young, at what age I have not been able to ascertain, but probably quite in his infancy. A

more noble or loyal family could not have been selected to whom our author could have paid a more deserved compliment. The young lord's grandfather, Spencer, was an especial favourite and a constant companion to king Charles, both before and after his accession to the crown. "Two things,"

First, I resolved with myself to select such a patron for this my History of Abbeys, whose an-

says Lloyd, "he would have nothing to do with; 1. church-lands, because his direct ancestor, being not only chief gentleman of king Henry VIII.'s bed-chamber, but the third man in his favour, had not a shoe-latchet of abbey land, (as there was none in all his ancient paternal estate,) though," saith my author, "nothing debarred him save his own abstinence. 2. Inclosures, &c. He could not endure jesting with religion, there being no people, of what religion soever, but had serious and great thoughts of their Numen; nor an oath, on any except judicial and solemn occasions, often repeating that of prince Henry, 'that he knew no game or value, to be won or lost, that was worth an oath.'" This excellent nobleman, after he had served his master boldly and faithfully, and especially by his conduct in the civil war, in which he checked or defeated at various times the parliamentary generals, at last lost his life on the field of battle in the moment and turn of victory; with a body of 1100 horse and dragoons defeating the enemy on Hoxton Heath, who more than tripled his numbers. A happy victory, but dearly purchased, by the life of this gallant man, who, charging at the head of his troops, was thrown from his horse through the unevenness

of the ground, and so falling into the hands of the enemy refused all quarter, saying, "He would not owe his life to those who had forfeited their own." (See Lloyd's Mem. 355, and a noble character of him by lord Clarendon, Rebellion, III. p. 459.) James, the eldest of the four sons, (three of whom were that day charging in the field with their father,) succeeding to his title and command, sent a trumpeter to the rebels to desire the dead body of his father, a request which they refused; no wonder, for rebellion turns the best feelings into gall. He also signalized himself by his bravery in defence of the royal cause, especially in the relief of Banbury castle, where he had left his brave brother, sir William Compton, as his lieutenant. A soldier whose piety was undoubted, and whose bravery was equal to his piety. He defended the castle against all the power which the enemy could bring against him, exposing his person wherever danger was the greatest, and maintaining the breach when all fell around him. "A piece of service!" says Lloyd, "considering that sir William was not for eleven weeks in bed, so great his vigilance; nor for a week off the works, so unwearied his diligence; that he had prayers four times every day, the spiritual arms seconding the temporal,

cestor was not only of credit and repute in the reign, but also of favour and esteem in the affection of king Henry the Eighth.

Secondly, he should be such (if possible to be found) who had no partage at all in abbey lands at their dissolution, that so his judgment might be unbiassed in the reading hereof.

Both my requisites have happily met in your honour, whose direct ancestor, sir William Compton, was not only chief gentleman of the bed-chamber to the aforesaid king, but also (as a noble pen^c writing his life informeth us) the third man in his favour in the beginning of his reign; yet had he not a shoe-

“so eminent his piety; that he acted all things by common council and consent, such his wariness and prudence.” (Memoirs, p. 355.) An undaunted loyalist and a good churchman, honoured by the pitiful spite of Cromwell, who nicknamed him “the sober young man, and the godly cavalier.” When sir William could no longer serve the father he transferred his allegiance to the son, being a main instrument in the restoration which happily he lived to see accomplished, dying in 1663. Equal to their brother in loyalty were sir Charles and Spencer Compton, the former surprising Breston castle with only six men, the other serving his king and his country with an unblemished character; of whom it was said, “*nemo unquam vel*

“*mussitavit male.*” Last of all was Dr. Henry Compton, the munificent bishop of London, under whom St. Paul’s cathedral was begun and finished. Never in any family was the adage more truly fulfilled, “*fortis creantur fortibus et bonis:*” — grandfather and father and sons, all preeminent in loyalty, all unblemished in reputation. As in their veins ran the blood of the greatest nobility in England, so they equalled the nobleness of their blood by the nobleness of their behaviour. And though their extraction was high, reaching even to the very highest, yet was it the lowest quality about them.]

^b In several dedicatory epistles in my *Pisgah Sight*.

^c The lord Herbert in his history of Henry VIII., p. 8.

latchet of abbey land, though nothing surely debarred him save his own abstinence; as there is none in all your ancient paternal estate, for I account not what since by accession of matches hath accrued unto it.

Thus are you the person designed for my purpose, and I believe very few (if any) in England can wash their hands in the same basin, to have no abbey lands sticking to their fingers; and thus being freest from being a party, in due time you will be fittest to be a judge, to pass impartial sentence on what is written on this subject.

And now let me make your lordship smile a little, acquainting you with a passage in the legend of Nicholas a popish saint: they report of him^d, that when an infant hanging on his mother's breast, he fasted Wednesdays and Fridays, and could not be urged to suck more than once a day^e.

But, good my lord, be not so ceremonious, or rather superstitious, to imitate his example: wean not yourself until you be weaned, and let all days be alike to your honour. I dare assure you, no spark of sanctity the less for a drop of milk the more. A good case is no hinderance to a precious jewel, and a healthful body no abasement to a holy soul.

And when your lordship shall arrive at riper

^d Lib. Festival. in die S. Nichol. fol. 55.

^e [Lloyd applies the same simile to the uncle, sir William

Compton, a person of great abstinence, calling him "the St. Nicholas of our church." Memoirs, p. 354.]

years, consult your own extraction, as the best remembrancer of worthy behaviour. In whose veins there is the confluence of so many rivulets, that a mean herald, by the guidance thereof upwards, may be led to the fountains of the most of the English nobility^f.

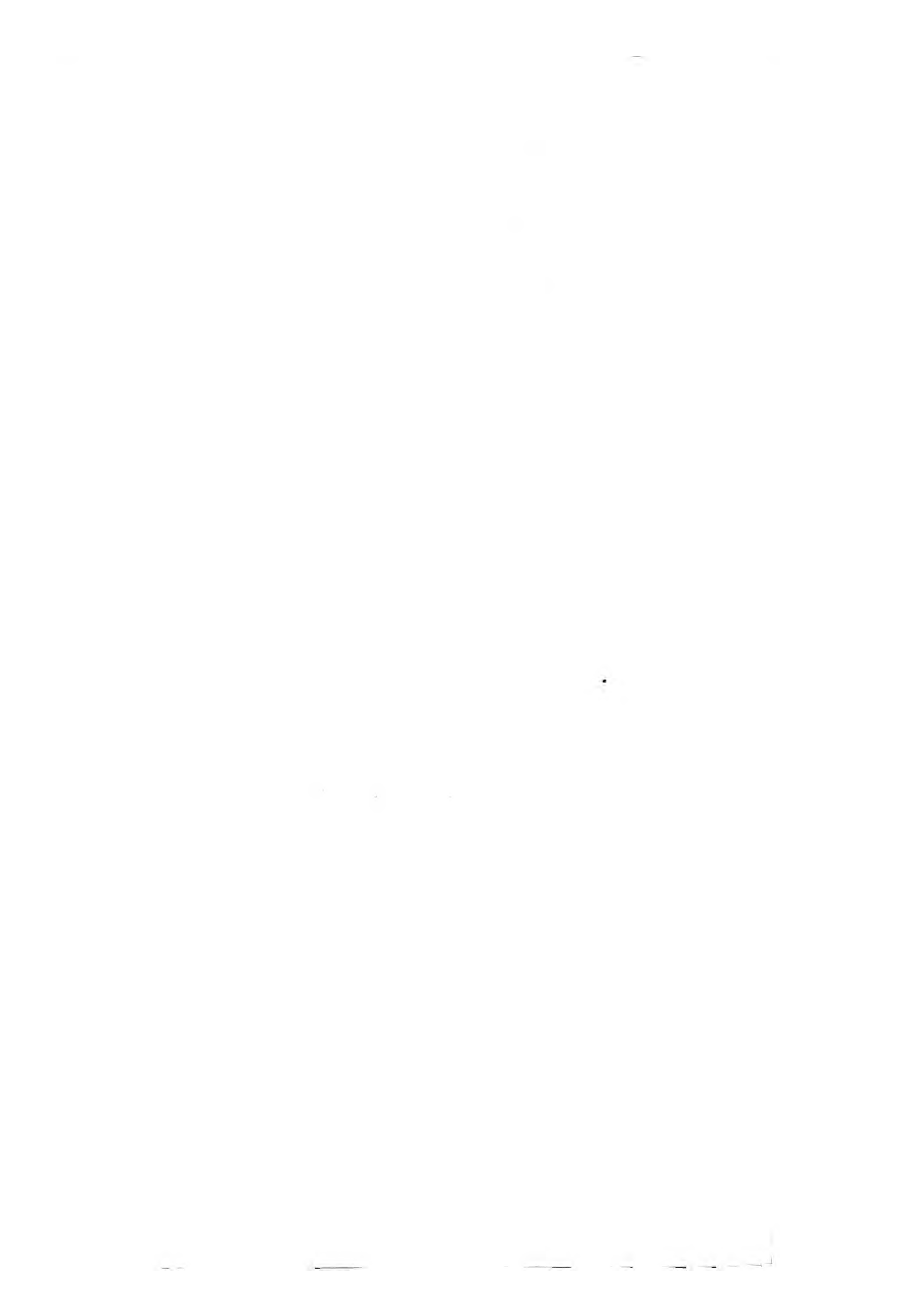
All I will add is this, as you give three helmets for your arms, may you be careful to take the fourth, even *the helmet of salvation*^g; an helmet which here is worn close, whilst soldiers in the church militant we see *but in part*, but hereafter shall be borne (like the helmet of princes) with the beaver open in the church triumphant, *when we shall see as we are seen*. The desire of,

Your honour's most engaged beadsman,

THOMAS FULLER.

^f [See the pedigree of this family in Bridge's Northamp-
tonshire, I. p. 344. ed. Whalley.]

^g Eph. vi. 17.





THE SEALS OF ALL THE MITRED ABBEYS IN ENGLAND.

J. Walker

THE
HISTORY OF ABBEYS
IN
ENGLAND.

PRIMITIVE MONKS, WITH THEIR PIETY AND
PAINFULNESS.



WHEN the furnace of persecution in the infancy of Christianity was grown so hot that most cities, towns, and populous places were visited with that epidemical disease, many pious men fled into deserts, there to live with more safety, and serve God with less disturbance. No wild humour to make themselves miserable, and to choose and court their own calamity, put them on this project, much less any superstitious opinion of transcendent sanctity in a solitary life, made them willingly to leave their former habitations. For whereas all men by their birth are indebted to their country, there to stay and discharge all civil relations, it had been dishonesty in them, like bankrupts to run away into the wilderness to defraud their country their creditor, except some violent occasion (such as persecution was) forced them thereunto: and this was the

First
monks
caused by
perse-
cution.

first original of monks in the world, so called from *μόνος*, because living alone by themselves.

Their pious
employ-
ment in a
solitary life.

2. Here they in the deserts hoped to find rocks and stocks, yea, beasts themselves more kind than men had been to them: what would hide and heat, cover and keep warm, served them for clothes, not placing (as their successors in after-ages) any holiness in their habit, folded up in the affected fashion thereof. As for their food, the grass was their cloth, the ground their table, herbs and roots their diet, wild fruits and berries their dainties, hunger their sauce, their nails their knives, their hands their cups, the next well their wine cellar; but what their bill of fare wanted in cheer it had in grace; their life being constantly spent in prayer, reading, musing, and such like pious employments. They turned solitariness itself into society, and cleaving themselves asunder by the divine art of meditation, did make of one, two, or more, opposing, answering, moderating in their own bosoms, and busy in themselves with variety of heavenly recreations. It would do one good, even but to think of their goodness, and at the rebound and second hand to meditate on their meditations. For if ever poverty was to be envied, it was here. And I appeal to the moderate men of these times, whether in the height of these woful wars they have not sometimes wished (not out of passionate distemper, but serious recollection of themselves) some such private place to retire unto, where, out of the noise of this clamorous world, they might have reposed themselves, and served God with more quiet.

They vow-
ed no po-
verty, chas-

3. These monks were of two sorts, either such as fled from actual, or from imminent persecu-

tion^a. For when a danger is not created by a timorous fancy, but rationally represented as probable, in such a case the principles of prudence, not out of cowardice, but caution, warrant men to provide for their safety. Neither of these bound themselves with a wilful vow to observe poverty, but poverty rather vowed to observe them, waiting constantly upon them. Neither did they vow chastity, though keeping it better than such as vowed it in after-ages. As for the vow of obedience, it was both needless and impossible in their condition, having none beneath or above them, living alone, and their whole convent, as one may say, consisting of a single person; and as they entered on this course of life rather by impulsion than election, so when peace was restored they returned to their former homes in cities and towns, resuming their callings, which they had not left off, but for a time laid aside. The first British monks that we meet with in this kind were immediately after the martyrdom of St. Alban; for then, saith Gildas, *Qui superfuerant sylvis ac desertis, abditisque speluncis se occultaverunt*^b; "such as survived hid themselves in " woods and deserts, and secret dens of the earth." As long after on the like occasion, when the pagan Saxons and Danes invaded this island, many religious persons retired themselves to solitary lives.

VOLUNTARY MONKS, EMBRACING THAT LIFE,
NOT FOR NECESSITY, BUT CONVENIENCY.

AFTER these succeeded a second sort of monks Silver monks suc-

^a See Polydore Virgil de Inventionem rerum, [vii. 1.] and Sixtus Senensis, [in Bibliotheca] vi. annotat. 332.

^b [Historia Gildæ, ch. viii.]

ceeded the
former
goldenones.

leading a solitary life, when no visible need forced them thereunto, as neither feeling nor fearing any apparent persecution; yet these considering the inconstancy of human matters, that though they had prosperity for the present, it might soon be changed into a contrary condition, if either the restless endeavours of the devil took effect, or sinful Christians were rewarded according to their deserts, freely chose a lone life, also prompted perchance thereunto by their own melancholy disposition.

Fetchd
from wan-
dering in
the wilder-
ness to
dwell to-
gether.

2. Afterwards it was counted convenient, that such who hitherto dwelt desolate in deserts, scattered asunder, should be gathered together to live under one roof, because their company would be cheerful in health, and needful in sickness, one to another. Hence these two words, though contrary to sound, signify the same: *Monasterium*^c, a place containing men living *alone*; *Cænobium*, a place containing men living *in common*. For though they were sequestered from the rest of the world, yet they enjoyed mutual society amongst themselves. And again, though at solemn times they

^c [The word *monachi* is the generic term, applicable to those who lived a solitary life, under none but a self-imposed restraint, such as the *eremita*, and to those who lived in common, *cænobita*; and it was not unusual for individuals to pass from one state to the other at their pleasure. Besides these there was a third class, called *sarabaita*, consisting of a company of two or three who inhabited towns, and lived under no particular rule. Holstein,

Codex Regularum, cap. 1. ed. 1663.

The terms therefore which are opposed to each other are *eremita*, who lived alone in deserts or woods, or in colleges, that is, living under the same roof, but not living in common; and *cænobita*, who were either monks, (mendici vel non-mendici, the former of whom are called friars,) canons, regular or secular, and clerks, regular or secular.]

joined in their public devotions and refectations, yet no doubt they observed hours by themselves in their private orisons : of these, some were gardeners like Adam, husbandmen like Noah, caught fish with Peter, made tents with Paul, as every man was either advised by his inclination, or directed by his dexterity, and no calling was counted base that was found beneficial. Much were they delighted with making of hives, as the emblem of a convent for order and industry, wherein the bees, under a master their abbot, have several cells, and live and labour in a regular discipline. In a word, they had hard hands and tender hearts, sustaining themselves by their labour, and relieving others by their charity, as formerly hath been observed in the monks of Bangor.

3. Take a taste of their austerity who lived at Vall Rosine, since called Menevia in Pembroke-shire, under the method of S. David^d. They were raised with the crowing of the cock from their beds, and then betook themselves to their prayers, and spent the rest of the day in their several callings ; when their task was done they again bestowed themselves in prayers, meditations, reading and writing : and at night, when the heavens were full of stars, they first began to feed, having their temperate repast to satisfy hunger on bread, water, and herbs. Then the third time they went to their prayers, and so to bed, till the circulation of their daily employment returned in the morning. A spectacle of virtue and continence, who, although they received

The disci-
pline of Bri-
tish monks
under
S. David.

^d Harpsfield, Hist. Eccl. Angl. p. 40.

nothing, or any thing very unwillingly of others, yet were so far from wanting necessaries, that by their pains they provided sustenance for many poor people, orphans, widows, and strangers.

Superstition un-
awares oc-
casioned by
them.

4. Here, as we cannot but highly commend the integrity of their hearts herein, so we must withal bemoan, that what in them was intentionally good proved occasionally evil, hatching superstition under the warmth of their devotion. For though even these as yet were free from human ordinances and vows, yet will-worship crept in insensible in the next age, (tares are easier seen grown than growing,) and error and viciousness came in by degrees. The monks afterwards having sufficiency turned lazy, then getting wealth waxed wanton, and at last, endowed with superfluity, became notoriously wicked, as hereafter shall appear. Thus, as Pliny reporteth of the gagate stone, that set a-fire it burneth more fiercely if water be cast on, but is extinguished if oil be poured thereupon, so the zeal of monastic men was inflamed the more with the bitter water of affliction, whilst in prosperity the oil of plenty quenched their piety. So ill a steward is human corruption of outward happiness, oftener using it to the receiver's hurt than the giver's glory.

OF SUPERSTITION, WHICH WAS THE FUNDAMENTAL FAULT IN ALL ABBEYS.

Abbeys
built on the
sand of su-
perstition.

THIS was one main fault in all English abbeys, that the builders did not dig deep enough to lay the foundation, as grounded on the fundered and mouldering bottom of superstition. For every monastery was conceived a magazine of merit both for

the founder, his ancestors, and posterity. And although all these dotations did carry the title of pure alms, yet seriously considered, they will be found rather forced than free, as extorted from men with the fear of purgatory, one flash of which fire believed is able to melt a miser into charity; yea, which is worse, many of their foundations had their mortar tempered with innocent blood, for which we may conceive afterwards they sped never a whit the better. To give some instances of many.

2. Wolpher, king of the Mercians, having murdered Wolphald and Rufine, his own sons, with cruel and barbarous immanity, because they had devoted themselves unto Christ and embraced his religion, afterwards turning Christian himself, to wash away the stain of his impiety built that famous abbey, since known by the name of Peterborough^d.

Peterborough abbey founded to expiate murder.

3. King Athelstane drowned his brother Edwin, having put him into a little wherry or cock-boat without any tackling or furniture thereunto, (to the end he might impute his wickedness to the waves,) and afterwards, as a satisfaction to appease his ghost, built the fair abbey of Middleton in Dorsetshire^e.

Middleton being on the same occasion.

^d Camden's Brit. in Northamptonshire, [p. 379. See note in vol. I. p. 215.]

^e Idem in Dorsetshire, [p. 156. This was by no means universally the case, much rather the exception than the rule. Monasteries had long been built in England before kings or princes raised them as a kind of satisfaction or atonement. The first foundation of this kind (omitting Bangor) was the monastery of St. Peter and

St. Paul at Canterbury, built by St. Augustine at the direction and expense of king Ædelbert in 597, (Canterbury being at that time the metropolis,) solely for missionary purposes, as the chronicler quoted in the Monasticon describes it: "ut ibi prædicarent, baptizarent, et quoscumque possint ad fidem Jesu Christi vocarent." (Monasticon, I. p. 18. Bede, E. H. I. p. 33.) Near the same time,

So also the
nunnery of
Ambres-
bury.

4. To join to these two houses of monks one of nuns, (such society hath not been unacceptable,) Ælfrith, second wife to king Edgar, having contrived the death of Edward her son-in-law, king of England, murdered him by a company of hacksters and villains at her appointment at Corfe castle in Dorsetshire, (to pave the way for the succession of her son Etheldred to the crown,) afterwards built the stately nunnery of Ambresbury, with some other religious houses^f.

Suspicious
therein
might be a
great fault
herein.

5. It is confessed, that wilful murder may be pardoned in Christ, and they who deny it are guilty (as much as lies in their power) of a worse soul-murder in their uncharitable opinion; yet this we say, that all the chaunting of the monks and nuns in their convents could not drown the noise of innocent blood. And if these founders of abbeys thought that their murder could be expiated by raising such beautiful buildings, their most polished marble and costly carved pieces were in the expression of the prophet, but *daubing over their damnable sins with untempered mortar*^g. But though abbeys long since

and for the same purposes, was the foundation of St. Peter's, Westminster, by Sebert, king of the east Saxons (Mon. I. p. 56.); the next in Holy Island in 635. (Reyner, App. p. 42.) And in these and all other parts of this island, wherever Christianity was first introduced, we may remark that a bishop's see and a monastery were erected almost simultaneously: and by these means was the knowledge of the truth disseminated through the various kingdoms of the

Saxon heptarchy. This was the original, and by far the most extensive motive in building monasteries. "In Anglia idem fuit monachismi atque Christianismi initium idem incrementum." Marsham's Προπυλαιον, p. 21, prefixed to the first volume of the Monasticon.]

^f Harpsfield, Hist. Eccl. Angl. p. 188.

^g Ezek. xxii. 28. [It is pardonable that Fuller in his age should have thus spoken of those foundations to which,

have been demolished, we leave their founders to stand or fall to their own Maker, when his all-seeing eye hath discerned betwixt the errors of their judgment and integrity of their affections, endeavouring that which they conceived was to the glory of God, and advance of true religion.

OF THE SEVERAL ORDERS OF MONKS AND
NUNS IN ENGLAND^h.

So much of the superstition of the founders, come we now to their superstition, and other notorious sins, who lived in these foundations. But first we will premise their several orders. Herein we pretend not to any critical skill; for though every minister of God's word (whereof I am the meanest) is a

A heap of
monkish
orders in
England.

next under God, we greatly owe whatever is great and good. Men's errors we write in brass, their benefits in dust; and so it has been with them. The good which they have done has been forgotten; the evils which they did, (or, which in the world's eye is much the same, avaricious spoilers have persuaded the world that they did,) are still held up to scorn, and to abuse them has become part of our religion. And yet, to use the words of Dr. Marsham: "Monachatus olim fuit maxima pars gentis ecclesiasticæ, et parietes cœnobiales diu sanctitatis et melioris literaturæ fuerunt sepes. Ex illo seminario prodierunt ingentia illa Christiani orbis lumina Beda, Alcuinus, Willebrordus, Bonifacius, alii, ob doctrinam et propagatam fidem impense colendi." Marsham, Προπυ-

λαιον, p. 30.]

^h [For this account of the several religious orders Fuller is chiefly indebted to Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 127, sq. I may observe in passing, that the Scots and Britons, of whom there is mention made in various passages of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, were probably of the Egyptian order, and followed the Egyptian rule. Those who were introduced by St. Augustine were Benedictines, (*nigri monachi*, so called from the darkness of their dress, the British wearing white,) and followed the rule of S. Benedict, of the Western, as the British were of the Eastern order. And hence the disputes respecting the tonsure and the observance of Easter, on which I have made some remarks in the first volume of this history.]

spiritual herald, to derive and deduce the pedigrees and genealogies of any institution which hath its original in God's word, yet they are not bound (not to say it is a learned ignorance) to be skilled in the deductions, divisions, and sub-divisions of these orders, which have no foundation in the scripture. Yea, hear what Matthew Paris, being a monk of S. Alban's, saith, *Tot jam apparuerunt ordines in Anglia, ut ordinum confusio videretur inordinata*ⁱ. It is possible then for my best diligence to commit an error and impropriety in reckoning them up. For what wonder is it if one be lost in a wood, to which their numerous orders may well be resembled, though in all this wood there appears not one plant of God's planting, as one of their own abbots most remarkably did observe^j. In a word, when the *frogs of Egypt died out of the houses, out of the villages, and out of the fields, they gathered them together upon heaps, &c.*^k And give us leave in like manner confusedly to shovel up these vermin, now dead in England.

Benedictines the primitive monks in England.

2. First, come forth the Benedictines, or Black monks, so called from S. Benedict, or Benet, an Italian, first father and founder of that order^l; Augustine the monk first brought them over into Eng-

ⁱ Matth. Paris, an. Dom. 1257. p. 949.

^j Rob. Whitgift, abbot of Wellow. [See below, §. ii. 6. §. 1.]

^k Exod. viii. 13, 14.

^l [In the year 524. The rule of St. Benedict seems first to have been introduced into England by St. Dunstan, at the council of Winchester in 965, at which time a general consti-

tution was prescribed to the English monks, formed chiefly from the rule of St. Benedict, though some ancient and prevalent customs which had been long in use were mixed with it. This rule has been printed by Selden in his Appendix to Eadmer, p. 145, and by Reyner in his Apostolat. Benedictin. App. p. 77. See Marsham's Προσυλαιον, p. 23.]

land, and these black birds first nested in Canterbury, whence they have flown into all the parts of the kingdom. For as one rightly observeth^m, all the abbeys in England before the time of king William the Conqueror (and some whiles after) were filled with this order. Yea, all the abbeys in England of the first magnitude which had parliamentary barons (abate only the prior of the hospitallers of S. John's in London) were of this order; and though the Augustinians were their seniors in Europe, they were their juniors in England. Now as mercers, when their old stuffs begin to tire in sale, refresh them with new names to make them more vendible, so when the Benedictines waxed stale in the world, the same order was set forth in a new edition, corrected and amended under the names: first of

CLUNIACS: these were Benedictines sifted through a finer search, with some additional invented and imposed upon them by Odo, abbot of Cluny in Burgundy, who lived *anno Domini* 913. But these Cluniacs appeared not in England till after the Norman conquest, and had their richest convents at Barnstable in Devonshire, Pontefract and Meaux in Yorkshire, &c.ⁿ

^m Clem. Reyner De Antiq. Ordinis S. Benedict. [p. 18. Though somewhat deficient in judgment, this is an excellent work. The real author, whose name was David, (which he afterward changed to Augustine,) Baker, had access to sir Robert Cotton's library, and to the various depositories of records relating to the order of the Benedictines both in England and abroad. A large col-

lection of his papers, and transcripts of charters and chronicles, which he had collected for the history of his order, (generally supposed to have been lost,) are still preserved in Jesus College, Oxford. He was the last of his order in England. See an account of his life in Wood's Athenæ, I. p. 3.]

ⁿ [Their origin in Europe is dated as far back as the year 890 by an ancient French

2. CISTERCIANS, so called from one Robert^o, living in Cistercium, in Burgundy aforesaid; he the second time refined the drossy Benedictines, and Walter Espec first established their brotherhood in England, at Rivaulx in Yorkshire; besides which they had many other pleasant and plentiful habitations, at Wardon and Woburn in Bedfordshire, Buckland and Ford in Devonshire, Bindon in Dorsetshire, &c. The Bernardine monks were of a younger house, or underbranch of the Cistercians^p.

chronicler, quoted in Dugdale, p. 611; and, according to the same author, their first abbot was Bruno, to whom William, duke of Aquitaine, with the consent of Charles the Simple, granted Cluny in Burgundy. He was succeeded by Odo, who died in 937. Their most ancient foundation (according to Dugdale) was at Wenlock in Shropshire, where there had been a nunnery in which Milberga, niece of Wolphere, king of Mercia, ended her days. But the place having become deserted, Roger, earl of Montgomery, gave it to a company of Cluniac monks. I. p. 613. See also Reyner, *Apostol. Benedictinorum*, App. p. 58. According to this author, the Cluniacs were first introduced into this country in 1077 by William, earl of Warren, son-in-law of William the Conqueror. As they followed the rule of St. Benedict to distinguish them from the Benedictines, properly so called, they were styled *Monachi nigri reformati*.]

^o [Abbot of Molesme. At

that time Cistercium (Citeaux,) in the diocese of Châlons, was a vast wilderness; this reformation was effected in 1098. See Dugdale, I. p. 695. They are called by the name of Observants (*de stricta observantia*), or Grey friars, from their habit.]

^p [According to the annals of Peterborough, quoted by Dugdale, (*Monasticon*, I. p. 703.), the Cistercians came over into England in 1128, and were settled at Waverley by William Gifford, bishop of Winchester. See also *Annales Waverleiensis* in an. 1128; and the foundation charter in Dugdale, *ib.* p. 727. The same is stated by Reyner, p. 160, who, however, quotes a passage from Peter of Blois, attributing the introduction of this order to Walter Espec, a gentleman of noble blood, and pupil to Stephen Harding, the friend and adviser of Robert de Molesme. He first built the monastery of Kirkham in 1122 for this order; and receiving from the celebrated St. Bernard several brethren from Clairvaulx, who

3. Of GRANDMONT, which observed S. Benet's rule, were brought into England *anno* 1233, and were principally fixed at Abberbury in Shropshire^q.

The family of these Benedictines, taken at large, with their children and grandchildren, of under-orders springing from them, were so numerous and so richly endowed, that in their revenues they did match all the other orders in England, especially if the foundations of Benedictine nuns be joined in the same reckoning; I doubt not but since, these Benedictines have had their crudities deconcocted, and have been drawn out into more slender threads of subdivisions. For commonly once in a hundred years starts up some pragmatistical person in an order, who out of novelty alters their old rules, (there is as much variety and vanity in monks' cowls as in courtiers' cloaks,) and out of his fancy adds some observances thereunto. To cry quits with whom, after the same distance of time, ariseth another, and under some new name reformeth his reformation, and then his late new (now old) order is looked on as an almanac out of date, wanting the perfection of new and necessary alterations.

3. A scandal hath lately been raised^r, much in *Scandalum Benedictinorum.*

came into England in 1122, he built for them, in 1132, near the river Rye, the monastery afterwards named Rievaulx. See also Dugdale, *ib.* p. 727. Weever, p. 136.]

^q [This order was founded by Stephen of Auvergne; who died in the year 1124, at the age of eighty, after a life spent in the most rigid abstinence, and self-inflicted cruelties. After his death his disciples removed to

Grammont, where Henry I. of England built them a college in 1124, which was endowed by his son Henry II. Rivius, p. 170. For the foundation of Abberbury, see Dugdale, *I.* p. 605.]

^r [By Antonius Gallonius, a priest of the congregation of the oratory, in his *Apologia adversus Constantinum Belotum*, published at Rome in 1604.]

dishonour of these Benedictines, viz. that all the ancient English monks before the Conquest were only of the order of S. Equitius. Some highly concerned to refute this report wrote over to our antiquaries in England for their judgments herein, from whom they received this following answer :

“ Quoniam hac nostra ætate exorta est contro-
 “ versia de monachatu Gregorii magni et Augustini
 “ Cantuariensis, sociorumque ejus quos Gregorius in
 “ Angliam de suo monasterio prædicandi evangelii
 “ causa destinasse legitur; quibusdam ipsos ordini
 “ Benedictino addicentibus, quibusdam vero id acriter
 “ pernegantibus, et ipsos ordini S. Equitii sive alicui
 “ alii ascribentibus; nos qui multum temporis in
 “ rebus vetustis tum civilibus tum sacris, atque iis
 “ imprimis quæ ad Britanniam nostram potissimum
 “ spectant, impendimus, rogati ut testimonium per-
 “ hiberemus veritati, cum neutrius partis præjudiciis
 “ simus obnoxii; dicimus et affirmamus, nos duo
 “ solum monachorum genera in primis Saxonice
 “ apud majores nostros ecclesiæ temporibus: unum
 “ eorum qui Ægyptiensium mores secuti in hac in-
 “ sula florebant, ante adventum Augustini; alterum
 “ eorum qui Benedictini Augustino itineris erant
 “ comites. Hanc traditionem a patribus ad filios
 “ derivatam esse testamur, atque ita derivatam, ut
 “ non levibus innitatur fabulis, aut ambitiosis par-
 “ tium conjecturis, quin eam ipsam vetusta signatæ
 “ fidei exhibent apud nos monumenta. Ab Augus-
 “ tino insuper ad Henricum octavum perpetuo in
 “ hac insula viguit Benedictina institutio: nec Au-
 “ gustino recentiore ejusve originem, originisve
 “ recentioris vestigium ullibi comperimus. Tantum
 “ abest Equitianum aliquem in hac insula fuisse or-

“ dinem ; ut nulla omnino hujusmodi neque ordinis
 “ neque nominis mentio in vetustis, quibus versamur,
 “ tabulariis, habeatur. Sane aliorum fere omnium
 “ in hac insula origines ita observavimus, ut unius-
 “ cujusque etiam minimi ingressum suo anno con-
 “ signatum habeamus : solius Benedictini ordinis
 “ originem ante Augustini sæculum non invenimus ;
 “ ipsius sæculo floruisse aperte reperimus. Unde
 “ exploratissimum nobis esse profiteamur, non alterius
 “ ordinis fuisse ipsum sociosque ejus quam Bene-
 “ dictini ; qui ideo proculdubio tam altas radices in
 “ Anglia egerit, quoniam primi illi monachi a Gre-
 “ gorio in insulam destinati, regulæ Benedictinæ
 “ professores extiterunt.”

Robertus Cotton. Henricus Spelman.
 Johannes Seldenus. Gulielmus Camdenus^s.

England may see four hundred years, yet not behold four such antiquaries her natives at once, the four wheels of the triumphant chariot of truth for our British history. This quaternion of subscribers have sticken the point dead with me, that all ancient English monks were Benedictines. Which order, lasting above one thousand years in this land, hath produced about two hundred and fifty writers of name and note, as Pitseus^t accounteth them.

4. What this S. Equitius was, (pretended founder^{Hue and cry after S. Equitius.} of our first English monks,) is worth our inquiry. Sure he could not be that Equitius, of whom the African bishops complained in the council of Carthage ; that by indirect courses he had invaded the

^s Extant in Clem. Reyner, de Apostolatu Benedictinorum in Anglia, I. p. 202.

^t Catalogue, p. 966, [subjoined to his work “ De Script. Angliæ.”]

priesthood; desiring by their legates^v, (whom they sent to the emperor,) that he might be expelled that office. Yet he, in defiance of their endeavours, went about to disturb the peace of the church. More probable it is, he was either Equitius, a deacon in the Apamean church, flourishing in the fourth century, and famous for his faith and fervency in religion in assisting Marcellus, bishop thereof, to demolish the temple of Jupiter^w, or else his contemporary Equitius, consul of Rome with Gratian, *an.* 378, or some other unknown unto us. But be he who he himself or any other pleaseth, (brother if they will to S. George on horseback,) he was never father of any monks in England.

Why habits of monks not here presented.

5. I intended to present the reader with the habits of Benedictines, and all other orders, for the fashion, matter, and colour thereof. But understanding the industrious work called Monasticon is coming forth, (which hath the speed of this my book for a term or two,) wherein that subject is handled at large, I thought better to forbear. Partly because I presume master Dodsworth (an eminent instrument in that useful work) better acquainted than I am with their tailors; partly because my wardrobe of their clothes (coming so long after his) will be beheld but as from the second-hand, fetched from Long-lane, and his new, bought out of the draper's shop.

Augustinian monks.

6. The AUGUSTINIAN monks succeed, younger than the Benedictines in England, though older in Europe. For S. Augustine of Hippo (on whom

^v Acta Concil. §. 32. 60. Harduin's Concil. I. p. 899.]
 [See the Codex Canonum Ecclesie Africanæ, can. 65, in ^w Theodoret, H. E. III. 27.]

these monks would willingly recover themselves) was S. Benet's senior by sixty years^x. I cannot believe that they came over into England (what some affirm) precise *anno* 636, (others 640,) when Birinus was bishop of Dorchester^y, or that 1059 they were seated in London^z, being rather inclined to believe that Eudo, the dapifer (sewer if you please) to king Henry the First, first brought them into England *anno* 1105, and that S. John's at Colchester was the prime place of their residence^a. However, I find that Waltham-abbey (for Benedictines at the first^b)

^x ["*Aliam ferunt hujusce collegii originem; multi enim, ut aiunt, mortales Augustini adhuc in humanis agentis sanctitatem singularemque doctrinam secuti, omnibus neglectis quæ possederant in eremum concessere, unde est eremitanorum nomen deductum. Atque ista Augustiniana familia prima est ex monachis mendicantibus.*" Pol. Virgil. de Inventione, VII. c. 3. The Augustinians came over into England (according to Reyner, a very competent authority) next after the Cluniacs, generally called Black canons, or merely Canons of St. Augustine. This order was settled here by the influence of Adelwaldus, or Athelwulfus, confessor to Henry I.; who erected a priory for them in Nostell in Yorkshire, dedicated to St. Oswald, and was the first prior. He engaged the king to erect Carlisle into a bishopric, and to give the power of electing the bishop to

the canons of this order; himself being the first bishop. Apostol. Benedict. 158. The priory of the holy Trinity belonged to this order, the superior of which was, *ex officio*, one of the twenty-four aldermen of the city of London, and wore his alderman's habit over the habit of his order in the city processions. Canons properly are those who lived *secundum canones præscriptos*.]

^y [As to what Bale states, that canon regulars were settled at Dorchester by Birinus in 636, this is manifestly false, says Reyner, upon the very authority of Capgrave, whom he quotes in support of his opinion. Apost. Benedictin. p. 158.]

^z Josephus Pamphilus, in his Cronicon Augustin. [p. 276. ed. 1581.]

^a [Prime place, that is, the first, founded in 1105. Reyner, p. 158.]

^b [Canons secular, according to Reyner, p. 159.]

had its copy altered by king Henry the Second, and bestowed on Augustinians.

Whether
H be a
letter.

7. These Augustinians were also called canons regular, where, by the way, I meet with such a nice distinction, which disheartens me from pretending to exactness in reckoning up these orders. For this I find in our English Ennius^c:

And all such other counterfaitours
Chanons, canons and such disguised
Been Goddes enemies and traytours
His true religion han foule despised.

It seems the *H* here amounteth to a letter so effectual as to discriminate *chanons* from *canons*, (though both *canonici* in Latin,) but what should be the difference betwixt them I dare not interpose my conjecture. I have done with these Augustinians when I have observed, that this order in England afforded threescore and ten eminent writers^d, and one in Germany worth them all in effect, I mean Martin Luther, who by his writings gave a mortal wound to all these orders, yea, and to the root of the Romish religion.

Gilbertine
monks.

8. GILBERTINE monks may be the third, a mongrel order, observing some select rules partly of S. Benet, partly of S. Augustine^e. So named from Gilbert, (son to Joceline a knight,) lord of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, where 1148 first they were planted. Whereupon this order may boast, that it alone is a native and *indigena*, (whereas Benedictines are by original Italians; Augustinians, African; Carthu-

^c Chaucer in the Plough-
man's tale, [v. 3001.] ib. p. 974.

^e [Reyner, ib. p. 161.]

^d Reckoned up by Pitseus,

sians, French; Dominicans, Spanish, &c.) pure English by the extraction thereof. This Gilbert, unhandsome, but not unlearned, erected this order, (contrary to Justinian's constitution, who forbad double monasteries,) wherein men and women lived together (though secluded) under one roof. He survived to see thirteen houses of this his own order, and in them seventeen hundred Gilbertine brothers and sisters^f. Yet I find no writer of this order, conceiving them so well busied with their company in their convent, they had little leisure for the writing of books.

9. CARTHUSIAN monks make up a mess, much famed for their mortified lives, and abstinence from all flesh; one Bruno first founded them in the Dolphinate in France, *anno* 1180^g, and some sixty years

^f [If I understand Reyner aright, who is somewhat confused in this portion of his work, the nuns of this order were to follow the rule of the Cistercians; and the monks were to be of the order of Augustinians, or White canons, called Præmonstratene, which had shortly before this been introduced into England. The same writer says that Gilbert, before he died, lived to see ten houses erected of this order, and their numbers then amounted to fifteen hundred nuns, and seven hundred canons. *Apost. Benedictin.* p. 161.]

^g ["Quidam enim singulari doctrina nomine Bruno, homo Coloniensis, cum Lutetiæ Parisiorum philosophiam profiteretur, contigit ut amicum

" quendam bonis moribus præditum, et vita jam defunctum
 " prius quam ad sepulturam daretur audire visus sit clamantem, *justo Dei judicio damnatus sum*: et ea re motus
 " e vestigio cum sex sociis, pari miraculi eventu territis, eremi deserta quæritans, per-
 " venerit in dioccesim Gratianopolitanam [Grenoble], (est Celticæ civitas) ibique locum
 " optaverit, cui hodie Carthusiæ nomen est, quem ei assignandum curavit Hugo Gratianopolitanus episcopus, qui statim post se ad eam familiam adjunxit. Eo igitur
 " loci Bruno divinis intentus primum cœnobium fundavit, cum his rigidæ vitæ institutis: intima enim veste utuntur cilicina, summa pallio nigro, subter candida toga,

Carthusian monks.

after they were brought over into England. I wonder men fasting so much should have so high spirits, no order standing more stoutly on their privileges; insomuch when the means of all convents were valued in the reign of king Henry the Eighth^h, a peculiar clause was added to the patent of the commissioners, empowering them particularly to rate Charter-house in London. However, their books (there being eleven learned authors of English Carthusiansⁱ) contain much tending to mortification, and out of them Parsons the Jesuit hath collected a good part of his resolutions.

Monks and
friars how
they differ.

10. So much of monks; come we now to friars, and it is necessary to premise what was the distinction betwixt them. For though some will say the matter is not much if monks and friars were confounded together, yet the distinguishing of them conduceth much to the clearing of history. Some make monks the genus, and friars but the species, so that all friars were monks; but, *contra*, all monks were not friars. Others, that monks were confined to their cloisters, whilst more liberty was allowed to

“ tegmineque capitis cucullo,
“ carnibus nunquam vescuntur,
“ sexto plurimum hebdomadæ
“ die pane et aqua jejunium
“ jejunant, in cubiculis quæ
“ veluti cellas oratorias habent,
“ soli edunt, certis tamen festis
“ diebus una dumtaxat pran-
“ dent. Silentium eis pene
“ perpetuum, nulli fas est cœ-
“ nobio exire, præter præfectum
“ et procuratorem, et illis tan-
“ tum ad negotia loci curanda,
“ quippe opes habent, per quas
“ semper sacerdotibus minus
“ omnino licet se totos prout de-

“ berent, rebus sacris curandis
“ dare. Mulieribus ad eorum
“ etiam templa aditus inter-
“ dictus, quo ne aliquid vi-
“ deant per quod ad libidinem
“ rapiantur.” Pol. Virgil, de
Invent. ib. This order was
first settled at Witham in Lin-
colnshire by Henry II., and
their first prior was the cele-
brated St. Hugo, afterwards
bishop of Lincoln. Reyner, ib.
p. 161.

^h Some years before the dis-
solution of abbeys.

ⁱ Pits. ib. p. 973.

friars to go about and preach in neighbouring parishes. Others, that monks were in those convents who had a bishop over them, as Canterbury, Norwich, Durham, &c., but never any friars in such places where the bishop was the supreme, and they in some sort had the power of his election. I see it is very hard just to hit the joint so as to cleave them asunder at an hair's breadth, authors being so divided in their opinions. But the most essential difference, whereon we most confide is this, monks had nothing in propriety, but all in common; friars had nothing in propriety, nor in common, but, being mendicants, begged all their subsistence from the charity of others. True it is, they had cells or houses to dwell, or rather hide themselves in, (so *the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests,*) but all this went for nothing, seeing they had no means belonging thereunto. Yea, it hath borne a tough debate betwixt them, Whether a friar may be said to be owner of the clothes he weareth? and it hath been for the most part overruled in the negative.

11. It will be objected, that many convents of friars had large and ample revenues, (as will appear Objection to null the distinction. by perusing the catalogue in Speed's tables,) amounting to some hundreds (though never thousands) by the year, some friar's barns well-nigh as wealthy as some monks', (rather every pretended Lazarus a Dives,) holding, though not severally to themselves, jointly amongst themselves, most rich endowments. Here also it will be in vain to fly to the distinction of *ctesis* and *chresis*, of using and owning, seeing the monks will lay a claim to that distinction, and challenge as great an interest therein as the friars themselves.

Answered. 12. I have nothing to return in answer hereunto, save only that, *olim vero non fuit sic*, “from the “beginning (of the institution of friars) it was not “so;” these additions of lands unto them are of later date, and, believe it, not of their seeking, but their benefactors’ casting upon them.

Criticism
in this sub-
ject not
material.

13. However, nothing more common than to make monks and friars both synonyma’s and reciprocal, and for my own part, I pass not if in this my history I have committed the same, and hereafter shall be guilty of greater mistakes. Foresters laughed at the ignorance of that gentleman who made this difference betwixt a stag and a hart, that the one was a red, the other a fallow deer, being both of a kind, only different in age, and some other circumstances in venery. I may make the like sport to some popish reader, (and much good let it do him,) in differencing some orders which are the same, and identifying other orders which are distinct, but the matter is of no dangerous concernment. May we be but careful to *order our conversations aright, that God may shew us his salvation*^k, and it matters not much if we commit errors, and discover ignorance in ordering friars not in their exact number and seniority. These premised, we begin with their four elemental orders.

What
meant by
Wicliffe’s
Caim.

14. Wicliffe constantly inveigheth against friars under the name of *Caim*. Had it been Cain, I should have suspected his allusion to the words of the apostle, *They have gone in the way of Cain*^l, but now am at a loss, and had so continued, had I not lighted on a railing hexastic of an uncharitable

^k Psalm l. 23.

^l Jude, ver. 11.

rhythmer, (a base fellow may shew an honest man the way,) who thus letteth fly at them :

Per decies binos Sathanas capiat Jacobinos,
 Propter et errores Jesu confunde Minores,
 Augustienses, pater inclyte, sterne per enses,
 Et Carmelitas tanquam falsos Heremitas
 Sunt confessores Dominorum, seu Dominarum
 Et seductores ipsarum sunt animarum^m.

C. Carmelites, A. Augustinians, I. Jacobins or Dominicans, M. Minorites or Franciscans, friars.

And thus at last we have the great mystery unfolded, whom Wicliffe therein did intend.

15. Of these, DOMINICANS were the first friars ^{Dominican} ^{friars.} which came over into England *anno* 1221, being but twelve, (an apostolical number,) with Gilbert de Fraxineto their prior, first landed at Canterbury, fixed at Oxford, but richly endowed at London ; they were commonly called Black friars, Preaching friarsⁿ, and Jacobin friars^o. They took their name

^m [These lines are quoted in Weever's Funeral Monuments, from a MS. of Bale's, p. 140.]

ⁿ [They were called *Fratres Prædicatores* from a very strange circumstance, narrated by Thomas Cantipratanus in his book "De Proprietate Apum ;" who flourished between 1252 and 1263. Thus it is: Conrad, abbot of Villaria, believed to be a saint, was sent by the pope as his legate into Germany, his native country. On his way he came to Paris, and seeing the brethren of the order of St. Dominic, who had lately come thither,

he associated with them. Having some doubts in his heart concerning them, he prayed to the Lord that he would vouchsafe to shew him for what purpose that order had come to Paris. At the moment an open book was put into his hands, containing this answer to his thoughts, and the purpose for which that order had sprung up, couched in these words: "To praise, to bless, and to preach," (*laudare, benedicere, et prædicare.*) The holy abbot immediately bursting forth into the praises of the Lord, exclaimed before them all: " Though I be of the habit of

from S. Dominic, born at Caraloga in Spain; and Hubert de Burgo, earl of Kent, was their prime patron, bestowing his palace in the suburbs of London upon them^p, which afterwards they sold to the archbishops of York, residing therein, till by some transactions betwixt king Henry the Eighth and cardinal Wolsey it became the royal court, now known by the name of Whitehall^q. Afterwards, by

“ a different order, yet will I
 “ be your brother as long as I
 “ live.” From this occasion
 therefore it was called the *Ordo*
Prædicatorum. For when it
 was to receive its confirmation
 from the pope, his holiness
 gave orders to the notary, that
 in the description of the order
 he should use the terms *Fra-*
tres Prædicantes, who, inditing
 the letter of confirmation, used
 the words *Fratres Prædica-*
tores rightly enough. The
 pope having inspected the let-
 ter said to the notary, “ Why
 “ did you not use, as I told
 “ you, the words *Fratres Præ-*
dicantes, and not *Fratres*
Prædicatores ? ” But the
 scribe replied with a fixed and
 unmoved countenance, “ *Prædi-*
cantes is a noun-adjective.”
 From which circumstance the
 order received the name which
 was afterwards generally adopt-
 ed. See Rivius, p. 490.]

^o [So called from the first
 house in Paris, which was in
 the street of St. James (*sancti*
Jacobi).]

^p [In Holborn.]

^q [The arrival and reception
 of the order of the Dominicans
 in England is thus described
 by Nic. Trivet, one of their

own order, a writer whose ex-
 actness and intelligence is ex-
 ceeded by none of our early
 chroniclers: “ De secundo ca-
 “ pitulo generali fratrum ordi-
 “ nis prædicatorum, quod sub
 “ beato Dominico celebratum
 “ est Bononiæ, hoc anno [1221]
 “ missi sunt fratres prædica-
 “ tores in Angliam qui numero
 “ tredecim habentes Priorem
 “ fratrem Gilbertum de Fraxi-
 “ neto in comitiva venerabilis
 “ patris domini Petri de Ru-
 “ pibus Wintoniensis episcopi
 “ Cantuariam pervenerunt: ubi
 “ cum se domino Stephano [de
 “ Langeduno] Cantuariensi ar-
 “ chipræsuli præsentassent, au-
 “ dito quod prædicatores es-
 “ sent, statim fratri Gilberto
 “ imposuit, ut coram se ser-
 “ monem faceret in ecclesia
 “ quadam, in qua ipsemet pro-
 “ posuerat eodem die prædi-
 “ care. Cujus verbis admo-
 “ dum ædificatus pontifex, toto
 “ suo tempore, religionem fra-
 “ trum Prædicatorum et offi-
 “ cium prosecutus est gratia et
 “ favore. Progredientes autem
 “ fratres de Cantuaria, vene-
 “ runt Londonias in festo S.
 “ Laurentii; et ulterius Oxo-
 “ niam in festo Assumptionis
 “ Virginis gloriosæ, in cujus

the bounty of Gregory Rocksley, lord major of London, and Robert Kilwarby, archbishop of Canterbury, they were more conveniently lodged in two lanes on the bank of Thames, in a place enjoying great privileges, and still retaining the name of Black Friars. No fewer than fourscore famous English writers are accounted of this order^r. At this day, as beyond the seas, they are much condemned for being the sole active managers of the cruel Spanish inquisition, so they deserve due commendation for their orthodox judgments in maintaining some controversies in divinity of importance against the Jesuits.

16. FRANCISCANS follow, commonly called Grey ^{Franciscan} friars and Minorites, either in allusion to Jacob's ^{friars.} words, *sum minor omnibus beneficiis tuis*^s, or from some other humble expressions in the New Testament. They received their name from S. Francis, born in the duchy of Spoletum in Italy. Canonized by pope Gregory the Ninth, about two years after whose death the Franciscans came over into England, and one Diggs, ancestor of sir Dudley Diggs, bought for them their first seat in Canterbury, who afterwards were diffused all over England. For skill in school divinity they beat all other orders quite out of distance, and had a curious library in London, (built by Richard Whittington,) in that age

“ honorem oratorium construx-
 “ erunt: et habebant scholas
 “ illas quæ nunc S. Edwardi
 “ dicuntur, in cujus parochia
 “ locum acceperant, in quo
 “ tempore aliquo morabantur.
 “ Sed cum non esset opportu-
 “ nitas locum sufficienter dila-

“ tandi transtulerunt se ad lo-
 “ cum a rege eis concessum
 “ ubi nunc habitant extra mu-
 “ ros.” I. p. 176. Reyner, ib.
 p. 162.]

^r Pits. ib. p. 981.

^s Gen. xxxii. 10.

costing five hundred and fifty pounds, which quickly might be made up, if, as it is reported, an hundred marks were expended in transcribing the Commentaries of Lyra†.

Sub-reformations of Franciscans.

17. We must not forget that one Bernard of Sienna about the year 1400 refined the Franciscans into Observants, no distinct metal from the former, but different from them as steel from iron. King Edward the Fourth first brought them into England, where they had six famous cloisters; since which time there have been a new order of Minims begun beyond the seas. Conceiving the comparative of Minor too high, they have descended to Minimus, according to our Saviour's own words, *He that is (a minime, or) the least among you, the same shall be greatest*: and I much admire that none have since begun an order of Minor-Minimo's; the rather, because of the apostle's words of himself, *who am less than the least of all saints*. Ἐμοὶ τῷ ἐλαχιστοτέρῳ πάντων τῶν ἀγίων, as I may say, a subter subterlative in his humility. As for other diminutives of Franciscans or Minorites beyond the seas, Recollects, Penitentiaries, Capuchins, &c., seeing they had their rise since the fall of abbeys in England, they belong not to our present inquiry. Sufficeth it that this order, during the extent of our story, afforded in England a hundred and ten learned writers.

Carmelites their first coming into England.

18. CARMELITES, or White friars, come next, so named from mount Carmel in Syria, brought over into England in the reign of king Richard the First by Ralph Freeburn, and placed at Alnwick in Northumberland in a wilderness, (*sic canibus catulos*),

† Reyner in Apostolatu Benedictinorum, I. p. 161.

most like unto Carmel in Syria^v. Whose convent, at their dissolution in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, was at low rates in that cheap county valued at one hundred ninety-four pounds and seven shillings per annum^w, to justify our former observation, that even mendicant friars had houses endowed with revenues.

19. This soundeth something to the commendation of the English Carmelites, that their order lost not the vigour thereof by being poured into cisterns, (mediately derived from other countries,) but as our author telleth us^x, *Hi cum primis monachis Britonum et Scotorum ex Ægypto et Palæstina in Britannicas insulas monachatum intulerunt*, “that monkery and Carmelite friary came out of Egypt and Palestine into Britain.” Thus they will allow us to have

A great
privilege of
English
Carmelites.

^v [After the death of John, king of Jerusalem, when all Judæa fell again into the hands of the Saracens, the Carmelites were obliged to seek refuge in Europe, about the year 1238. This was the first occasion of their coming over into England. Trithem. de Laudibus Carmel. in Alegre's Paradisus Carmel., p. 663. At first they wore a white robe, intended as symbolical of purity of heart; but after the Saracens had obtained possession of the Holy Land, they were compelled to adopt a grey habit, white being confined among the infidels to noble persons. When however this order came into Europe, they resumed their white habits, wearing them over their grey ones. Ib. p. 662.]

Bale, in his MS. history of the Carmelites (Harl. 1819.), gives the following memoranda of the introduction of this order into England, p. 198. “The Carmelites entered this kingdom, according to some, in 1220, in the vigil of the Nativity, and in the year 1230 died lady Lucy Greye, the first foundress of the convent of Aylesford in Kent. The friars preachers entered England in 1221; the Minorites in 1224, in the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.” But in his fourth century, as quoted by Reyner, he fixes the foundation of this order in England to the year 1240.]

^w Speed, Catalog. p. 795.

^x Reynerus, ibid. p. 164.

superstition immediately thence without any circle from Rome, but are highly offended, and stickle mainly to the contrary, that we should fetch true religion thence, with the ancient observation of Easter; but this forsooth we must receive at the second hand from Rome, and be ordered according to her directions therein.

And praise
of their
industry.

20. Another thing also is alleged in the praise of our Carmelites, that they were most careful in keeping the records of their order, that the list being lost of the Benedictines, Dominicans, &c. (save here or there a broken link or two,) Carmelites have preserved the successive series of their provincials. Let them thank John Bale herein, once one of them, (though they be pleased to jeer him as forsaking it for the love of his dear Dorothy^y;) who in his youth made the catalogue out of love to his order, and in his old age preserved it out of his general affection to antiquity, and it will not be amiss here to represent it.

^y [Reyner's expression in his *Apost. Benedictin.* I. p. 162. Of Bale, Weever thus speaks in his *Funeral Monuments*, quoting some lines from his poem "*De Antiquitate Fratrum Carmelitarum*:"—"He speaks much in the honour of this religious order, of which he was a member in the monastery of the Carmes within the city of Norwich,

" and finds himself much ag-
" grieved at a certain Lollard,
" as he calls him, and a friar
" mendicant, who made an
" oration and composed certain
" virulent metres against this
" and other of the religious
" orders, which he caused to
" be spread abroad throughout
" most parts of England in the
" year 1388." Part of this
poem is quoted below.]

<i>Provincial.</i>	<i>His county.</i>	<i>Began. Ruled.</i>		<i>Lies buried in</i>
Ralph Freburne.	Northumberland.	1240	14	Alnwick.
Henry de Hanna.	Brunham.	1254	17	Stanford.
Roger Crostwick.	Norfolk.	1272	5	Brunham.
[Hervey de Brunham. (<i>vicarius.</i>)		1277	1	Brunham.]
William Hamberg.	Surrey.	1278	3	London.
[Henry de Hanna (<i>bis</i>).	Brunham.	1281	18	Stanford.]
Will. Ludlington.	Lincoln.	1299	5	Stanford.
Will. Newenham.	Cambridge.	1303	2	Cambridge.
Rich. Welwen.	Hertford.	1305	4	Hutchin.
William Paghham.	Kent.	1309	3	Meth, in Ireland.
John Barkemsted.	Hertford.	1312	7	London.
Richard Blyton.	Lincoln.	1319	6	Lincoln.
John Walsingham.	Norfolk.	1326	3	Avinion.
John Baconthorp.	Norfolk.	1329	4	London.
John Blexam.	Oxford.	1333	2	Oxford.
John Poleshed.	Suffolk.	1335	7	York.
John Folsham.	Norfolk.	1340	6	Norwich.
Walter Kelham.	York.	1345	5	Alverston.
Will. Lubbenham.	Coventry.	1353	1	Coventry.
[Walter Kelham (<i>bis</i>).	York.	1354	5	Alverston.]
John Counton.	York.	1359	3	London.
Thomas Brown.	London.	1362	17	London.
Robert Yvorie.	London.	1379	13	London.
John Kiningham.	Suffolk.	1393	5	York.
Steph. Patrington.	York.	1399	15	London.
Thomas Walden.	Essex.	1414	16	Rouen.
Jo. Keninghall.	Norfolk.	1430	13	Norwich.
Nic. Kenton.	Suffolk.	1444	12	London.
Jo. Milverton.	Bristol.	1456	11	London.
John Sutton.	Dorchester.	1465	3	Doncaster.
[John Milverton (<i>bis</i>).	Bristol.	1469	12	London.]
Jo. Vinde.	St. Botolph's.	1482	24	Boston.
Rob. Love.	Norfolk.	1505	7	Norwich.
Richard Ferris.	Oxford.	1513	3	Oxford.
John Bird.	Coventry ?	1516	3	
Robert Lesbury.	Northumberland.	1519	3	Chester.
[John Bird (<i>bis</i>).		1522	16	Chester. ^z]

This order was vertical, and in the highest exaltation thereof, in the reign of king Edward the Fourth; under Nicholas Kenton, their twenty-fifth provincial, they reckoned no fewer than fifteen hundred of their order^a. But when John Milverton,

^z [This catalogue Fuller has copied from Reyner, p. 165, who collected it from Bale's

Centuries.]

^a [Pits. de Script p. 658.]

his successor, began (in favour of friary) furiously to engage against bishops and the secular clergy, the Carmelites' good masters and dames began to forsake them, and they never recovered their credit till they were utterly dissolved^b. John Bird, the one and thirtieth (some say last) provincial of this order, zealously impugned the pope's primacy in his sermons, for which he was made the first bishop of Chester, and was ejected that see in the reign of queen Mary because he was married^c.

The legend
of Simon
Stock.

21. We must not forget how the Carmelites boast very much of one Simon Stock of their order, a Kentish man, or rather Kentish boy, which being but twelve years of age, went out into the woods, and there fed on roots and wild fruit, living in the trunk of an hollow tree, whence he got the surname of Stock^d, having a revelation, That soon after some should come out of Syria and confirm his order, which came to pass when the Carmelites came here. He afterwards became master-general of their order, (to whom the respective provincials are accountable,) and is said to be famous for his miracles. Let Syria

^b Idem, p. 674. [Bale, in the Dedication prefixed to his tenth Century, states that previous to the headship of John Milverton, the Carmelites were the most learned religious body in England. Leland, *De Script. Brit.*, has enumerated more than one hundred and fifty writers of this order; "vixque cæteræ per universam Europæ nationes, totidem ejus generis variorum rerum scriptores dabunt. Id quod ego familiariter in eorum bibliothecis

"versatus comperi." Bale, *ib.*

Another reason why this order kept up its reputation was from this, that no one was admitted (ad doctoratum) to a degree in divinity amongst them, unless he had given proofs of his learning by some useful publication. Of the Carmelites, see also *Pits.* p. 976.]

^c Godwin in the Bishops of Chester, p. 776. [Reyner, p. 164, from whose words it seems that he was reconciled to the church of Rome.]

^d Reyner, *ibid.* p. 164.

then boast no longer of the sanctity of their Simon Stulites, (so called, it seems, because constantly living about a stone pillar,) our Simon Stock^e may mate their Simon Stone in all particulars of holiness, though, under the rose be it spoken, Mr. Richard Stock, the painful minister of St. Allhallows, Breadstreet, in London, for thirty-two years did advance God's glory more than both of them^f.

22. AUGUSTINIAN EREMITES lag last, of far later Augustinian eremites. date than Augustinian monks, as who first entered England *anno 1252*, and had, if not their first, their fairest habitation at St. Peter's the Poor, London, thence probably taking the denomination of poverty, (otherwise at this day one of the richest parishes in the city,) because the said Augustinian eremites went under the notion of begging friars^g. Meantime, what a mockery was this, that these should pretend to be eremites, who, instead of a wide wilderness, lived in Broad-street, London, where their church at this day belongeth to the Dutch congregation^h! To give these Augustine friars their due, they were good disputants; on which account they are remembered still in Oxford by an act performed by candidates for mastership, called keeping of Augustines.

23. So much for the four principal sort of friars. Trinitarian friars. The following orders being but additional descants upon them, with some variations of their founders:

^e [He died above the age of a hundred. A detailed account of his life and miracles will be found in Alegre's *Paradisus Carmeliticus*, p. 261.]

^f Stow's *Survey of London*, p. 821. [See his *Life in Clarke's Martyrology*.]

^g [Their first settlement was at Woodhouse in Wales, belonging to the family of the Tankervilles.]

^h [Given them by Humphrey de Bohun in 1253. Reyer, p. 165.]

amongst whom were the Trinitariansⁱ, for whom Robert Rokesley built first a house at Mottingden in Kent^k; they were called also Robertines, and *de Redemptione captivorum*, whose work was to beg money of well-disposed people for the ransoming of Christians in captivity with the pagans. A charitable employment, and God himself in some sort may seem sovereign of their order, who *looseth the prisoner, and their sighing cometh before him*^l. My author^m telleth me that he conceiveth them suppressed in England before the general dissolution of priories, though conjecturing at no cause thereof. Sure I am it was not because *sublata causa tollitur effectus*, plenty of Christian captives then and since remaining amongst the pagans; nor will I be so uncharitable as to suspect some indirect dealings in their misapplying contributions, but leave the reason to the inquiry of others.

Bone-
homes, or
good men.

24. The BONEHOMES, or *good men*, succeed them, being also eremites brought over into England by

ⁱ ["Verum ut Innocentii æ-
tas religionis feracior esset,
est et monachorum Trini-
tatis ut vocant ordo id tem-
poris exortus [1160]: qui-
dam enim Joannes Matta et
Felix anachoreta, cum in
Galliis, circa Meldensem
agrum, vitam solitariam age-
rent, per quietem admoniti
pontificem adierunt, ab eo-
que petiere certum vivendi
modum. Ille haud multo
post etiam oraculo ut aiunt
monitus, anachoretas candido
induit vestitu, cruce rubra
pariter atque cærulea insigni,
illisque negotium mandavit,
ut nostros ab hostibus captos

“ pretio redimendos curarent,
“ ac idcirco monachos De re-
“ demptione captivorum ap-
“ pellavit. Consueverunt ii
“ postea pii alioqui viri elec-
“ mosynas quæritare, quibus
“ captivos redimerent, sed et
“ hoc pietatis officium fere
“ nusquam hodie præstatur.”
Polyd. Virgil. de Invent. VII.
c. 4. See also Alexander Na-
talis Hist. Eccl. VIII. §. 13.]

^k [About 1475. See Rey-
ner, p. 162.]

^l Psalm lxxix. 11, and cxlvi.
7.

^m Weever's Funeral Monu-
ments, p. 143.

Richard earl of Cornwall, in the reign of king Henry the Third, his brotherⁿ. So styled, not exclusively of other orders, but eminently because of their signal goodness. Otherwise the conceit of the epigrammist^o, admiring that amongst so many popes there should be but five pious, lies as strongly here, that amongst so many orders of friars there should be but one of good men. But indeed the apostle himself makes a good man a degree above a righteous man: *for scarcely for a righteous man will one die, yet peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die*^p.

25. These Bonehomes, though begging friars (the poorest of orders) and eremites (the most sequestered of begging friars), had two (and I believe no more) convents in England, absolutely the richest in all the land, monks only excepted; the one in Asheridge in Buckinghamshire, now the mansion of the truly honourable earl of Bridgewater, where I am informed more of a monastery is visible this day than in any other house of England. It was valued at the dissolution yearly at four hundred forty-seven pounds, eight shillings, halfpenny^q. The other at Edington in Wiltshire, now known for the hospitality of the lady Beauchamp dwelling therein: valued, when dissolved, at five hundred twenty-one pounds, twelve shillings, halfpenny. It seems that these friars (though pretending to have nothing *nec*

Their rich revenues.

ⁿ [About the year 1257. The monastery near Berkhamstead was built for them by Edmund, the son of this earl. Pol. Virgil. VII. c. 4. But according to Reyner, a better authority, they came not to England until 1290. Antiq. Benedict. p. 165.]

^o John Owen.

^p Rom. v. 7.

^q [In Dodsworth these houses are respectively valued at 416*l.*16*s.*4*d.* and 442*l.*9*s.*7¼*d.*]

in proprio, nec in communi) would not cast their caps (I should say their cowls) at rich revenues, if bestowed upon them, but contentedly, not to say cheerfully, embrace the same.

Crouched
friars.

26. I am afraid I have wronged the Crouched friars in their seniority, who about the same time, if not before the Bonehomes, viz. 1244, came over into England with the pope's authentic, and this unusual privilege, That none should reprove their order, or upbraid them, or command them, under pain of excommunication. They carried a cross, some say on their staves^q, others, on their backs, called in French a *crouch*; and justly might they be angry, if their properness were debased into deformity on the same mistake whereon Edmund Crouchback, brother to king Edward the First, one of the comeliest men alive^r, is misrepresented to posterity for crooked-backed, merely for assuming the cross on him in the holy war. The place of Crouched-friars in London still retaineth their name^s.

Friars of
the Sack
and Beth-
lemites.

27. Soon after, one year, viz. 1257, produced two new orders: so that I know not how to marshal their priority, except to avoid contests they will be pleased discretely to use the expedient betwixt the company of merchant tailors and skimmers in London, to take their precedency yearly by turns. Both of them were fixed in Cambridge: the first, the brethren *De pœnitentia Jesu*, otherwise brethren of the sack, whose cell since is turned into Peter-house. The other Bethlemites, dwelling somewhere in Trum-

^q Mat. Paris, in anno 1244.

^r Jo. Harding.

^s [Of this order, see Reyer, *ib.* p. 164; according to

whom their first house was at Reigate in the county of Surrey, erected by William of Warren, earl of Surrey.]

pington-street^t, and wearing a star with five rays on their backs. But their star proved but a comet, quickly fading away, and no more mention found of them in English authors.

28. I will conclude with the Robertines, con-^{Friars Robertines.} founded by some^v, distinguished by others^w, from friars Trinitarians. These owe their original to one Robert Flower, son of Took Flower, who had been twice major of York, (the name lately remaining in that city,) who, forsaking the fair lands left him by his father, betook himself to a solitary life about the rocks in Nithsdale in Yorkshire, and it seems at Knaresborough the first and last house was erected for his order. Matthew Paris^x reports, that his tomb abundantly cast forth a medicinal oil, which possibly might be the dissolving of some gums used about his body, and other natural causes may be assigned thereof.

29. For mine own eyes have beheld in the fair^{Sweating moisture out of tombs no miracle.} church of Ilminster in Somersetshire the beautiful tomb of Nicholas Wadham of Myrefield, esq., and Dorothy his wife, founders of the uniform college of Wadham in Oxford, out of which in summer sweats forth an unctious moisture with a fragrant smell, (which possibly an active fancy might make sovereign for some uses,) being nothing else than some bituminous matter (as by the colour and scent doth appear) used by the marbler in joining the chinks of the stones, issuing out chiefly thereabouts.

30. So much of monks and friars, as great being^{Why so various the number of monks.} the variety amongst historians about their number,

^t Mat. Paris, in anno 1257.

^w Reyn. de Ben. Apost. p.

^v Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 143.

166.

^x In his Hist. in anno 1239.

as amongst critics in reckoning up the original languages, and the difference almost proceedeth on the same account; for as the miscounting of dialects for tongues causelessly multiplieth the number of those languages, so many, mistaking gradual for specific differences amongst orders, have almost doubled their true number on that misprision. Master Fox, in the reign of king Henry the Third, reckoneth up no fewer than an hundred and two male orders of monks and friars, (no nuns being cast into the account,) but therein he confineth not himself to such as only were extant in England, but taketh in the whole compass of Christendom therein to make up his catalogue^y. We have work enough upon our hands to insist upon such orders as found footing in our land, especially the most principal of them. For other inferior orders I purposely omit, (besides the grand ones of Templars and Hospitallers, because largely handled in my Holy war,) as the order of the Blessed Mary of reward, which Mr. Lambert confounds with the Crouched and Trinitarian friars, for which my author falls foul with his memory, affirming these to be three distinct orders, *habitu, fine, et constitutionibus*^z. Distinctions enough of all conscience to diversify them, and therefore greater the wonder that Mr. Lambert's pen should leap over this treble ditch, to confound them into one order.

A catholic
causeless
accusation
of Mr.
Lambert.

31. The aforesaid author also chargeth him, as if he made his perambulation about Kent, as done merely out of spiteful design to disgrace the Romish

^y Acts and Mon. p. 260. ^z Reyn. de Apost. Benedict.
[i. 336. In Rivius upwards of 172 orders are enumerated.] in Ang. p. 162.

religion, never mentioning any convent without mocking at them; adding moreover, that his book contains *fabulas ineptas, et crassa mendacia*^a. Meantime he advances John Stow to the skies, (though confessing him far inferior to Mr. Lambert in learning) for his sedulous distinguishing of those orders, and concludeth that Stow's Antiquities of London, for the worth and truth thereof, have often passed the press, whilst the other his Description of Kent underwent the hand of the printer no more than once. Nor stops he here, but useth so slovenly an expression, (it is well it is in Latin,) calling his book *charta cacata*, which, saving reverence to the reader, may be returned on the foul mouth of him who first uttered it.

32. Now I conceive not only queen Elizabeth's ^{Justly dis-} poor people at Greenwich (so are the almsmen there ^{proved.} termed in a fair house, which this Mr. Lambert charitably founded for them^b) engaged to assert their good patron, but also that all ingenious Englishmen are obliged in his just vindication from this unjust aspersion. Indeed, his book is a rare piece of learning, and he in age and industry the true successor to Leland in the studies of English antiquity, and the height thereof above common capacity, the sole cause that his book (as also his worthy work on the Saxon laws) hath no oftener passed the impression. His labours are feasts for scholars, not, like Stow's works, daily fare for common people. Thus the draper may sooner sell forty ells of frieze and coarse cloth, than the mercer four yards of cloth of gold, as only for the wearing of persons of prime quality. Nor doth the slow selling of a book argue

^a Idem.

^b Camd. Brit. in Kent, [p. 232.]

it to be a 'drug, wanting real worth in itself, seeing this railing Reinerius his own book, (notwithstanding the pompous title thereof, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*,) though printed nine and twenty years since, viz. 1626, hath not (on my best inquiry) as yet been honoured with a second edition ^c.

Antipathy
betwixt
friars and
parish
priests.

33. Before we take our farewell of friars, know there was a deadly antipathy betwixt them and parish priests: for the former slighted the latter, as good alone to take tithes, and, like hackney post-horses, only to run the stage in the mass book, *secundum usum Sarum*, ignorant and unable to preach. Wherefore the friars, when invading the pulpit, would not say to the parson, By your leave, sir, but proudly presuming on their papal privileges, assumed it to themselves, as forfeited to them, for the parson's want of skill or will to make use of it. But these vultures had the quickest sight and scent about corps, flocking fastest to men of fashion when lying on their death-beds, whose last confessions were more profitable to the friars than half the glebe land that year to the priest of the parish.

In Eras-
mus his
jest-earnest
dialogue.

34. This plainly appeareth out of Erasmus in his dialogues, who, though perchance therein he doth Lucian it too much, yet truth may be discovered under the varnish of his scoffing wit. He, in his dialogue intituled *Funus*, tells us how sir George, the rich knight, being formerly confessed to the friars, the parochial pastor refused to bury him

^c [These statements are scarce correct. In real historical value Stow's work is far above any other of the time; but it was fashionable in Fuller's days to underrate him. Reyner surely deserves better treatment, being the source from whom Fuller and all subsequent authors have derived their knowledge of the monastic orders in England.]

because he could not give an account to God of this his sheep, as unacquainted with his final estate; and this case commonly happened in England, the occasion of much heart-burning betwixt them.

35. Monks also hated friars at their hearts, ^{Monks why} because their activity and pragmatism made ^{hating} monks be held as idle and useless, yea, as mere ^{friars.} ciphers, whilst themselves were the only figures of reckoning and account in the church.

36. Matthew Paris, a Benedictine monk of St. Alban's, was a back friend to friars, and on all occasions hath a good word in store for them, thus speaking of the coming in of the Brethren of the Sack, as also of the order of Bethlemites, he welcomes them with this compliment, "That now there were so many orders in England, that of them there was an inordinate confusion^d."

37. Indeed, the pope at last grew sensible that the ^{Friars} world began to groan, as weary with the weight of ^{stinted to} friars. Who, if multiplying proportionably in after-^{four orders.} ages, would so increase, there would be more mouths to beg alms than hands to relieve them; and therefore they were stinted to the aforesaid four cardinal orders, of Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustinian eremites. These boasted themselves to be like the four Evangelists^e, though (the number alone excepted) no conformity betwixt them. And they more like unto God's *four sore judgments*^f wherewith he useth to afflict a sinful nation.

38. Come we now to nuns, almost as numerous in ^{The nume-} England as monks and friars, as having (though not ^{rousness of} so many orders) more of the same order. The ^{nuns.}

^d Hist. Angl. in Hen. III. p. 949.

^e Erasmus' Dialogues in Fun.

^f Ezek. xiv. 21.

weaker sex hath ever equalled men in their devotion; often exceeded them in superstition, as in the one instance of Gilbertines may appear. These were an hermaphrodite order, as is aforesaid, admitting both men and women under the same roof, and during the life of Gilbert their first founder for seven hundred brethren, there were eleven hundred sisters entered into that order^g. None can be so exact in reckoning up the nuns as the friars, because that sex afforded no writers to acquaint us with the criticisms of their observances.

The ancientest and poorest nuns.

39. We will insist only on three sorts: 1. The ancientest; 2. the poorest; 3. the latest nuns in England. Of the first sort we account the she Benedictines, commonly called black nuns, but I assure you, penny white, being most richly endowed. The poorest follow, being the strict order of S. Clare, a lady living in the same time, and born in the same town with S. Francis; and her nuns did wear a like habit in colour with the Franciscans. I am charitably inclined to believe that these were the least bad amongst all the professions of virginity.

Brigetteans the last order of nuns.

40. The Brigettean nuns were the latest in England, first settled here in the second year of king Henry the Fifth, *anno Dom. 1415*, dissolved with the rest of all orders, *anno 1538*, so that they continued here only one hundred three and twenty years; an order to be loved on this account, that it was the last in England. Bridget, queen of Sweden, gave them their name and institution^h; men and

^g Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 148.

^h ["Eo anno, ut quidam volunt, quo Urbanus V. mi-

"gravit e vita." Pol. Virgil. De Inventione, VII. c. 4.

"Circiter 1300." Rivius in Monastica Historia, p. 75.]

women living under the same roof, the women above, the men beneath, and one church common to both. By their order their house was to be endowed plentifully at the first, whereon they might live without wanting or begging, as well in dear as cheap years, and after their first foundation they were incapable of any future benefactions: *si postea totus mundus possessiones et prædia eis offerret, quicquam omnino recipere non liceret*ⁱ: “if afterwards the whole
 “ world should proffer them farms and possessions, it
 “ was utterly unlawful for them to accept any thing
 “ thereof:” as indeed, additions to such who had plenty before, is rather a burden than a benefit.

41. The mysterious number of Brigetteans might not exceed the number of eighty-five, which forsooth was the number of Christ’s apostles and disciples put together, and thus they were precisely to be qualified: 1. Sisters, sixty; 2. Priests, thirteen; 3. Deacons, four; 4. Lay-brethren, eight; in all, eighty-five. Where, by the way, know we must reckon seventy-two disciples, which the evangelist makes but just *seventy*^k, and also put in St. Paul for the thirteenth apostle, or else it will not make up the sum aforesaid; but it is all even with discrete persons, be it over or above it. This order constantly kept their audit on All Saints’ eve, October 31; and the day after All Souls being the third of November, they gave away to the poor all that was left of their annual revenue, conceiving otherwise it would putrefy and corrupt if treasured up, and be as heinous an offence as the Jews’ when preserving manna longer

The mystical number of Brigetteans.

ⁱ Tho. Walsingham in Hen. V., in anno 1414. [p. 387.]

^k Luke x. 1.

than the continuance of one day. These Brigetteans had but one convent in England, at Sion in Middlesex, built by king Henry the Fifth, but so wealthy, that it was valued yearly worth at the dissolution one thousand nine hundred forty-four pounds, eleven shillings, eight pence farthing¹.

42. No convents of nuns in England more carefully kept their records than the priory of Clerkenwell, to whose credit it is registered, that we have a perfect catalogue of their prioresses, from their foundation to their dissolution, (defective in all other houses,) according to the order following, viz.^m

The prior-
esses of
Clerken-
well.

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Christiana. | 13. Joan Lewkenor. |
| 2. Ermegard. | 14. Joan Fulham. |
| 3. Hawisia. | 15. Katharine Braybroke. |
| 4. Eleonora. | 16. Luce Attewood. |
| 5. Alesia. | 17. Joan Viene. |
| 6. Cecilia. | 18. Margaret Bakwell. |
| 7. Margery Whatvile. | 19. Isabell Wentworth. |
| 8. Isabell. | 20. Margaret Bull. |
| 9. Alice Oxeney. | 21. Agnes Clifford. |
| 10. Amice Marcy. | 22. Katharine Greene. |
| 11. Denys Bras. | 23. Isabell Hussey. |
| 12. Margery Bray. | 24. Isabell Sackvile ⁿ . |

Had the like care continued in other convents, it had contributed much to the clearness of ecclesiastical history.

A good ex-
change.

43. Sir Thomas Challoner, tutor, as I take it, to prince Henry, not long ago built a spacious house within the close of that priory, upon the frontispiece

¹ Th. Walsingham, ut prius.

^m Speed's [Hist of Britain;]
Catal. of Religious Houses, p.
793.

ⁿ [From Weever's Funeral
Monuments, p. 429, who tran-
scribed them from a MS. in
the Cotton Library.]

whereof these verses were inscribed, not unworthy of remembrance :

Casta fides superest, velatæ tecta Sorores
Ista relegatæ deseruere licet :
Nam venerandus Hymen hic vota jugalia servat,
Vestalemque focum mente fovere studet°.

Chaste faith still stays behind, though hence be flown
Those veiled nuns, who here before did nest :
For reverend marriage wedlock vows doth own,
And sacred flames keeps here in loyal breast.

I hope and believe the same may truly be affirmed of many other nunneries in England, which now have altered their property on the same conditions.

44. So much for the several dates of monks and friars ; wherein if we have failed a few years in the exactness thereof, the matter is not much. I was glad to find so ingenuous a passage in Pitseus, so zealous a papist, with whom in this point I wholly concur : he speaking of the different eras of the coming in of the Augustinians into England, thus concludeth : *In tanta sententiarum varietate veritatem invenire nec facile est, nec multum refert*^p. The best is, though I cannot tell the exact time wherein every counter was severally laid down on the table, I know certainly the year wherein they were all thrown together and put up in the bag, I mean the accurate date of their general dissolution, viz. *anno* one thousand five hundred thirty and eight, on the same sign that Saunders observeth a grand providence therein, that Jesuits began beyond the seas at

° [Extracted from Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 430, before the publication of whose book the lines had become tally obliterated.]
p Pits. de Script. in Indice, p. 974.

the very same time; we will not higgie with so frank a chapman for a few months under or over, but taking his chronology herein *de bene esse*, one word of the name of that order, first premising a pleasant story.

A pleasant story.

45. A countryman, who had lived many years in the Hircinian woods in Germany, at last came out into a populous city, demanding of the people therein, "What God they did worship?" It was answered him, "They worshipped Jesus Christ." Whereupon the wild woodman asked the names of the several churches in the city, which were all called by the sundry saints to whom they were consecrated. "It is strange," said he, "that you should worship Jesus Christ, and he not have one temple in all your city dedicated unto him." But it seems Ignatius Loyola, founder of this new order, finding all other orders consigned to some saint or other, whence they take their denomination, intended at last peculiarly to appropriate one to Jesus: that as *at that holy name every knee should bow*, so all other orders should do homage, and submit to this his new one of Jesuits.

Jesuats different from Jesuits.

56. Here, had not better eyes than mine own made the discovery, (being beholden to M. Chemnitius therein^q.) I had never noted the nice difference betwixt Jesuats and Jesuits, so near in name, though not in time; but it seems in nature distinguished. The former began at Siena in Italy in the year 1366, of whom thus Sabellicus, *Colligebantur ab initio domesticatim, simplici habitu amicti, multa innocentia et pietate viri, victum sibi labore et opera*

^q [Doctrinæ Jesuitarum præcipua capita, p. 1. ed. 1589.]

quæritantes.—*Apostolici ab initio clerici nuncupati, hi neque sacris initiantur, neque celebrant missarum solemniam, tantum orationi vacant, Jesuati ab eo dicti quod Jesu regis summi frequens sit nomen in illorum ore, &c.*^r “Men of much innocence and piety were gathered in the beginning from house to house, clothed in poor habit, and seeking their own livelihood with labour and pains, called from the beginning apostolical clerks. These neither were entered into orders, neither did celebrate the solemnity of masses, but only bestowed themselves in prayer, therefore called Jesuats, because the name of Jesus was so frequent in their mouths.” But it seems these Jesuats sunk down in silence when the Jesuits appeared in the world, the former counting it ill manners in likeness of name to sit so near to those who were so far their betters^s.

^r [Ennead IX. 9. p. 822. ed. Basil. 1560. Compare with this passage the remarks of Sabellius in his treatise, *De Situ Venetæ*, lib. 1. p. 254, same edition.

^s [“Quinto ejusdem Urbani [V.] anno qui fuit salutis humanæ MCCCLXVIII. Jesuatorum secta Senis orta est: colligebantur ab initio domesticatim, simplici habitu amicti, multa innocentia, et pietate viri, sibi victum labore et opera quæritantes. Hos Urbanus quia jam suspecti ut malefica aliqua superstitione imbuti haberi incipiebant, ad se Romam vocatos de cæremoniis et vitæ instituto interrogavit, cognovitque totam rem et probavit,

“deditque ut alba tunica uterentur, et capitio quadrato a cervice ad humeros dejecto. Cinguntur scortea zona, nudos pedes ligneis soleis in inferiore parte muniunt: datum inde est ut canusinum pallium tunicæ superjectum ferrent. Apostolici a principio viri nuncupati sunt, sacris non initiantur, tantum precibus vacant, et Jesuati ab eo dicti sunt, quod Jesu nomen frequens sit in illorum ore. Fuit rei autor Joannes Columbinus, homo Senensis.” Pol. Virgil. de Inventione, VII. c. 4. This order never extended beyond the Alps. According to one writer, who received his information from a brother of the order, they are called in

Jesuits the
best but-
tresses of
the Romish
church.

57. All orders may be said eminently extant in the Jesuits to and above the kind, the degree thereof; and indeed they came seasonably to support the tottering church of Rome: for when the protestants, advantaged with learning and languages, brought in the reformation, monks and friars were either so ignorant as they could not, so idle as they would not, or so cowardly that they durst not make effectual opposition, as little skilled in fathers, less in scripture, and not at all versed in learned languages. As for the Franciscans, I may say of them, they were the best and worst scholars of all friars^t. The best, as most sublime in school divinity; worst, for if before their entrance into that order they knew not learning, they were enjoined not to study it. Besides, monks and friars were so clogged with the observances of their orders, that it confined them to their cells, and rendered them useless in a practical way. Wherefore, to balance the protestants, the Jesuits were set on foot, obliged to these studies, (out of fashion with monks and friars,) wherein they quickly attained a great eminency, as their very adversaries must confess. And as their heads were better furnished than other orders, so their hands were left at more liberty, (not tied behind their backs in a large posture of canonical idleness,) whence they are become the most active and pragmatical undertakers in all Christendom.

Jesuits'
policy.

58. I cannot but commend one policy in the Jesuits, which conduceth much to their credit, namely, whereas other orders of monks and friars

Italy, *Fratri dell' acqua*, from Rivius, *Hist. Monastica*, p. 80.]
their attention in distilling ^t See Cent. XIV. book iv.
waters for medicinal purposes. §. 20.

were after their first institution sifted, as I may say, thorough many other searches, still taking new names according to their sub-de-re-reformations; the Jesuits since their first foundation have admitted of no new denomination, but continue constant to their primitive constitution; chiefly because sensible that such after-refinings fix an aspersion of (at leastwise a comparative) impurity on their first institution, and render their first founders cheaper in the world's valuation; whilst the Jesuits still keep themselves to their foundation, as begun and perfected at once, and are *όλόκληροι*, all of a lump, all of a piece; which unity amongst themselves maketh them the more considerable in their impressions on any other adversaries.

59. They had two most ancient and flourishing convents beyond the seas, Nola in Italy, as I take it, where their house it seems gives a bow for their arms, and La Fletcha in France, where they have an arrow for their device; whereupon a satirical wit thus guirded at them: and I hope I shall not be condemned as accessory to his virulency, if only plainly translating the same.

Arcum Nola dedit, dedit his La Fletcha sagittam,
Illis, quis nervum, quem meruere, dabit^v?

Nola to them did give a bow,
La Fletch an arrow bring,
But who upon them will bestow,
What they deserve, *a string*?

I have done with these Jesuits, who may well be compared unto the astrologers in Rome, of whom the historian doth complain, *Genus est hominum*

^v [See Howell's Letters, p. 120, ed. 10th.]

quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur^w; “There is a kind of men in our city who will “always be forbidden, and yet always be retained “therein.” So, though many severe laws have been made against them, yet either such their boldness in adventuring, or our state-mildness in executing the statutes against them, that always they are driven hence, and always they stay here, to the great disturbance of ours and advancement of their own religion.

Leprous
people not
mentioned
herein.

60. Here I purposely omit the houses for leprous people, though indeed they deserved more charity than all the rest; and I may say, this only was an order of God’s making, when he was pleased to lay his afflicting hand on poor people in that loathsome disease. I take Burton-Lazars in Leicestershire to be the best endowed house for that purpose. But as that disease came into England by the Holy War, so, as we have elsewhere observed^x, it ended with the end thereof. And God of his goodness hath taken away the leprosy of leprosy in England.

^w Tacit. Hist. lib. I.

^x In my Holy War. [V. p. 15.]

SECT. II.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL

RALPH SADLEIR, OF STANDON, ESQ.

AND

ANNE, HIS VIRTUOUS CONSORT^a.

It was enacted by a law made in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of king Henry the Eighth, that "whosoever re-

^a [Arms. Sadler. A lion rampant, party per fesse, azure and gules, armed and langued, argent. Arms. Coke. Per pale, azure and gules, three eagles displayed argent. (See Bloomfield's History of Norfolk, V. 1041.) Sir Ralph Sadleir was son of sir Thomas Sadleir, knight, sheriff of Hertfordshire in the twenty-ninth and thirty-fifth years of Elizabeth, and grandson of the celebrated sir Ralph Sadleir, the keeper of Mary queen of Scots. He married Anne, the eldest daughter of sir Edward Coke, lord chief justice of the king's bench, at the early age of fifteen: "He delighted much," says Mr. Clutterbuck, quoting

from sir Henry Chauncy, "in "hawking and hunting, and "the pleasures of a country "life, was famous for his noble "table, his great hospitality to "his neighbours, and his abundant charity to the poor." And he is thus spoken of by Isaac Walton in his Complete Angler, as being attached to the diversion of hunting: "Tomorrow morning we shall "meet a pack of otter dogs of "noble Mr. Sadler's, upon "Amwell-hill, who will be "there so early, that they intend to prevent the sun-rising." (p. 3, ed. Major.) He died without issue some time after his wife, Feb. 12, 1660, and his estates descended

*“ tained abbey-lands after the dissolution passed unto them
 “ from the crown, should keep a standing house, or else for-
 “ feit every month twenty nobles, recoverable from them in
 “ any court of record.”*

True it is, king James was graciously pleased in the twenty-first of his reign to repeal this act and burn this rod, for which many under the lash (who will not pay) still owe thanks to his memory. But suppose this penal statute still in force, you may defy all informers for any advantage they may get against you for the same.

Indeed you are possessed of the fair convent of Westbury in Gloucestershire, and that on as honourable terms as any lands in England of that nature are enjoyed, bestowed on your grandfather, sir Ralph Sadleir, by king Henry the Eighth, partly in reward of the good service he had done to him the father, partly in encouragement to what he might do to his three children, to all which he was privy-counsellor.

Yet no danger of penalty to you, whose house is known to be the centre of hospitality, whence even abbots themselves (and they best skilled in that lesson) might learn to keep a bountiful table, where all are welcomed: the rich for courtesy, when their occasions bring them; the poor for charity, when they bring their occasions to pass by your habitation.

Indeed, the inn-holders of London give for the motto of the arms of their company, I was a stranger, and ye took me in. But seeing our Saviour chiefly intended such who did not sell, but give entertainment to strangers, more properly are the words applicable to yourself and other self, whose house is so the inn-general to all poor people, that the neighbourhood of a great and good common is not so advantageous as their vicinity thereunto.

I doubt not but as you often have relieved Christ in his poor members, he will in due time receive you both into his house, wherein there be many mansions of everlasting happiness.

to sir Walter Aston of Tixell, History of Hertfordshire, II.
 who married sir Ralph's sister p. 228.]
 Gertrude. See Clutterbuck's

ABBEYS ENGROSSED TRADE, IMPOVERISHED
PARISH PRIESTS, ENCOURAGED OFFENDERS.



THE specious pretences of piety and contempt of the world, abbots and monks, were notoriously covetous, even to the injury of others: witness their renting and stocking of farms, keeping of tan-houses and brewhouses in their own hands. For though the monks themselves were too finessed to dabble in tan-fats, yet they kept others (bred in that trade) to follow their work. These convents having bark of their own woods, hides of the cattle of their own breeding and killing, and, which was the main, a large stock of money to buy at the best hand, and to allow such chapmen they sold to a long day of payment, easily eat out such who were bred up in that vocation. Whereupon, in the one and twentieth of king Henry the Eighth a statute was made, That no priest, either regular or secular, should on heavy penalties hereafter meddle with such mechanic employments.

Abbots,
farmers,
tanners,
brewers.

2. Secondly, they impoverished parish priests, by decrying their performances, and magnifying their own merits. Alas! what was the single devotion of a silly priest in comparison of a corporation of prayers (twisted cables to draw down blessings on their patrons' heads) from a whole monastery? And, suppose (which was seldom done) the parson in the parish preaching to his people, yet sermons in a church once constituted were needless, as ministering matter of schisms and disputes, and at the best only profiting the present, whilst prayers benefited as well the absent as the present, dead as living. But

Abbots rob
parish vi-
cars by ap-
propriations.

especially prayers of monasteries commanded heaven, pleased with the holy violence of so many and mighty petitioners. By these and other artifices they undermined all priests in the affections of their own people, and procured from pope and prince that many churches presentative, with their glebes and tithes, were appropriated to their convents, leaving but a poor pittance to the parish vicar, though the pope (as styling himself but a vicar) ought to have been more sensible of their sad condition.

And other
priests from
exemption
from tithes.

3. Besides appropriation of such churches, abbeys also wronged parish priests by procuring from the pope Paschal the Second, *anno Dom.* 1100, in the council of Mentz, that their demesnes, farms, and granges (anciently paying tithes like the lands of other laymen) should hereafter be free from the same. But this exemption was afterwards by pope Adrian the Fourth, about the year 1150, justly limited and restrained; religious orders being enjoined the payment of tithes of whatsoever increase they had in their own occupation, (save of new improvements by culture of pasture of their cattle,) and of garden fruits^b. Only three orders, namely, the Cistercians, Templars, and Knights hospitallers, (otherwise called of S. John's of Jerusalem,) were exempted from the general payment of all tithes whatsoever.

Freedom
from tithes
goeth by
favour.

4. And why Cistercians rather than any other order? Give me leave to conjecture three reasons thereof:

i. Adrian the Fourth, our own^c countryman, was at

^b Vid. Alex. in Sextum de Decimis, c. 2. Statuto; et Innoc. III. operum tom. II. p. 410. edit. Colon.

^c None, in the orig.

first a Benedictine monk of S. Alban's, and these Cistercians were only Benedictines refined.

ii. They were the Benjamins, one of the youngest remarkable orders of that age, and therefore made darlings (not to say wantons) by the holy father the pope.

iii. It is suspicious, that by bribery in the court of Rome they might obtain this privilege, so beneficial unto them. For I find that king Richard the First disposed his daughter Avarice to be married to the Cistercian order, as the most grasping and griping of all others.

I leave it others to render reasons why Templars and Hospitallers, being mere laymen, and divers times of late adjudged in the court of Aides in Paris^c, no part of the clergy should have this privilege to be exempted from tithes. But we remember they were swordmen, and that aweth all into obedience.

5. However, the Lateran council, holden *anno* 1215, ordered, That this privilege of tithe-freedom to the aforesaid three orders should not extend to postnates, (as I may term them,) to convents erected since the Lateran council, nor to lands since bestowed on the aforesaid Orders, though their convents were erected before that council. Therefore when the covetous Cistercians (contrary to the canons of that council) purchased bulls from the pope to discharge their lands from tithes, Henry the Fourth, pitying the plea of the poor parish priest, by statute

Confined to
lands given
before the
Lateran
council.

^c C. le Bret [Recueil d'aucuns playd. en la cour des Aydes. Pl. 27. ed. 1609.]

nulled such bulls^d, and reduced their lands into that state wherein they were before.

Offend
none in a
captious
age.

6. Once it was in my mind to set down a catalogue (easy to do, and useful when done) of such houses of Cistercians, Templars, and Hospitallers which were founded since the Lateran council, yet going under the general notion of tithe-free, to the great injury of the church. But since, on second thoughts I conceived it better to let it alone, as not sure on such discovery of any blessing from those ministers which should gain, but certain of many curses from such laymen who should lose thereby.

A price in
the hand,
but no
heart.

7. Now when king Henry the Eighth dissolved monasteries, there was put into his hand an opportunity and advantage to ingratiate himself and his memory for ever; namely, by restoring tithes appropriated to abbeys to their respective parishes. But whether he wanted mind, or minding, or both, God would not do him so much honour, that he should do so much honour to God and his church; being now past like lay-fees with the rest of the abbey-land, to the great impairing of the just maintenance of ministers.

Sanctuaries
sewers of
sin.

8. Lastly, one grand mischief (to omit many others) done by monasteries was by the privileges of sanctuaries, whereby their houses became the sink and centre of sinners, to the great dishonour of God and obstruction of justice.

The con-
scientious
abbot of
Crowland.

9. And here I commend the memory of Turketill, once abbot of Crowland, being confident that the reader will join with me in his commendation. Such

^d Anno 2 Hen. the Fourth, c. 4.

vast immunities were bestowed on that convent by Wichtlaf, king of Mercia, that if any officer did follow an offender, of what nature soever, to fetch him out of that liberty, he was to have his right foot cut off^e. Strange exchange! when a legal prosecutor is made a malefactor, and the malefactor an innocent; such the converting power of a monkish asylum. But in process of time, and depredation of the Danes, this privilege was lost, and proffered afterwards by some Saxon kings to be restored, which Turketill would never consent unto: and take it in the author's own words^f; *Antiquam vero loci impunitatem vel immunitatem nullo modo consensit acquirere, ne sceleratis et impiis refugium a publicis legibus videretur in aliquo præbere, et cum hujusmodi maleficis compelleretur, vel in aliquo contra conscientiam suam cohabitare, seu consentire*. This privilege other churches of S. Alban's, Beverly, Westminster, did accept. Such sanctuaries were grievances constantly complained of in parliaments till Richard the Second first began; Henry the Fourth and Seventh proceeded to regulate them as abused and usurping, and Henry the Eighth utterly abolished them as useless and unlawful.

OF THE PRIME OFFICERS AND OFFICINES OF ABBEYS.

THE officers in abbeys were either supreme, as the The abbot. abbot, or, to use a canonical term, obediential^g, as all others under him. The abbot had lodgings by

^e Ingulphi Histor. p. 856 = ^g [Mat. Paris,] in vitis viginti trium abbatum S. Albani,

8, ed. Gale.

^f Idem, p. 879 = 40.

p. 170.

himself, with all offices thereunto belonging. The rest took precedencies according to the topical statutes of their convents, but for the generality they thus may be marshalled.

The prior. 2. First, the prior, who, like the president (under the master) in our colleges in Cambridge, was next to the abbot. Note by the way, that in some convents, which had no abbots, the prior was principal, as the president in some Oxford foundations^h; and, being installed priors, some voted as barons in parliament, whereof formerly, as the prior of Canterbury and Coventry. But when the abbot was superintendant, then the person termed prior was his subordinate, who in his absence, in mitred abbeys, by courtesy was saluted the lord prior.

The sub-prior. 3. Secondly, the sub-prior, (as Hugo Balsam, sub-prior of Ely, founder of Peter-house,) query whether any compliment descended so low as to lord the sub-prior in the absence of the prior and abbot. As for the third prior and fourth prior, for such diminutives appear, they come not within the suspicion of so much favourⁱ.

The secretary. 4. Thirdly, the secretary, who was the register, auditor, and chancellor of the convent, it being proper to his place to write and return letters, and manage the most learned employments in the monastery^k.

The chamberlain. 5. With him the *camerarius*, or chamberlain, may

^h Magdalen, Corpus Christi, Trinity, and St. John's.

ⁱ In the subscription of the Chron. of the Augustinians of Cant. [Twysden.] p. 2294.

^k [Another special part of his office was the washing of

the sacred cups and vessels, especially the corporals, if he was in priest's orders. See the duties of the secretary or sacrist as described in the Decreta of Lanfranc, c. vi. Reyner, Antiq. Benedict. App. p. 236.]

seem to contest for precedency, as keeping the keys of the treasury, issuing out and receiving in all considerable sums of money¹; in which notion the chamberlain of London holdeth his name.

6. Fifthly, the *cellarius*, or *cellerarius*, a place of more power and profit than the name may seem to impart. He was the bursar, who bought in all provisions, and appointed the pittances for the several monks; and in some houses he was ^m*secundus pater in monasterio*, as in the abbey of Buryⁿ, where a

¹ [Providing all portions of dress, beds, razors, towels, and suchlike for the use of the monastery. Lanfranc's *Decreta*, c. vii.]

^m ["*Pater totius congregationis debet esse.*" Lanfranc's *Decreta*, c. ix.]

ⁿ Joceline Brakelonde. [MS. in the Cotton Library. See the *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 16. This office is thus described in the *Decreta of Lanfranc*, c. ix. To the office of the *celerer* it belongeth to provide every thing which in meat or drink, or food of any kind may be necessary for the brethren. All the vessels for the cellar, kitchen, and refectory, and furniture for each. Of his importance, the following decree in behalf of the soul of Adam, the bursar or *cellarius* of St. Alban's, furnishes no bad proof. "Decree for the soul of Adam the Bursar:" "It is decreed by the abbot Warren (Gwarinus), and the whole convent, that on the day in which the anniversary of Adam the bursar of this church shall be declared (who for his excellent services hath

"obtained the distinction of being buried in the chapter), that it shall be kept as a feast by all every year, as is usually done with greater honour and solemnity at the anniversaries of our abbots; to wit, with psalms and masses, and feasting the poor. For this anniversary the clerk of the kitchen (*cellerarius coquinæ monachorum*) shall provide whatever may be necessary, that is, a sufficient and splendid banquet for the convent in the refectory. The almoner on that day shall feed a hundred poor people for his soul; and the like number the *cellerarius* of the kitchen. Moreover the church of Southbury had been appointed by the said brother Adam the bursar, for the celebration of this anniversary, and also for that which is celebrated on the sixteenth of January for the souls of his father and mother, and of all the parents of the monks of this church; because that church was acquired by him: inasmuch as he improved his foresaid ser-

The cellarer.

large part of the buildings was assigned for his residence, and lands for his maintenance. These cellarers were brave blades, much affecting secular gallantry. For I find it complained of, that they used to swagger with their swords by their sides like lay gentlemen^o.

The gate-house.

7. The remaining officers are best reckoned up by the canonical rooms (as I may term them) in an abbey, each giving denomination to him who had the inspection thereof. I begin with the gate-house, and its relative the porter; an office, I assure you, of some trust in an abbey, to know what guests, and when, especially at the postern, are to be admitted thereunto.

The refectory.

8. The next room is the *refectorium*, and *refectorius* the controller thereof^p. It was the hall wherein the monks dined together, and sometimes the abbot on great solemnities graced them with his presence, when he had *vastellum*, that is, not common bread, but vastel bread^q, or simnels for his diet^r.

The parlour.

9. Adjoining to it was the *locutorium*, or parlour,

“ vice (obedientia) ; to wit, the
 “ kitchen of the monks, by his
 “ own trouble and care, with
 “ an annual income of one hun-
 “ dred pounds and three marks,
 “ saving fourteen pence.” See
 Mat. Paris in Vit. Abbatum
 S. Albani, p. 98. There were
 other cellerarii besides this
 officer, who is so called by way
 of distinction; as cellerarius
 coquinæ mentioned above, cel-
 lerarius curiæ, cellerarius hos-
 pitum, and the like. Of the
 duties of the cellerarius, the
 reader may consult the rule of
 S. Benedict, cap. xxxi, and cap.
 xxxv, by whose decrees he alone,

saving the abbot or prior, is
 exempted from the duties of
 the kitchen, to which all others
 were obliged to submit in turn.
 See also the rule of S. Fructuosus, cap. vi. the Decrees of
 Lanfranc, cap. ix, printed in
 Reyner, De Antiq. Benedict.
 p. 237.]

^o Burchard, de casibus Mo-
 nasterii S. Galli in Goldasti's
 Alemannica, vol. i. par. 1, p. 124.

^p Chron. August. Cant. [in
 Twysden] p. 2294.

^q [Mat. Paris,] In Vitis, p.
 141.

^r See Glossary of Will. Som-
 ner, [s. v.]

because there leave was given for the monks to discourse, who were enjoined silence elsewhere. Thus we read how Paul, the fourteenth abbot of S. Alban's, made it penal for any to talk in the cloister, church, refectory, or dormitory.

10. *Oriolium*, or the oriol, was the next room^s. The oriol. Why so called, some of the namesake college in Oxford are best able to satisfy. Sure I am, that small excursion out of gentlemen's halls in Dorsetshire (respect it east or west) is commonly called an orial. The use hereof is known for monks, who were in *latitudine morbi*, rather distempered than diseased, to dine therein, it being cruelty to thrust such into the infirmary, where they might have died with the conceit of the sickness of others.

11. *Dormitorium*, the dormitory, where they all The dormi- slept together, it being ordered in the council of tory. Aquisgrane, *Nisi in dormitorio cum cæteris absque causa inevitabili, nemo dormire præsumpserit*^t.

^s In *Vitis*, p. 100. [Speaking of the same abbot Matthew Paris says: "Hic quoque primo permisit aliquibus fra-
" tribus in quibus per maciem
" et pallorem, debilitatem per-
" penderat manifestam (quibus
" videbatur inconueniens esse
" et conscientia læsionem in-
" trare infirmariam, quia quam-
" vis macilenti essent vel pallidi,
" vel etiam debiles non sibi in-
" firmi videbantur) ut seorsum
" scilicet in oriolo carnem co-
" mederent." But in another part of his work (p. 142) he thus explains the meaning of this term: "Adjacet atrium nobilissimum in introitu, quod porticus vel oriolum appellatur."]

^t Sub Ludov. Imp. an. 816. cap. 134. [In the statutes of the provincial chapter held in the year 1444 the following provision is made: "Statuimus
" etiam quod omnes tam officiarum, quam claustrales, secundum dispositionem dicti sui Præpositi singuli singula lectisternia seu cellas pro modo conversationis accipiant, ita quod omnes et singuli in uno loco, et sub uno tecto, tam obedientiarum, quam aliorum, si commode fieri poterit dormiant; lumen vero in dormitorio de nocte jugiter ardeat. Monachi vero in suis cellis, ubi solent dormire, lectisternia desuper aut per

The laundry.

12. *Lavatorium* succeeds, generally called the laundry, where their clothes were washed. Haply it was also the place (such in the west side of Westminster cloisters) where all the monks at the conduit washed their hands, there being as much good fellowship in washing as eating together.

13. *Scriptorium* remains, a room where the char-
tularius was busied in writing, especially employed in the transcribing of these books: their

i. *Ordinals*, containing the rubric of their missal, and directory of their priests in service.

ii. *Consuetudinals*, presenting the ancient customs of their convents.

iii. *Troparies*.

iv. *Collectaries*, wherein the ecclesiastical collects were fairly written^u.

The library.

14. Next this the library, which most great abbeys had exactly furnished with variety of choice manuscripts.

“lecti circuitum non habeant nisi de albo vel de nigro panno vel de bruno cum pel- libus agnitis albis vel nigris.” And in another held in 1343 it was ordained, That all kinds of curtains should be removed from the beds, so as that the monks might be continually under the eye of those appointed to superintend the dormitory, day and night. See them in Reyner, De Apost. Benedict. App. iii. p. 122 and p. 159.]

^u [Matthew Paris, describing the books given to S. Alban's by the abbot Paulus, says, “Dedit igitur huic eccle-

“siæ viginti octo volumina notabilia, et octo psalteria, collectarium, epistolarium, et librum in quo continentur evangelia legenda per annum. Duos *textus* auro et argento et gemmis ornatos: sine *ordinalibus*, *consuetudinariis*, *missalibus*, *tropariis*, *collectariis*, etc.” Vitæ Abbatum, &c. p. 51.

The *troparia* were books which contained the sequences which were sung or chaunted at the celebration of the mass, or on saints' days. The word is still used in directions for the Greek services, from which it was apparently derived.]

15. All is marred if the kitchen be omitted, so essential a requisite in an abbey, with the larder and pantry the necessary suburbs thereof. The kitchen.

16. Come we now to their abbey church, where we first meet their The several parts in the church.

i. *Cloisters*, consecrated ground, as appears by their solemn sepultures therein.

ii. *Navis ecclesiæ*, or body of the church.

iii. *Gradatorium*, a distance containing the ascent out of the former into the quire.

iv. *Presbyterium*, or the quire, on the right side whereof was the stall of the abbot and his; on the left side the prior and his moiety of monks, who alternately chaunted the responsals in the service^x.

v. *Vestiarium*, the vestiary, where their copes and clothes were deposited.

vi. *Avolta*, a vault, being an arched room over part of the church, which in some abbeys (as S. Alban's) was used to enlarge their dormitory, where the monks had twelve beds for their repose^y.

vii. *Concameratio*, being an arched room betwixt the east end of the church and the high altar^z, so that in procession they might surround the same, founding their fancy on David's expression, — *and so will I compass thine altar, O Lord*^a.

As for the other rooms of the church; *cerarium*,

^x [In Radulphus de Diceto this word seems to be used to express the chancel; for we find when Tracy and others proceeded to the murder of Thomas a Becket, the archbishop descended down the steps of the presbyterium to meet them. It was so called, according to Somner, because

originally none but the presbyters sat in this part of the church. Glossar. s. v. Presbyterium.]

^y In Vitis, p. 125.

^z In Vitis, p. 52. [We find the same in the church of Jerusalem, and in all the earliest churches.]

^a Psal. xxvi. 6.

where their wax candles were kept ; *campanile*, their steeple ; *polyandrium*, the churchyard, and sometime the charnel-house, let such be consulted with who have written large volumes on this subject, who will also inform them of the dignities and duties of the precentor, sacrist, sub-sacrist, capellane, ostiary, vestiary, ceroferary, &c. belonging thereunto. The remaining rooms of an abbey stood a distance from the main structure thereof. To begin with the best first : *eleemosynaria*, or the almory, being a building near or within the abbey, wherein poor and impotent persons did live maintained by their charity.

The cen-
tury.

17. Secondly, *sanctuarium*, or the century, wherein debtors taking refuge from their creditors, malefactors from the judge, lived (the more the pity) in all security.

The fir-
mory.

18. Thirdly, *infirmarium*, or the firmory, (the curator whereof *infirmarius*,) wherein persons downright sick (trouble to others, and troubled by others, if lodging in the dormitory) had the benefit of physic, and attendance private to themselves^b. No lent or fasting-days came over the threshold of this room ; sickness being a dispensation for the eating of flesh. It was punishable for any to eat therein, except solemnly designed for the place.

The stables.

19. At distance stood the stables, where the *stallarius*, or master of the horse, did command ; and under him the *provendarius*^c, who, as his name imports, provided provender for the horses. These

^b [In the larger houses the *infirmarium* had its separate cook and separate kitchen. Besides his other duties, the superior of the infirmary was to sprinkle all the beds, every day after the compline, with holy water. See the Decreta Lanfranci, cap. 10.]

^c In Vitis, &c. p. 97.

were divided into four ranks, and it would puzzle all the jockies in Smithfield to understand the meaning of their names.

i. *Manni*, being geldings for the saddle of the larger size.

ii. *Runcini*, runts, small pad-nags; like those of Galloway or Goonehely^d.

iii. *Summarii*, sumpter horses.

iv. *Averii*, cart or plough-horses.

This was the quadripartite division of the horses of William, the two and twentieth abbot of S. Alban's, on the token that he lost an hundred horses in one year.

20. One room remains, last named, because least ^{The jail.} loved, even a prison for the punishment of incorrigible monks, who otherwise would not be ordered into obedience. It was a grand penance imposed on the delinquents^e, "to carry about the lanthorn," (though light, an heavy burden,) but such contumacious monks as would not be amended therewith, the abbot had *tetrum et fortem carcerem*, a strong and hideous prison, where their obstinacy was corrected into reformation.

21. We omit other rooms, as *vaccisterium*, the ^{The} cow-house; *porcarium*, the swine-sty; as having ^{grange.} nothing peculiar therein, but concurrent with those offices in other houses. As for *granges*, being farms at distance, kept and stocked by the abbey, and so called, as it seemeth, *a grana gerendo*, (the overseer whereof was commonly called the prior of the grange,) because sometimes many miles from the monastery, they come not within the reach of our

^d Wats in Glossar. at the end of Mat. Paris.

^e In Vitis, p. 52.

present discourse. Only I add, in female foundations of nunneries there was a correspondency of all the same essential officers and offices.

Barbarous
names and
offices.

22. Expect not of me a list of those mean officers in the abbey, whose employment was not so base as their names barbarous, and of English extraction. Such were,

1. Coltonarius, cutler.
2. Cupparius.
3. Potagiarius.
4. Scutellarius Aulæ.
5. Salsarius.
6. Portarius.
7. Carectarius [Carter] Cellerarii.
8. Pelliparius, parchment provider.
9. Brasinarius, [and Brasiator,] maltster.

All these appeared at the hali-mote or holy court of the cellarer; and it is the degrading the soul of a scholar (best pleased in a progressive motion to attain elegancy) to stoop to the understanding of such base and unlearned etymologies.

Rooms in
small,
houses in
great
abbeyes.

23. Note that the offices aforesaid in the smaller abbeyes were but one fair entire room, which in greater monasteries were a distinct structure, with all under-offices attendant thereupon. Thus the firmory, in the priory of Canterbury had a refectory thereto belonging, a kitchen, a dortour ^f, distributed into several chambers that one might not disturb another, and a private chapel for the devotions of the diseased. Their almery also was accommodated with all the aforesaid appurtenances, and had many

^f [That is, the dormitory.]

distinct manors consigned only to their maintenance.

24. It were alien from our present purpose to speak of cells, which were *aut pars, aut proles* of all great abbeys, sometime so far off, that the mother-abbey was in England the child-cell beyond the seas, and so reciprocally. Some of these were richly endowed, as that of Windham in Norfolk, which, though but a cell annexed to St. Alban's, yet was able at the dissolution to expend of its own revenues seventy-two pounds per annum. These were colonies into which the abbeys discharged their superfluous numbers, and whither the rest retired when infections were feared at home.

25. Thus have we run through the main rooms in all great abbeys, though besides the same, particular abbeys had particular houses, known to those of their own convent by peculiar denominations. It were endless for one to instance in all these, and impossible to render a reason of their names, except he were privy to the fancies of the founders. Thus we meet with a pile of building in the priory of Canterbury called the Honours; but why so termed, my good friend and great antiquary^g is fain to confess his own ignorance.

Some general Conformities observed in all Convents.

Sundry orders were bound to observe several canonical constitutions. However, the rule of the ancient Benedictines, with some small variations according to time and place, hold true thorough most

Rules calculated for the Benedictines, without any grand error, will serve all orders.

^g Mr. William Somner, in his *Antiquities of Canterbury*, p. 196.

monasteries ; some general heads whereof (the under branches being infinite) we will here insert ; it being hard, if amongst much dross some gold be not found to repair the pains of the reader. We will contrive them into canons, collected out of authors before or in the days of Dunstan ^h.

i. Let monks (after the example of David ⁱ) praise God seven times a day.

Seven times.] Some difference in reckoning them up, but the following computation is generally embraced :

1. *At cock-crowing.* Because the Psalmist saith, *At midnight will I praise the Lord* ^k; and most conceive that Christ rose from the dead about that time.
2. *Matutines.* At the first hour, or six of the clock, when the Jewish morning sacrifice was offered ; and at what time Christ's resurrection was by the angels first notified to the women.
3. At the third hour, or nine of the clock before noon, when, according to St. Mark, Christ was condemned and scourged by Pilate.
4. At the sixth hour, or twelve of the clock at high noon, when Christ was crucified, and darkness over all the earth.
5. At the ninth hour, or three of the clock in the afternoon, when Christ gave up the ghost, and which was an hour of public prayer in the

^h [It is probable that, in the early periods of monastic history, the rules and orders of different houses and institutions were the same. Afterwards they were generally divided into eastern and western: the former following the rule of St. Basil, the other the rule

of St. Benedict. Slight variations, of course, as might be expected, were introduced by those who founded new sects; but generally all might be comprehended under these two divisions.]

ⁱ Psal. cxix. 164.

^k Psal. cxix. 62.

temple^l, and privately in his closet with Cornelius^m.

6. *Vespers*. At the twelfth hour, or six o'clock in the afternoon, when the evening sacrifice was offered in the temple, and when Christ is supposed taken down from the cross.
7. At seven of the clock at night, (or the first hour beginning the nocturnal twelve,) when Christ's agony in the garden was conceived began.

The first of these was performed at two of the clock in the morningⁿ, when the monks (who went to bed at eight at night) had slept six hours, which were judged sufficient for nature. It was no fault, for the greater haste, to come without shoes, or with unwashen hands, provided sprinkled at their entrance with holy water, to this night's service; and I find no express to the contrary, but that they might go to bed again; but a flat prohibition after *matutines*, when to return to bed was accounted a petty apostasy.

ii. Let all, at the sign given, leave off their work, and repair presently to prayers^o.

Sign.] This in England (commonly called the ringing island) was done with tolling a bell, but in other countries with loud strokes, as noblemens' cooks knock to the dresser, at which time none might continue their work; yea, the canon was so strict, that it provided *scriptores literam non integrent*: that writers, (a great trade in monasteries,) having begun to frame and flourish a text-letter, were not to finish it, but to break off in the middle thereof.

^l Acts iii. 1.

^m Acts x. 30.

ⁿ This whole chapter is the abridgment of the Concordia Regularum S. Benedicti Ania-

næ Abbatis. Ed. Hugo Menardus, 1638.

^o [See Regula S. Benedicti. c. xliii.]

iii. Let those who are absent in public employment be reputed present in prayers ^p.

Absent.] Hence it was that anciently, at the end of prayers, there was a particular commemoration made of them, and they by name recommended to divine protection.

iv. Let no monk go alone, but always two together.

Two.] That so they might mutually have both *testem honestatis* and *monitorem pietatis*. And this was done in some imitation of Christ's sending his disciples to preach, *two and two before his face* ^q, that so they might alternately ease one another.

v. From Easter to Whitsunday let them dine always at twelve, and sup at six of the clock.

Dine.] The primitive church forbade fasting for those fifty days, that Christians might be cheerful for the memory of Christ's resurrection. "*Immunitate [jejunandi] a die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus,*" and therefore more modern is the custom of fasting on Ascension Eve.

vi. Let them at other times fast on Wednesdays and Fridays till three o'clock in the afternoon.

Three of the clock.] So making but one meal a day; but know that the twelve days in Christmas were in this canon excepted.

vii. Let them fast every day in Lent till six of the clock at night ^s.

Six o'clock.] Stamping a character of more abstinence on that time; for though all a monk's life ought to be a Lent, yet this most especially, wherein they were to abate

^p [See Regula S. Benedicti, c. l. lxvii.]

^q Luke x. 1.

^r Tertullian de Corona Militis, c. 3.

^s [v. vi. vii. See Regula S. Benedicti, c. xli.]

of their wonted sleep and diet, and add to their daily devotion: yet so, that they might not lessen their daily fare without leave from the abbot, all things done without whose consent will be accounted presumption, and not redound to reward; so that, in such cases, obedience to their superiors was better than the sacrifice of their own free abstinence.

viii. Let no monk speak a word in the refectory, when they are at their meals ^t.

Speak a word.] Whilst their mouths are open to eat, their lips must be locked to speak: for proof whereof they corruptly cite the apostle's words, *to eat their own bread with silence* ^u; whereas indeed it is, *work with quietness*, and therein a contented mind enjoined. Such might also remember Solomon's rule, *Eat thy bread with joy*.

ix. Let them listen to the lecturer reading scripture to them, whilst they feed themselves.

Listen.] This was St. Austine's rule, *Ne solæ fauces sumant cibum, sed et aures percipiant Dei verbum* ^x.

x. Let the septimanarians dine by themselves after the rest ^y.

Septimanarians.] These were weekly officers, (not as the abbot, porter, &c. for term of life,) as the lecturer, servitors at the table, cook, who could not be present at the public refectory; as the bible-clerks in Queen's College in Cambridge (waiting on the fellows at dinner) have a table by themselves, their stomachs being set to go an hour after all the rest.

xi. Let such who are absent about business observe the same hours of prayer ^z.

Absent.] Be it by sea or land, on ship, in house, or field, they were to fall down on their knees, and though at dis-

^t [viii. ix. See Regula S. Benedicti, c. xxxviii.] ^y [Regula S. Benedicti, c. xxxv.]

^u 2 Thess. iii. 12.

^z [Ib. c. 1.]

^x In regula, capite v.

tance, and very briefly, yet in some sort to keep time and tune with the convent in their devotions.

xii. Let none, being from home about business, and hoping to return at night, presume *foris mandicare*, to eat abroad ^a.

Eat abroad.] This canon was afterwards so dispensed with by the abbot, on several occasions, that it was frustrate in effect, when monks became common guests at laymen's tables.

xiii. Let the Completory be solemnly sung about seven o'clock at night.

Completory.] Because it completed the duties of the day. This service was concluded with that versicle of the psalmist, *Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth, and keep the door of my lips* ^b.

xiv. Let none speak a word after the Completory ended, but hasten to their beds ^c.

Speak a word.] For they might express themselves by signs, and in some cases whisper, but so softly that a third might not overhear it. This silence was so obstinately observed by some, that they would not speak though assaulted with thieves, to make discovery in their own defence.

xv. Let the monks sleep in beds singly by themselves, but all, if possible, in one room ^d.

Singly by themselves.] To prevent that sin of sodomy whereof many were detected, and more suspected in after ages. *One room.*] For the comfort of their mutual society.

xvi. Let them sleep in their clothes, girt with

^a [Regula Bened. c. li.]

^b Psal. cxli. 3.

^c [Regula S. Benedicti, c. xlii.]

^d [xv—xviii. Ib. c. xxii.]

their girdles, but not having their knives by their sides, for fear of hurting themselves in their sleeps.

In their clothes.] Is slovenness any advantage to sanctity? This was the way, not to make the monks to lie alone, but to carry much company about them.

xvii. Let not the youth lie by themselves, but mingled with their seniors.

Seniors.] That their gravity may awe them into good behaviour: thus husbandmen couple young colts with staid horses, that both together may draw the better.

xviii. Let not the candle in the dormitory go out all the night.

Candle.] In case some should fall suddenly sick; and that this standing candle might be a stock of light, to recruit the rest on occasion.

xix. Let infants, incapable of excommunication, be corrected with rods ^e.

Infants.] Such all were accounted under the age of fifteen years, (of whom many in monasteries,) whose minorities were beneath the censures of the church.

xx. Let the offenders in small faults (whereof the abbot is sole judge) be only sequestered from the table ^f.

Small faults.] As coming after grace to dinner; breaking, though casually, the earthen ewer wherein they wash their hands; being out of tune in setting the psalm; taking any by the hand, (as a preface, forsooth, to wantonness;) receiving letters from or talking with a friend, without leave from the abbot, &c. *From the table.*] Such were to eat by themselves, and three hours after the rest, until they had made satisfaction.

^e [“ Aut jejuniis nimis dicti, c. xxx.]
 “ affligantur, aut acribus ver- ^f [See Regula S. Benedicti,
 “ beribus coerceantur, ut sa- c. xxiv.]
 “ nentur.” Regula S. Bene-

xxi. Let the offenders in greater faults be suspended from table and prayers ^g.

Greater faults.] Viz. theft, adultery, &c. *And prayers.*] This, in effect, amounted to the greater excommunication, and had all the penalties thereof.

xxii. Let none converse with any excommunicated, under the pain of excommunication ^h.

None.] Yet herein his keeper (deputed by the abbot) was excepted. *Converse.*] Either to eat or speak with him. He might not so much as bless him, or his meat if carried by him; yet, to avoid scandal, he might rise up, bow or bare his head to him, in case the other did first with silent gesture salute him.

xxiii. Let incorrigible offenders be expelled the monastery ⁱ.

Incorrigible.] Whom no correption with words, nor correction with blows, nor censures of excommunication would amend. Abscision is the only plaster for such an incurable gangrene.

xxiv. Let an expelled brother, being readmitted on promise of his amendment, be set last in order ^k.

Last.] He was to lose his former seniority, and begin at the bottom. Know, that whosoever willingly quitted the convent thrice, or was thrice cast out for his misdemeanors, might not any more be received.

xxv. Let every monk have two coats and two cowls, &c. ^l

^g [Reg. Bened. c. xxv.]

^h [Ib. c. xxvi.]

ⁱ [Ib. c. xxviii.]

^k [Ib. c. xxix.]

^l [xxv. xxvi. xxvii. Ib. c. lv. Their clothing was to be regulated by the climate. In general they were allowed two cowls

and two coats: one of a thicker nap and texture, for winter; a thinner, or a thread-bare one, for the summer. Besides these they were to have a scapular, shoes and stockings (pedules et caligæ).]

Two.] Not to wear at once, except in winter, but for exchange, whilst one was washed; and when new clothes were delivered them, their old ones were given to the poor.

xxvi. Let every monk have his table-book, knife, needle, and handkerchief.

Needle.] To mend his own clothes when torn. *Handkerchief.*] Which they wore on their left side, to wipe away rheum, or, as we may charitably believe, tears from their eyes.

xxvii. Let the bed of every monk have a mat, blanket, rug^m, and pillow.

Mat.] In Latin *matta*, the liers whereon are termed by St. Austine *mattarii*ⁿ. *A blanket.*] *Læna*, in Latin *quasi de lana*, saith Varro, made of thick wool^o. No down, feathers, nor flocks used by them; yea, no linen worn on their bodies. The abbot also, every Saturday, was to visit their beds, to see if they had not shuffled in some softer matter, or purloined some prog for themselves.

xxviii. Let the abbot be chosen by the merits of his life and learning^p.

Merits.] Though he were the last in degree, and though he had the fewest voices, the better were to carry it from the greater number; but in after ages, to avoid schism upon a parity of deserts, the senior was generally chosen by plurality of votes.

xxix. Let him never dine alone; and when guests are wanting, call some brethren unto his table^q.

Alone.] Such as were relieved by his hospitality are, by canonical critics, sorted into four ranks:

^m Sagum, properly the lower coat of a soldier. [p. 33. ed. 1581.]
^p [Regula S. Benedicti, c. lxiv.]
ⁿ Contra Faustum v. 5.
^o De Lingua Latina, lib. 4, ^q [Ib. c. lvi.]

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Convivæ</i>, guests, living in or near the city where the convent stood ; 2. <i>Hospites</i>, strangers coming from distant places, yet still of the same country ; 3. <i>Peregrini</i>, pilgrims of another nation, and generally travelling for devotion ; 4. <i>Mendici</i>, beggars, who received their alms without at the gate. | } invited or inviting themselves into the abbey. |
|--|--|

xxx. Let the cellarer be a discreet man, to give all their meat in due season ^r.

Discreet.] He needed to be a good mathematician in the guages of men's bellies, not allowing all food alike, but proportioning it to their several ages, labour, (for ancient monks did work,) appetites, &c. For this they allege the primitive practice, when all goods kept in common were divided, though unequally, for the sums equally, as to their personal necessities. *And they parted them to all men, as every man had need* ^s.

xxxi. Let none be excused from the office of the cook, but take his turn in his week ^t.

None.] The abbot is excepted, and the cellarer in great convents ; but know this was only anciently used in primitive poor monasteries, our English abbeys having afterwards cooks and under-cooks of lay-persons able to please the palate of Apicius himself.

xxxii. Let the cook each Saturday, when he goeth out of his office, leave the linen and vessels clean and sound to his successors.

Clean and sound.] Severe one canon which I read, that

^r [Regula S. Benedicti, c. xxxi.] ^t [Regula S. Benedicti, c. xxxv.]

^s Acts iii. 45.

is, to receive twenty-five claps on the hand for every default on this kind^u; and still more harsh what another rule enjoineeth, that the cook might not taste what he dressed for others, not permitted to lick his own fingers^v. Understand it thus: though he might eat his own pittance, or *dimensum*, yet he must meddle with no more, lest the tasting should tempt him to gluttony and excess.

xxxiii. Let the porter be a grave person, to discharge his trust with discretion^x.

Grave.] Whose age might make him resident in his place. *Discharge.*] In listening to no secular news, and, if casually hearing it, not to report it again; in carrying the keys every night to the abbot, and letting none in or out without his permission.

We leave this porter in the peaceable possession of his lodge, and by his leave are let out of this tedious discourse; only I will add, as the proverb saith, "The lion is not so fierce as he is painted." So monastical discipline was not so terrible in the practice as in the precepts thereof. And as it is generally observed in families that the eldest children are most hardly used, who, as yet being but few, and their parents in full strength, are taught, and tutored, and nurtured with much chiding and correction; whilst more liberty is allowed to the younger brood, age abating their parents' austerity, and sometimes turning their harshness into fondness unto them: so those fatherly rules fell most heavily on the monks of the first foundation, their rigour being remitted to such who succeeded them; inso-

^u "XXV. palmarum percussio-
nibus emendetur." Regula
magis, cap. 15, sect. 10. (?)

^v Regula S. Pachonii, art.
21.

^x [Regula S. Benedicti, c.
lxvi.]

much that, in process of time, monks turned very wantons through laziness and luxury, as hereafter (God willing) shall appear.

Of such Abbots who attained to be Parliamentary Barons.

Numerous abbots summoned to parliament.

The highest civil honour the English abbots arrived at was, that some were selected to be barons in parliament, and called to be assistants to the king in his great council. To begin at the reign of king Henry the Third, (before whose time the footsteps of solemn summons to parliament are almost worn out,) in his time all abbots and priors of quality were summoned thither. Alas! this king lived a long time on abbeys, (the patron fed by his chaplains,) the most of his maintenance issuing out of the purses of priories. It was but fitting therefore they should be consulted with, who were so much concerned in all public payments. In the forty-ninth of his reign no less than sixty-four abbots and thirty-six priors, (a jolly number!) with the master of the Temple, were voluntary *summoniti*, out of the king's free will and pleasure, (no right that they could claim themselves,) summoned to parliament^y.

Who afterwards decline their troublesome service.

2. But in after-parliaments the number of abbots summoned thither was fluctuating and uncertain: sometimes forty, as the twenty-seventh of Edward the First; sometimes seventy-five, as the twenty-eighth of the same king; fifty-six in the first of Edward the Second, and yet but fifteen in the second of his reign. Indeed, when parliaments

^y Claus. 49 Hen. III. m. 11 d. [Published in Rymer's *Fœd.* i. 449, new ed.]

proved frequent, some priories far from the place where they were summoned, the way long, the weather (especially in winter) tedious, travelling on the way costly, living at London chargeable; some priors were so poor they could not, more so covetous they would not, put themselves to needless expenses; all so lazy, and loving their ease, that they were loath to take long journeys, which made them afterwards desire to be eased of their honourable but troublesome attendance in parliament.

3. At last king Edward the Third resolved to fix ^{Their number contracted to twenty-six.} on a set number of abbots and priors, not so many as with their numerousness might be burdensome to his council; yet not so few but that they should be a sufficient representation of all orders therein concerned, which, being twenty-six in number, are generally thus reckoned up:

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. St. Alban's. | 15. Shrewsbury. |
| 2. Glastonbury. | 16. Gloucester. |
| 3. St. Austin's, Cant. | 17. Bardney. |
| 4. Westminster. | 18. Bennet in the Holme. |
| 5. Edmundsbury. | 19. Thorney. |
| 6. Peterborough. | 20. Ramsey. |
| 7. Colchester. | 21. Hyde. |
| 8. Evesham. | 22. Malmesbury. |
| 9. Winchelcombe. | 23. Cirencester. |
| 10. Crowland. | 24. St. Mary's, York. |
| 11. Battle. | 25. Selby. |
| 12. Reading. | 26. With the prior of St. |
| 13. Abingdon. | John's of Jerusalem, |
| 14. Waltham. | first and chief baron |
| | of England ^z . |

^z [Reyner asserts that only in parliament, omitting from twenty-four abbots had seats the list here given by Fuller,

None of these held of mean lords by frank-almonage, but all of the king *in capite per baroniam*, having an entire barony, to which thirteen knights' fees at least did belong.

Doubtful
barons
amongst
the abbots.

4. Yet even after this fixation of parliamentary abbots in a set number, the same was eftsoons subject to variety. The prior of Coventry played at in and out, and declined his appearance there; so did the abbot of Leicester, who may seem to have worn but half a mitre on his head; so also the abbot of St. James, by Northampton, may be said to sit but on one hip in parliament, he appears so in the twilight betwixt a baron and no baron in the summons thereunto. But afterwards the first of these three was confirmed in his place; the two last, on their earnest request, obtained a discharge, partly because they were summoned only *interpolatis vicibus*, and not constantly; partly because they made it

Waltham and Cirencester.— Burnet (Ref. i. 536) makes them twenty-nine in all, adding to the numbers given by Fuller, Coventry, Tavistock, and Tewkesbury; and in 28 Hen. VIII. the abbot of Burton-upon-Trent sat in parliament, but Coventry and Burton were held by the same person. See Camden's Britan. p. 123; Selden's Titles of Honour, App. p. 725. These variations in different writers have probably arisen from the circumstance of their not noticing the distinction between abbots who held rank as parliamentary barons, and those who were spiritual peers, but had no seat in parliament. Of

this latter class there were sixteen: the abbots of St. Peter's, at Abbotsbury, in Dorsetshire; St. John the Baptist, of Alchester, in Warwickshire; Athelney, in Somersetshire; Burton-on-Trent; St. Peter's, at Cerne, Dorsetshire; St. Peter's, Chertsey, in Surrey; St. Mary's, Ensham, Oxfordshire; St. Saviour's, Faversham, Kent; St. Saviour's, Middelton, Dorsetshire; St. Peter's, Michelney, Somersetshire; St. Mary's, Pershore, Worcestershire; St. Mary's, Sherborne, Dorsetshire; St. Mary's, Tewksbury, Gloucestershire; Whitby, in Yorkshire; St. James of Walden, Essex; St. Werburg, Chester. See Reyner, p. 212.]

to appear that they held not of the king a whole barony in chief.

5. To these twenty-six regular barons king Henry the Eighth added one more for a casting voice, viz. the abbot of Tavistock in Devonshire, on this token, that being created in the eighth of his reign he enjoyed not his barony full twenty years, and acted so short a part on the stage of parliament, that, with Cato, he might seem only *ingredi ut exiret*, to come in that he might go out. And because some may be curious to know the manner of his creation, take here the form thereof:

“ Henricus, &c. Sciatis quod certis considera-
 “ tionibus nos specialiter moventibus et ob specia-
 “ lem devotionem, quam ad beatam Virginem Mariam
 “ matrem Christi, Sanctumque Rumonum in quorum
 “ honore Abbacia de Tavistock, quæ de fundatione
 “ nobilium progenitorum nostrorum, quondam Re-
 “ gum Angliæ et nostro patronatu dedicata existit,
 “ gerimus et habemus, hinc est quod de gratia nostra
 “ speciali, ac ex certa scientia, et mero motu nostris,
 “ volumus eandem Abbatiam, sive monasterium nos-
 “ trum gaudere honore, privilegio, ac libertatibus
 “ spiritualium Dominorum Parliamenti nostri, hære-
 “ dum, et successorum nostrorum, ideo concessimus,
 “ et per præsentis concedimus pro nobis hæredibus,
 “ et successoribus nostris quantum in nobis est,
 “ dilecto nobis in Christi, Richardo Banham Abbati
 “ de Tavistock prædicto et successoribus suis, ut
 “ eorum quilibet qui pro tempore ibidem fuerit
 “ Abbas, sit et erit unus de spiritualibus, et religiosis
 “ dominis Parliamenti nostri, Hæredum, et successo-
 “ rum nostrorum, gaudendo honore, privilegio ac
 “ libertatibus ejusdem; et insuper, de uberiori gratia

A short-
lived ba-
ronry made
by king
Henry the
Eighth.

“ nostra, affectando utilitatem dicti nostri monas-
 “ terii, considerando ejus distantiam, ita quod si con-
 “ tingat aliquem Abbatem qui pro tempore fuerit,
 “ fore vel esse absentem propter prædicti monasterii
 “ utilitatem, in non veniendo ad Parliamentum præ-
 “ dictum, hæredum, vel successorum nostrorum,
 “ quam quidem absentiam eidem Abbati perdonamus
 “ per præsentem; ita tamen quod tunc solvet pro
 “ hujusmodi absentia cujuslibet Parlamenti integri
 “ in nostro Scaccario, suum per attornatum quinque
 “ marcas nobis hæredibus sive successoribus nostris,
 “ toties quoties, hoc in futurum contigerit. In
 “ cujus, &c. Teste, &c. Vicesimo tertio die Ja-
 “ nuarii, &c. ^a”

Whereas this charter affirmeth Tavistock founded by king Henry's noble progenitors, some will wonder thereat; and the rather because Ordulph, the son of Ordgare, earl of Devonshire, is notoriously known for the founder of this monastery before the Conquest, and no English king appeareth eminently a benefactor thereunto ^b; yet because the English kings successively confirmed the charters thereof, they were in a loyal compliment acknowledged as the interpretative founders of that abbey. And as little children whose parents decease in their infancy innocently own their fathers and mothers-in-law for their natural parents, so many monasteries, whose first founders were in a manner forgotten as time out of mind, applied themselves to the present kings (though but the favourers) as to the founders of their corporations.

^a Pat. 5 Hen.VIII. part. 2, m. 22.

^b Camden's Br. in Devonshire, [p. 144.]

6. Know that besides these abbots there were Abbesses no baronesses, though holding baronies. four abbesses, viz. of Shaftesbury, Barking in Essex, St. Mary's in Winchester, and Wilton, who held from the king an entire barony, yet never were summoned as baronesses to parliament; because that honour, frequent in lay-persons, was never conferred on any ecclesiastical female. Yet were they, and almost all other abbesses of any quality, saluted ladies, as earls' daughters are by the courtesy of England; which custom hath made such a right, that they are beheld not only as unmannerly, but unjust, who in common discourse deny the same. However, the aforesaid four abbesses, though not called to parliament, were solemnly summoned by special writs *ad habendum servitium suum*, that is, to have their full number of knights in time of war, where the ladies' personal presence was not expected, but their effectual appearance, by their proxies or their purses, to supply the king's occasions ^c.

7. Of all these the prior of St. John's in Jeru- Prior of Jerusalem chief baron. salem took the precedency, being generally of noble extraction and a military person. Yea, not content to take place of all regular barons, "*Primus Angliæ Baro haberi voluit,*" saith my author ^d, he would be counted simply and absolutely the first and chief baron in England; though the expression speaks rather his affectation than peaceable possession of such priority.

8. Next him the abbot of St. Alban's took place Next the abbot of St. Alban's. above all of his order, to the no small grief and

^c Pat. 5. Ed. I. m. 11. d. Fœdera, ib. II. 539, new edition. Rot. Scutagii ejusd. an. m. 7. [See the summons in Rymer's ^d Camd. Brit. p. 123.]

grudge of Glastonbury, seeing Joseph of Arimathea was two hundred years senior to St. Alban's. But who shall deny the patriarch Jacob the privilege of crossing his own hands to prefer the younger before the elder^e? The same power, but on what pretence let others inquire, the pope assumeth to himself, whereby Adrian the Fourth, once a monk of St. Alban's, gave that convent the precedency.

The care-
less order of
the rest.

9. As for the remaining abbots, we may observe a kind of a careless order observed in their summoning to, and consequently their sitting in, parliament. Now, seeing it will not enter into a rational belief that their methodizing was merely managed by the will of the clerk of the writs, it must descend on the disposal of the king, calling them in what order he pleaseth.

Seniority
not ob-
served in
the sum-
mons.

10. Sure I am these abbots were not summoned according to their personal seniorities of their several instalments, nor according to the antiquity of their respective foundations; for Waltham abbot being *ante-penultimus*, as but founded by king Horold, is commonly fourteenth or fifteenth in the summons. Battle Abbey, which in this body of abbeys should be beneath the ancle, (as last of all, save Selby,) is commonly about the breast, the eighth or ninth in number^f.

Nor ranked
by their
wealth.

11. Nor are they ranked according to the richness of their annual revenues; for then, according to their valuations at the dissolution, they should be

^e Gen. xlviii. 14.

^f [The abbot of Waltham was made a parliamentary baron in 1177, when this house was

taken from the canons secular, and given to the Augustinians or black canons. See Reyner, 159.]

marshalled according to the method here ensuing, when first I have premised a note concerning the abbey of Tewksbury, in Gloucestershire.

12. This abbot appeareth parliamentary neither in any summons exhibited by Master Selden, most curious in this point ^g, nor yet in the catalogue of them presented by Master Camden ^h; and reverence to these worthy authors hath prevailed with me so much, that I durst not insert him. However, since I am convinced in my judgment, he must be entered in the list; partly moved by the greatness of revenues, partly because I find him registered by bishop Godwin ⁱ, no less critical than the former in historical matters. Yet, to please all parties, we will only add him in the margin, and not enter him in the body of the catalogue ^k.

	lib.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
1. St. Peter's, Westminster .	3977	6	4	1	1
2. Glastonbury, Somersetshire	3508	13	4	1	1
3. St. Alban's, Hertfordshire .	2510	6	1	1	1
4. St. John's of Jerusalem, Middlesex	2385	19	8	0	0
5. St. Edmundsbury, Suffolk .	2336	16	0	0	0
6. Reading, Berkshire	2116	3	9	0	1
7. St. Mary's, nigh York	2085	1	5	1	1
8. Abingdon, Berkshire	2042	2	8	1	1
9. Ramsey, Huntingdonshire .	1983	15	3	0	1
10. Peterborough, Northamp- tonshire	1972	7	0	1	1
* Tewkesbury, valued at	1598	1	3	0	0

^g Titles of Honour, p. 728.
^h Brit. p. 123.
ⁱ In his Annals of king Hen. VIII., anno 1539.

^k [He is cited among the parliamentary abbots by Burnet, Ref. i. p. 537. I have placed it in the list with a star.]

	lib.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
11. Gloucester	1550	4	5	1	0
12. St. Austin's, Canterbury	1412	4	7	1	1
13. Evesham, Worcestershire	1268	9	9	0	0
14. Crowland, Lincolnshire	1217	5	11	0	0
15. Waltham, Essex	1079	12	1	0	0
16. Cirencester, Gloucestershire	1051	7	1	0	0
17. Battle, Sussex	987	0	11	1	1
18. Tavistock, Devonshire	902	5	7	1	1
19. Hyde, nigh Winchester	865	1	6	1	1
20. Selby, Yorkshire	819	2	6	0	0
21. Malmesbury, Wiltshire	803	17	7	0	0
22. Wivelscombe, Gloucester- shire	756	11	9	0	0
23. Middleton, Dorsetshire	720	4	1	0	0
24. St. Bennet Holm, Norfolk	677	9	8	0	1
25. Shrewsbury	615	4	3	1	0
26. Thorny, Cambridgeshire	508	2	5	0	0
27. Bardney, Lincolnshire	429	7	0	0	0 ¹

The valuations of Coventry and Colchester I cannot find; and in all these sums we have trusted Harps-

¹ All these valuations are taken out of Speed's Catalogue of Religious Houses, p. 787. [In Dugdale's Monasticon a different valuation is given of these houses: the respective sums of the first six are, 347*l.* 0*s.* 2¼*d.*, 331*l.* 7*s.* 4¼*d.*, 2102*l.* 7*s.* 1¼*d.*, 2385*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*, 1659*l.* 13*s.* 11¼*d.*, 1938*l.* 14*s.* 3¼*d.* For so great a discrepancy between the two authors I can no otherwise account, than by supposing that Speed includes some of the dependencies or cells, which might have reve-

nues of their own in conjunction with the chief houses. He is followed by Reyner, p. 211. Dugdale's valuation was taken from an ancient MS. in the Cotton Library. The abbey of St. John's, Colchester, is reckoned by Dugdale at 523*l.* 17*s.* If we add to this the valuation of St. Botolph's priory, clearly belonging to the same order, 113*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*, and that of the Holy Cross, 7*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*, the whole amount will be 644*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* St. Mary's, Coventry, is not mentioned in this list.]

field and Speed, both subject to many mistakes; those standing on slippery ground, who in point of computation tread only on figures, and not on numbers at length. The auditors in these accounts pretend to much exactness, descending to the fractions of halfpence and farthings; though much partiality was used therein, many of the raters at the dissolution being ranters for the present, proved purchasers for the future, of the lands. The abbey of Ramsey, commonly called the rich ^m, is here but the ninth in number, according to the wealth thereof; whereby it plainly appears that much favour was used in the undervaluing of that foundation.

13. We must know there were other abbeyes, who, though not so high in dignity, were richer in endowments than many of these parliamentary barons, viz. Some abbots, not barons, richer than those that were.

	lib.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
1. Fountains, Richmondshire .	1173	0	7	1	0
2. Lewes, Sussex . . .	1691	9	6	0	1
3. St. Werburgh's, Cheshire .	1073	17	7	1	0
4. Leicester . . .	1062	0	4	1	1
5. Merton, Surrey . . .	1039	5	3	0	0
6. Furnes, Richmondshire .	969	7	1	0	0

These had more lands, at best were more highly valued, though not so honourable a tenure, as holding of mean landlords in frank-almonage; and probably the parliamentary barons had more old rents, though these (as later foundations) greater incomes by improved demesns.

^m Sir Robert Cotton, (under Description of Huntingdonshire, the name of Speed,) in the shire.

Shaftesbury
the richest
nunnery.

14. There also were nunneries corival in revenues with parliamentary abbeys, whereof Shaftesbury, the chiefest, valued at 1329*l.* 21*s.* 3*d.*; so that the country people had a proverb, that if the abbot of Glastonbury might marry the abbess of Shaftesbury, their heir would have more land than the king of England. Barking in Essex, and Sion in Middlesex, fell not much short of Shaftesbury, being severally endowed with above 1000*l.* per annum.

A profane
proverb.

15. Of all counties in England, Gloucestershire was most pestered with monks, having four mitred abbeys, beside St. Augustine's in Bristol, (who sometimes passed for a baron,) within the compass thereof; viz. Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Cirencester, and Wivelscombe: hence the topical wicked proverb, deserving to be banished out of that country, being the profane child of superstitious parents: "As sure as God is in Gloucestershire;" as if so many convents had certainly fastened his gracious presence to that place.

No country
free from
monks.

16. As Gloucestershire was the fullest of, so Westmoreland the freest from monasteries. It seemeth the monks did not much care for that cold country, nestling themselves but in one place, called Sharp, which they found so answering the name, that they sought warmer places elsewhere. As for the boasting of the men of the Isle of Wight, that they never had hooded monks thereinⁿ, were it so, (their soil being so fruitful and pleasant,) it would merit more wonder than that Ireland hath no venomous creatures therein. But their brag hath more of mirth than truth in it, seeing the

ⁿ Camd. Brit. in the Isle of Wight, [p. 198.]

priory at Carisbrook and nunnery at Quarre evidence them sufficiently stocked with such cattle.

17. I have done with this subject of mitred abbeys when we have observed that they were called Abbots-General, *alias* Abbots-Sovereign^o, as acknowledged in a sort no superior, because exempted from the jurisdiction of any diocesan, having episcopal power in themselves. And here I would be thankful to any who would inform me, that seeing all these abbots were thus privileged, how it came to pass that four of them were especially termed Abbots Exempti, viz. Bury, Waltham, St. Alban's, and Evesham^p. I say, seeing these were so called *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, (exempt, as it were, out of the exempted,) I would willingly be satisfied what extraordinary privileges these enjoyed by themselves above others of their own order.

Quære what meant by four abbots peculiarly exempt.

OF THE CIVIL BENEFITS AND TEMPORAL CONVENIENCES ACCRUING TO THE STATE BY THE CONTINUANCE OF ABBEYS.

So much of the greatness, somewhat of the goodness of abbeys, if possibly it may be done without prejudice to truth. Surely some pretences, plausible at least, did ingratiate them with the politicians of that age, otherwise prince and people in those days (though blinded with ignorant zeal, yet worldly wise) would never have been gulled into so long a toleration, yea, veneration, of them.

Give abbeys their due.

2. They were an easy and cheap outlet for the nobility and gentry of the land therein to dispose their younger children. That younger son who had

They convenient to dispose youngest children in.

^o Sir H. Spelman in *Glossario v. Abbas*.

^p *Titles of Honour*, p. 727.

not mettle enough to manage a sword might have meekness to become a cowl; which cowl, in short time, might grow up to be a mitre, when his merits presented him to be abbot of his convent. Clap a veil on the head of a younger daughter, (especially if she were superannuated, not over-handsome, melancholy, &c.) and instantly she was provided for in a nunnery, where, without cost or care of her parents, she lived in all outward happiness, wanting nothing, except perhaps it were a husband. This was a great cause of the long continuance of the English nobility in such pomp and power, as having then no temptation to torture their tenants with racking of rents to make provision for their younger children. Indeed, sometimes noblemen gave small portions with their children to the convent, not such as would prefer them in marriage to one of their own quality; but generally abbeys were glad to accept them with nothing, thereby to engage the parents and brothers of such young men and maidens to be the constant friends to their convent, on all occasions at court, and chiefly in all parliaments.

An eminent
instance
thereof.

3. One eminent instance hereof we have in Ralph Nevil, first earl of Westmoreland, of that family whom I behold as the happiest subject of England since the Conquest, if either we count the number of his children, or measure the height of the honour they attained.

He had by Margaret, his first wife,

- i. John, his eldest son, Lord Nevil, &c.
- ii. Ralph, in the right of Mary his wife, Lord Ferrers of Ousley.

- iii. Maude, married to Peter Lord Mauley.
- iv. Alice, married to Sir Thomas Gray.
- v. Philip, married to Thomas Lord Dacre, of Gilsland.
- vi. Margaret, married to the Lord Scrope, of Bolton.
- vii. Anne, married to Sir Gilbert Umfravile.
- viii. Margery, abbess of Barking.
- ix. Elizabeth, a nun.

He had by Joan, his second wife,

- i. Richard, earl of Salisbury.
- ii. William, in the right of Joan his wife, Lord Falconbridge.
- iii. George, Lord Latimer.
- iv. Edward, Lord Abergavenny.
- v. Robert, bishop of Durham.
- vi. Thomas, in right of his wife, Lord Seymour.
- vii. Katharine, married to Thomas duke of Norfolk.
- viii. Eleanor, to Henry earl of Northumberland.
- ix. Anne, to Humphrey duke of Buckingham.
- x. Jane, a nun.
- xi. Cicely, to Richard duke of York, and mother to king Edward the Fourth ^q.

See we here the policy of that age in disposing of their numerous issue. More than the tithe of them was given to the church; and I trow the nuns, and abbess especially, were as good madams as the rest, and conceived themselves to go in equipage with their other lady-sisters. And no wonder if an earl

^q Mills, p. 393.

preferred his daughters to be nuns, seeing no king of England since the Conquest had four daughters living to woman's estate, but he disposed one of them to be a votary ; and Bridget, the fourth daughter to king Edward the Fourth, a nun at Dartford in Kent, was the last princess who entered into a religious order.

Children
taught
therein.

4. They were tolerable tutors for the education of youth, there being a great penury of other grammar-schools in that age ; and every convent had one or more therein who (generally gratis) taught the children thereabouts ; yea, they who were loose enough in their own lives were sufficiently severe in their discipline over others. Grammar was here taught, and music, which in some sort sang her own *dirige* (as to the general use thereof) at the dissolution of abbeys.

Conveni-
ency of
she-col-
leges.

5. Nunneries also were good she-schools, wherein the girls and maids of the neighbourhood were taught to read and work ; and sometimes a little Latin was taught them therein. Yea, give me leave to say, if such feminine foundations had still continued, provided no vow were obtruded upon them, (virginity is least kept where it is most constrained,) haply the weaker sex, besides the avoiding modern inconveniences, might be heightened to a higher perfection than hitherto hath been attained. That sharpness of their wits and suddenness of their conceits, which their enemies must allow unto them, might by education be improved into a judicious solidity, and that adorned with arts which now they want, not because they cannot learn, but are not taught them. I say if such feminine foundations were extant now-of-days, haply some virgins of

highest birth would be glad of such places; and I am sure their fathers and elder brothers would not be sorry for the same.

6. They were the sole historians, in writing, to preserve the remarkable passages of church and commonwealth. I confess I had rather any than monks had written the histories of our land; yet rather than the same should be unwritten, I am heartily glad the monks undertook the performance thereof. Indeed, in all their chronicles one may feel a rag of a monk's cowl: I mean, they are partial to their own interest. But in that age there was a choiceless choice, that monks or none at all should write our English histories. Swordmen lacked learning, statesmen leisure to do it: it was therefore devolved to monks and friars, who had store of time and no want of intelligence to take that task upon them. And surely that industrious Bee^r hath in our age merited much of posterity, having lately, with great cost and care, enlarged many manuscripts of monks, (formerly confined to private libraries,) that now they may take the free air, and, being printed, publicly walk abroad. Meantime, whilst monks' pens were thus employed, nuns with their needles wrote histories also: that of Christ his passion for their altar-clothes, and other Scripture- (and moe legend-) stories, in hangings to adorn their houses.

7. They were most admirable good landlords; and well might they let and set good pennyworths, who had good pounds'-worths freely given unto them. Their yearly rent was so low, as an acknowledgment

^r An able stationer, in Little Britain, London. [He published Twysden's Decem Scriptores.]

rather than a rent, only to distinguish the tenant from the landlord. Their fines also were easy; for though every convent, as a body politic, was immortal, yet because the same consisted of mortal monks for their members, and an old abbot for the head thereof, they were glad to make use of the present time for their profit, taking little fines for long leases. As for rent-beeves, sheep, pullen, &c. reserved on their leases, tenants both paid them the more easily, as growing on the same, and the more cheerfully, because at any time they might freely eat their full share thereof, when repairing to their landlord's bountiful table; insomuch that long leases from abbeys were preferred by many before some tenures of freeholds, as less subject to taxes and troublesome attendance.

And admirable
house-
keepers.

8. Their hospitality was beyond compare, insomuch that Ovid, (if living in that age,) who feigned Famine to dwell in Scythia, would have fancied Feasting an inhabitant of English abbeys; especially in Christmas time, they kept most bountiful houses. Whosoever brought the face of a man, brought with him a patent for his free welcome till he pleased to depart. This was the method: where he brake his fast, there he dined; where he dined, there he supped; where he supped, there he brake his fast next morning: and so in a circle. Always provided that he provided lodging for himself at night; abbeys having great halls and refectories, but few chambers and dormitories, save for such of their own society^s.

^s[At the installation of Ralph de Borne, abbot of Thorney, in the year 1309, above six thousand guests were received and entertained in that monastery; the money expended at the

9. Some will object that this their hospitality was but charity mistaken, promiscuously entertaining some who did not need and moe who did not deserve it. Yea, these abbeys did but maintain the poor which they made; for some vagrants, accounting the abbey-alms their own inheritance, served an apprenticeship, and afterwards wrought journeywork to no other trade than begging; all whose children were, by their fathers' copy, made free of the same company. Yea, we may observe, that generally such places wherein the great abbeys were seated (some few excepted, where clothing began when their convent did end) swarm most with poor people at this day; as if beggary were entailed on them, and that laziness not as yet got out of their flesh, which so long since was bred in their bones.

Objection
against
their hos-
pitality.

10. All this is confessed; yet by their hospitality many an honest and hungry soul had his bowels refreshed, which otherwise would have been starved; and better it is two drones should be fed than one bee famished. We see the heavens themselves, in dispensing their rain, often water many stinking bogs and noisome lakes, which moisture is not needed by them, yea, they the worse for it, only because much good ground lies inseparably intermingled with them; so that either the bad with the good must be watered, or the good with the bad must be parched away.

The same
answered.

11. Of all abbeys in England, Ely bare away the bell for bountiful feast-making; the vicinity of the

Ely puts all
abbeys
down for
feasting.

election of Michael, abbot of St. Augustine's, in 1375, was 1000*l.*, an enormous sum for those days. See Reyner, p. 218.]

fens affording them plenty of flesh, fish, and fowl, at low rates. Héreupon the poet :

*Prævisis aliis, Eliensia festa videre,
Est, quasi prævisa nocte, videre diem.*

When other feasts before have been,
If those of Ely last be seen,
'Tis like to one who hath seen night,
And then beholds the day so bright.

But, with the leave of the poet's hyperbole, other abbeys (as Glastonbury, St. Alban's, Reading) spurred up close to Ely, which, though exceeding them in feasts, (the evidence oft of a miser,) yet they equalled Ely in the constant tenor of housekeeping. The mention of Reading minds me of a pleasant and true story, which, to refresh my wearied self and reader, after long pains, I here intend to relate.

A pleasant
story of
king Henry
the Eighth.

12. King Henry the Eighth, as he was hunting in Windsor forest, either casually lost, or, more probable, wilfully losing himself, struck down about dinner-time to the abbey of Reading; where, disguising himself, (much for delight, more for discovery, to see unseen,) he was invited to the abbot's table, and passed for one of the king's guard, a place to which the proportion of his person might properly entitle him. A sirloin of beef was set before him, (so knighted, saith tradition, by this king Henry,) on which the king laid on lustily, not disgracing one of that place for whom he was mistaken. "Well fare thy heart!" quoth the abbot; "and here in a cup of sack I remember the health of his grace your master. I would give an hundred pounds on the condition I could feed so

“ heartily on beef as you do. Alas! my weak and “ squeazy stomach will hardly digest the wing of “ a small rabbit or chicken.” The king pleasantly pledged him, and, heartily thanking him for his good cheer, after dinner departed as undiscovered as he came thither.

13. Some weeks after the abbot was sent for by a ^{He proves a good physician.} pursuivant, brought up to London, clapped in the Tower, kept close prisoner, fed for a short time with bread and water; yet not so empty his body of food as his mind was filled with fears, creating many suspicions to himself when and how he had incurred the king’s displeasure. At last a sirloin of beef was set before him, on which the abbot fed as the farmer of his grange, and verified the proverb that “Two hungry “ meals makes the third a glutton.” In springs king Henry out of a private lobby, where he had placed himself, the invisible spectator of the abbot’s behaviour. “ My lord,” quoth the king, “ presently “ deposit your hundred pounds in gold, or else no “ going hence all the days of your life. I have “ been your physician, to cure you of your squeazy “ stomach; and here, as I deserve, I demand my “ fee for the same.” The abbot down with his dust, and, glad he had escaped so, returned to Reading, as somewhat lighter in purse, so much more merrier in heart than when he came thence.

PRESAGES OF THE APPROACHING RUIN OF ABBEYS.

The wisest and most religious amongst the Ro-^{Oldham’s} manists presaged and suspected a downfall of these ^{prophecy of the friars’} convents some years before it came to pass; for ^{fall.}

when it was in the intention and design of Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, to have built a monastery, Hugh Oldham, bishop of Exeter, dissuaded him, affirming that such convents possessed more already than they would long enjoy^t. He advised him rather to bestow his bounty on founding some college in the university, as which was likely to last longer and certain to do more good, promising also his own utmost assistance in so pious an undertaking. This was done accordingly, Fox being the first founder of, and Oldham a liberal benefactor to, Corpus Christi College, in Oxford.

Seconded
by abbot
Whitgift.

2. Add to this a speech of Robert Whitgift^u, (abbot of Wellow, nigh Grimsby, in Lincolnshire,) uncle to archbishop Whitgift, who was wont to say, "That they and their religion" (chiefly in relation to monasteries) "could not long continue; because," said he, "I have read the whole scripture over and over, and could never find therein that our religion was founded by God." And, for proof of his opinion, the abbot would allege that saying of our Saviour, *Every planting which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up*. And that he proved a true prophet herein the next book will sufficiently evidence.

Ominous
burning of
abbeys,
[often] by
lightning.

3. We will conclude with their observation, as an ominous presage of abbeys' ruin, that there was scarce a great abbey in England which, once at the least, was not burnt down with lightning from heaven.

^t Godwin, in the Bishops of Winchester, [p. 235.]

^u Sir George Paul, in Whitgift's Life, p. 3.

- i. The monastery of Canterbury burnt anno 1145^x. And afterward again burnt, anno 1174^y.
- ii. The abbey of Croyland, twice burnt^z.
- iii. The abbey of Peterborough, twice set on fire^a.
- iv. The abbey of St. Mary's, in York, burnt^b.
- v. The abbey of Norwich, burnt^c.
- vi. The abbey of St. Edmunds-Bury, burnt and destroyed^d.
- vii. The abbey of Worcester, burnt.
- viii. The abbey of Gloucester was also burnt, [in 1122]^e.
- ix. The abbey of Chichester, burnt.
- x. The abbey of Glastonbury, burnt.
- xi. The abbey of St. Mary, in Southwark, burnt.
- xii. The church of the abbey of Beverley, burnt.
- xiii. The steeple of the abbey of Evesham, burnt.

^x [This ought, I think, rather to be referred to the year 1130. See Parker's *Antiq.* 192. I can find no mention among the early writers of Canterbury being burnt in 1145.]

^y Ex *Hist. Gervasii*, [in *Twysden*, p. 1428.]

^z Ex *Hist. Ingulphi*. [Once by the Danes, in 870; then by the carelessness of a workman, in 1091; and again in 1170. See *Ingulph.* pp. 22, 96, 452, ed. Oxford.]

^a Ex *Chron. Peterb.* [quoted in *Dugdale*, i. 68], *Walteri*

Weeks., *Hovedeni*, *Gualteri Coventr.*, *Fabiani*. [These references are from *Fox*, ii. 501, and I have not been able to verify them; they are very carelessly cited, and most erroneously printed in the previous editions.]

^b [A. D. 741. *Symeon Dunelm.*]

^c [In 1266, see *Wykes*, p. 77; and subsequently, at various times.]

^d Ex *Chron. S. Edmond.*, *Guil. Malmesb.*

^e [*Florent. Wigorn. in an.*]

I will not, with Master Fox, infer from such casualties that God was more offended with abbeys than other buildings; a natural cause presenting itself of such accidents, namely, because the highest structures (whatever they are) are the fairest marks for lightning and thunder; as if those active meteors took the usurpation of such aspiring buildings in distaste for entering their territory, and for offering, without leave, to invade the marches of the middle region of the air. And if mountains of God's own advancing thither and placing there pay dear for their honour, and frequently feel the weight of thunderbolts falling upon them, *feriunt summos fulmina montes*, no wonder if artificial buildings of men's making (whatsoever they be, palaces, or castles, or churches, or convents) have their ambition often humbled with thunder and lightning, which casually melt and consume them.

Bells no
effectual
charm
against
lightning.

4. Only we will add, that such frequent firing of abbey churches by lightning confuteth the proud motto, commonly written on the bells in their steeples, wherein each bell entitled itself to a six-fold efficacy:

1. *Funera plango,*

Men's deaths I tell
By doleful knell.

2. *Fulgura } frango,*
Fulmina }

Lightning and thunder
I break asunder.

3. *Sabbata pango,*

On Sabbath all
To church I call.

4. *Excito lentos,*
 The sleepy head
 I raise from bed.
5. *Dissipo ventos,*
 The winds so fierce
 I do disperse.
6. *Paco cruentos,*
 Men's cruel rage
 I do assuage ^f.

Whereas it plainly appears that these abbey steeples, though quilted with bells almost *cap-à-pie*, were not of proof against the sword of God's lightning; yea, generally, when the heavens in tempests did strike fire, the steeples of abbeys proved often their tinder, whose frequent burning portended their final destruction; which now, God willing, we come to relate.

OF THE ESSAYS AND OFFERS TO OVERTHROW
 ABBEYS BEFORE THEY TOOK EFFECT.

Great buildings commonly crack before they fall, to give the dwellers therein warning to depart: so was it here in abbeys. But may we here first premise, as an introduction, that it was placed in the power and pleasure of princes and great persons, their founders, to displace and exchange particular orders, as sometimes monks for nuns, and reciprocally nuns for monks; white for grey friars, and grey for white, as their fancy directed them: whereof we have plenty of instances. But all this made nothing to the loss of monkery in general; though

Orders of friars alterable according to the pleasures of their founders.

^f [From Weever's Fun. Monuments, p. 122, where the reader will find several other inscriptions of the same kind.]

sexes or colours of friars were altered, the same bells did hang still in the steeple, though rung in changes to content several people.

Particular
convents,
on misde-
meanour,
dissolvable.

2. Secondly, particular convents might be wholly dissolved upon their misdemeanour, as in Berkley nunnery: here a young man (left out of design by Earl Godwin) dissembled himself to be sick, who, in short space, so acquitted himself amongst the votaries there, that all of them, with their abbess, (whose age might have been presumed a protection for her honesty,) were got with child ε : upon complaint and proof whereof unto king Edward the Confessor, they were all driven out, and their nunnery, with large revenues, bestowed upon Earl Godwin by the aforesaid king, who was then accounted patron of all abbeys, which, now fallen into his hands by this foul lapse, he bestowed, as a lay fee, upon this new owner, wholly altering the property thereof.

Whole
orders
routed out
by the pope
for their
faults.

3. Thirdly, whole religious orders might, by order from the pope, be totally and finally extirpated. Here I pass by the *Fratres Flagelliferi*, or scourging friars; religious bedlams, who used publicly to whip themselves in the market-place, making vellum of their own skins, thereon to write their follies in legible characters: I say I omit them, afterwards put down by the pope himself, the rather because I find them not in England or elsewhere endowed with considerable revenues. I will insist on the Templars, whose numerous and wealthy fraternity was for their viciousness, by the pope in the council

ε "De honestis onustas— [p. 255.] out of Walter Mapes, agnas convertit in lupas." Camden's Brit. in Gloucestershire, [a writer of very suspicious authority.]

of Vienna, dissolved all over Europe; and in England all or most of their land was given to the Knights Hospitallers^b. This was a great shaking of all religious orders; the plucking out of these chief threads made a rent in the whole cloth, men conceiving that in process of time the whole sheaf may be broken as well as the single arrows, seeing, perchance, other societies led lives not more religious but less examined.

4. But the first terrible blow in England given generally to all orders was in the lay parliament, as it is called, which did wholly Wickliffize, kept in the twelfth year of king Henry the Fourth; wherein the nobles and commons assembled signified to the king that the temporal possessions of abbots, priors, &c. lewdly spent within the realm would suffice to find and sustain 150 earls, 1500 knights, 6200 esquires, 100 hospitals, more than there wereⁱ. But this motion was mauled with the king's own hand, who dashed it, personally interposing himself, contrary to that character which the jealous clergy had conceived of him, that, coming to the crown, he would be a great enemy to the church^k. But though Henry Plantagenet, duke of Lancaster, was no friend to the clergy, perchance to ingratiate him-

The first stroke at the root of abbeyes.

^b See Supplement of the Holy Warre, chap. 1, 2, 3. [where Fuller has treated this question with ability and impartiality. The decree against the Templars was passed in 1307. Jacques des Moulins, the grand master of the order, was executed at Paris, March 11, 1313, being roasted over a slow fire. The reader may

consult a dissertation by Alexander Natalis, and another in French by Pierre du Puy, on this greatly disputed subject.]

ⁱ Thomas Walsingham, [in anno 1410, p. 379.]

^k Being heard to say that princes had too little, and religious men too much. Hollinshed, p. 514.

self with the people, yet the same Henry, king of England, his interest being altered, to strengthen him with the considerable power of the clergy, proved a patron, yea, a champion to defend them. However, we may say that now the axe is laid to the root of the tree of abbeys; and this stroke for the present, though it was so far from hurting the body that it scarce pierced the bark thereof, yet bare attempts in such matters are important, as putting into people's heads a feasibility of the project, formerly conceived altogether impossible.

The objection of covetousness against abbeys, though not answered, evaded by archbishop Chichele.

5. Few years after, namely, in the second year of king Henry the Fifth, another shrewd thrust was made at English abbeys; but it was finely and cleverly put aside by that skilful state fencer Henry Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury; for the former bill against abbeys, in full parliament, was revived, when the archbishop minded king Henry of his undoubted title to the fair and flourishing kingdom of France. Hereat that king, who was a spark in himself, was inflamed to that design by this prelate's persuasion; and his native courage ran fiercely on the project, especially when clapped on with conscience and encouragement from a churchman in the lawfulness thereof. An undertaking of those vast dimensions that the greatest covetousness might spread and highest ambition reach itself within the bounds thereof: if, to promote this project, the abbeys advanced not only large and liberal but vast and incredible sums of money, it is no wonder if they were contented to have their nails pared close to the quick, thereby to save their fingers. Over goes king Henry into France, with many martial spirits attending him; so that putting the king upon

the seeking of a new crown kept the abbots' old mitres upon their heads; and monasteries, tottering at this time, were (thank a politic archbishop) re-fixed on the firm foundations, though this proved rather a reprieve than a pardon unto them, as will afterwards appear.

OF THE SUPPRESSION OF ALIEN PRIORIES.

Next followed the dissolving of alien priories, of whose first founding and several sorts something must be observed. When the kings of England, by conquest or inheritance, were possessed of many and great territories in France, (Normandy, Aquitaine, Picardy, &c.) many French monasteries were endowed with lands in England; for an English kitchen or larder doth excellently well with a French hall; and whilst foreigners' tongues slighted our island, as barren in comparison of their own country, at the same time they would lick their lips after the full fare which our kingdom afforded.

2. Very numerous were these cells in England relating to foreign abbeys scattered all over the kingdom. One John Norbury erected two for his part, the one at Greenwich, the other at Lewisham in Kent¹; yea, Roger de Poictiers^m founded one

¹ [Weever, in his account of the funeral monument in the diocese of Rochester, has the following observations: "John Norbury founded a priory in this town of Lewisham, which he replenished with black monks aliens, belonging to the abbey of Ghent, in Flanders, and thereupon called aliens, because they were cells to some monastery or other beyond the seas. The first foundation of these houses I do not find; but in the reign of king Edward III. they were increased to the number of 110 in England, besides those in Ireland, Aquitaine, and Normandy. The goods of all which priories the said king, anno reg.

in the remotest corner of the land, in the town of Lancaster. The richest of them all, for annual income, was that which Yvo Taylboys built at Spalding in Lincolnshireⁿ, giving it to the monks of Anjou in France, valued at no less than 878*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.* of yearly revenue^o. And it is remarkable, that as one of these priories was granted before the kings of England were invested with any dominion in France, (namely, Deerhurst in Gloucestershire^p, assigned by the testament of Edward the Confessor to the monastery of St. Denis near Paris,) so some were bestowed on those places in foreign parts where our English kings never had finger of power or foot of possession. Thus we read how Henry the Third annexed a cell in Threadneedle Street, in London, to St. Anthony in Vienna^q; and near Charing Cross there was another annexed to the lady Ronceval in Navarre. Belike men's devotion, in that age, looked on the world as it lay in common, taking no notice how it was subdivided into private principalities, but proceeded on that rule, *The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof*^r;

“ 12, because of his wars with France, caused to be confiscated to his own use, letting out their houses to farm, with all their lands and tenements, for the space of three and twenty years; at the end of which term (peace being concluded between the two nations) he restored to the priors aliens their houses, lands, and tenements, anno regni 35, as by his patents may appear.” A list of these priories, with several other papers relative to this act of

Edward III., will be found in Reyner's *Apost. Bened. App.* ii. p. 71.]

^m *Camd. Brit. in Lancashire*, [p. 617.]

ⁿ *Idem in Lincolnshire*, [p. 400. *Dugdale*, i. 306.]

^o Harpsfield [*Hist. Eccl.*] in *Catal. religiosarum Ædium*, p. 762.

^p *Camd. Brit. in Gloucestershire*, [p. 254.]

^q Harpsfield, ut prius, pag. 763.

^r 1 Cor. x. 28.

and charity, though wandering in foreign parts, counted itself still at home, because dwelling on its proper pious uses.

3. These alien priories were of two natures: Alien priories of two natures. some had monks, with a prior resident in them, yet not conventual, but dative and removable *ad nutum* of the foreign abbey, to which they were subservient; others were absolute in themselves, who, though having an honorary dependance on, and bearing a subordination of respect unto French abbeys, yet had a prior of their own, being an entire body of themselves to all purposes and intents: the former not unlike stewards managing profits for the behoof of their master, to whom they were responsible; the latter resembling retainers at large, acknowledging a general reference, but not accountable unto them for the revenues they received. Now both these kinds of priories peaceably enjoyed their possessions here, even after the revolt of those principalities from the crown of England; yet so that during open hostility and actual war betwixt England and France their revenues were seized and taken by the king, and restored again when amity was settled.

4. But king Richard the Second and king Henry the Fourth, not so fair as their predecessors herein, not only detained those revenues in time of peace, but also diverted them from their proper use, and bestowed them on some of their lay-servants; so that the crown was little enriched therewith, especially if it be true what Arundel archbishop of Canterbury averred in the house of commons to the face of the speaker, that these kings were not half a mark the wealthier for those rents thus assumed

into their hands^s. And a synod of the clergy, in the last of Henry the Fourth, petitioned the king that laymen might not invade the possessions of alien priories, but those foundations might be furnished, native English substituted in their rooms^t; whose request, by reason of the king's death ensuing, took no effect. But this doth intimate (though I had rather learn than teach in so dark a point) that those alien priories still stood undissolved by act of state, with a possibility to revert to their former use; and though the king had fastened upon their profits by his absolute power, yet as yet they were not settled and established in the crown by act of parliament.

Their dissolution.

5. But in the fourth year of king Henry the Fifth, in the heat and height of his wars with France, all such priories alien as were not conventual were by act of parliament dissolved^u, and bestowed on the king^x; it being conceived unsafe that men moving according to a foreign interest, having their affections leading them beyond the seas, and their actions following, when befriended with secresy, should be maintained in this kingdom. Besides, it tended to the manifest detriment of the state that such should transport our coin and commodities into an enemy's country, without returning a proportionable profit to the commonwealth. Other alien priories, which were conventual, survived until the general mortality of English monasteries: these

^s [Parker's] *Antiq. Brit.* p. 274.

^t Harpsfield, *Hist. Ang. sæc. decimo quinto cap. octavo.*

^u *Parliament Rolls*, iii. 461, iv. 179. *Rastall's [Collection*

of the Statutes,] tit. *Monasteries.*

^x [To the number of 120. See *Stow's Chron.* p. 345. They were dissolved by Henry IV. and vested in Henry VI.]

alien priories were not conceived to have such a temptation to disloyalty as the others, having their absolute subsistence here; and though the monks therein were strangers in respect of their birth, they were counted naturalized in a manner in regard of their education and livelihood.

6. The dissolving of these priories made a dangerous impression on all the rest. Say not that English abbeyes were unconcerned; because these strangers, being rather suckers than branches of their tree, their growing was a burthen, and their pruning off a benefit thereunto; for though aliens in their country, they were allies in their cause, there being an affinity betwixt all religious foundations. And now here was an act of state for precedent; that without sin of sacrilege such donations might be dissolved. Use was made hereof beyond the king's intention, who, (in this act not covetous, but politic,) aiming rather to secure than enrich himself; whereas now some courtiers by his bounty, tasting on the sweet of abbey lands, made their breakfasts thereon in the time of Henry the Fifth, which increased their appetites to dine on the same in the days of king Henry the Eighth, not so gluttoned but they could sup on the reversions left in the reign of king Edward the Sixth.

The dangerous influence of this precedent.

SECT. III.



TO THE HONOURABLE THE

LADY MARY FOUNTAINE ^a.

Madam,

Though none can expect courtship, many will require congruity from me. Such will charge me with a great impropriety for dedicating a discourse of monks and friars to your ladyship, where some passages of their wantonness may occasion your blushing for them, who never blushed for themselves. But know it done by design, that you may plainly perceive how far marriage-chastity transcended forced and pretended virginity; or, if you please, how much a springing fountain is better than a standing pool, soon subject to putrefaction.

Your family, though not a nunnery, may be a religious house, seeing God hath multiplied you into a whole convent; I mean the fourteen children which you have at this present: I say have, for this reason is rendered, why the children of Job, after his restitution, were not doubled unto him as his cattle

^a [I have endeavoured, but without success, to discover some traces of this lady and her family. Sir Harris Nicholas also did me the kindness to examine the MSS. in the Herald's College for the same purpose; but up to the time

of this sheet going to the press he had not succeeded in identifying this lady with any pedigree of the same name. If any information should reach me before the work is concluded, it shall be inserted in the general index.]

were, because they were utterly foregone, his children only gone before; on which account those six removed from you into a better world still remain yours. God in due time translate you and your worthy husband, in a good old age, into the same place of happiness!

OF CARDINAL WOLSEY'S OMINOUS SUPPRESSING OF FORTY LESSER MONASTERIES, THEREWITH TO BUILD TWO COLLEGES.



WAS were the revenues of cardinal ^{Wolsey's} Wolsey, if we account both his wives ^{wealth and} and concubines: I mean, the place ^{want.} whereon he resided, and churches he held in *commendam*; being at the same time the pope's legate *a latere*, archbishop of York, chancellor of England, bishop of Winchester, abbot of St. Alban's, besides other meaner preferences. Yet he found Solomon's observation true, *When goods increase, they are increased that eat them*^b. Insomuch that his magnificent mind was poor in his plenty, and in the midst of his wealth wanted means to compass his vast designs. Wherefore, intending to erect two fair colleges, one where he was born, in Ipswich, the other where he was bred, in Oxford, and finding himself unable to endow them at his own charges, he obtained license of pope Clement VII., anno 1525, to suppress forty smaller monasteries in England, and to lay their old land to his new foundations, which was done accordingly; for the cardinal thought that these petty houses, like little sparks of diamonds, were inconsiderable in themselves, whereas they would make a

^b Eccles. v. 11.

fair show if all were put together into two jewels only, (his two colleges,) and he carry away all the credit thereof.

Wolsey his
act justly
censured.

2. An action condemned by the conscientious in that age, accounting it essential to charity that the thing given be the proper goods of the donor. *Cast thy bread* (saith Solomon) *upon the water*^c. It must be *thy bread*, otherwise, though *stolen bread*^d may be pleasant to men, it is nauseous and distasteful to the God of heaven, who in such cases will not be the receiver, though man be the thief; solemnly disavowing the acceptance of such donations: witness his own words, *I hate robbery for burnt-offering*^e.

Fig-leaves
to cover it,
in vain.

3. Plead not in the cardinal's excuse, that the houses by him suppressed were of small value, it being as great, yea, greater sacrilege to invade the widow's mite than the large gifts which the rich priests cast into Corban; because their bounties were but superfluous wens, whilst hers was an essential limb; yea, as our Saviour observes, the *whole body* of her estate^f. As probably some of those poor foundations were erected by founders like those of Macedonia, *to their power, and beyond their power willing of themselves*^g. As for the poor people formerly living in these then dissolved houses, they may be presumed more religious than others that were richer; poverty being a protection for their piety, and they unable to go to the cost of luxurious extravagances. I find not what provision was afterward made for these helpless souls, thrust out

^c Eccles. xi. 1.

^d Prov. ix. 17.

^e Isa. lxi. 18.

^f Luke xxi. 4.

^g 2 Cor. viii. 3.

of house and home; so that it is suspicious that the cardinal, notwithstanding his prodigious hospitality, made more beggars than ever he relieved ^h.

4. Others allege that these houses were still continued to the general end of pious uses; however it was not fair to alienate them from the primitive intention of the founders; yea, God himself seemed not well pleased therewith. I know that *no man knoweth either love or hatred by all that is before them. All things come alike to all, there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked*ⁱ, &c. However, God's exemplary hand ought to be heeded in the signal fatality of such as by the cardinal were employed in this service: five they were in number, two whereof challenging the field of each other, one was slain, and the other hanged for it. A third, throwing himself headlong into a well, perished wilfully. A fourth, formerly wealthy, grew so poor that he begged his bread. The fifth, Dr. Allen, one of especial note, afterward archbishop of Dublin, was

The miserable ends of the cardinal's instruments herein.

^h [" This season the cardinal, being in the king's favour, obtained license to make a college at Oxford, and another at Ipswich; and because he would give no lands to the said colleges, he obtained of the bishop of Rome license to suppress and put down divers abbeys, priories, and monasteries, to the number of [40]. Wherefore he suddenly entered by his commissioners into the said houses, and put out the religious and took all their goods, movables, and scarcely gave to the poor wretches any thing, except it were to the heads of the house; and

" then he caused the escheator
 " to sit and to find the houses
 " void, as relinquished, and
 " found the king founder where
 " other men were founders;
 " and with these lands he endow-
 " ed withal his colleges;
 " which he began so sumptuous,
 " and the scholars were so proud,
 " that every person judged that
 " the end would not be good,
 " as you shall hear five years hereafter."
 Hall's Chron. 16 Hen. VIII. p. 694. ed. 1809. See also in Stow's Chronicle a detailed account of their mode of suppressing the monastery of Deinty, p. 522.]

ⁱ Eccles. ix. 1, 2.

slain in Ireland^j. What became of the cardinal himself is notoriously known; and as for his two colleges, that in Ipswich (the emblem of its builder, soon up, soon down) presently vanished into private houses; whilst the other, Christ Church in Oxford, was fain to disclaim its founder, and (being adopted the issue of the bounty of king Henry the Eighth) at this day owns not him for father who first gave it life, but who afterwards kept it from dying. In a word, this dissolution of forty small houses caused by the cardinal made all the forest of religious foundations in England to shake, justly fearing the king would finish to fell the oaks, seeing the cardinal began to cut the underwood^k.

OF THE FIRST PRIORY WHICH WAS SOLEMNLY
SUPPRESSED BY KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

Some six years after, whilst as yet all other abbeys flourished in their height and happiness, as safe and

Christ
Church
Priory,
near Ald-
gate, first
and solely
dissolved.

^j Godwin his Annals of Hen. the Eighth, [from Stow, p. 522. Of Dr. Allen, Hall has given an amusing though unfavourable account in his Chronicle. He says: "The cardinal about this season, by his power legatine, sent a chaplain of his called Dr. John Allen, a man of more learning than virtue or good conscience, to visit all places religious. This priest rode in his gown of velvet, with a great train, and was received into every Religion with procession, as though the legate had been there, and took such great sums for his visitation, that the religious were sore grieved and murmured much

" against it, and in especial
" for they were charged with
" great sums of money to the
" king. And now this sudden
" visitation or predation clean
" shaved them. The common
" people spake much against
" this; and also they said that
" the cardinal, by visitations,
" making of abbots, probates
" of testaments, granting of
" faculties, licenses, and other
" pollings in his courts lega-
" tine, had made his treasure
" equal with the king's, and
" yet every year he sent great
" sums to Rome." p. 703.]

^k Yet Mr. Fox maketh the lord Cromwell the principal person employed by the cardinal therein.

secure as ever before, king Henry the Eighth, for reasons best known to himself, singled out the priory of Christ Church, nigh Aldgate in London, and dissolved the same¹. This he bestowed as a boon on Thomas Audley, speaker in the parliament; and indeed it was an excellent receipt to clear his voice, to make him speak shrill and loud for his master^m. This shrewdly shook the freehold of all abbeys, seeing now two such great men, Wolsey and Audley, both in their times lord-chancellors of England, (and therefore presumed well versed in cases of conscience,) the one a divine first took, the other a common-lawyer first received, such lands into their possession.

2. A word of the antiquity, wealth, and dignity of The anti-
quity,
wealth, and
dignity
thereof.

¹ ["The priory of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ Church." Stow's Chron. p. 560. The same writer dates this suppression in the year 1532.]

^m Hall's Chronicle, anno 1525. [He had spoken loud enough already, as Lloyd bespeaks him: "His reading upon the statutes of privileges commended him to the king's service; his speaking for the prorogation in parliament brought him to the king's favour." And as he had thus unscrupulously wormed himself into favour, so he secured his popularity by most abject sycophancy, courting alternately the king and the people, and turning with every tide; for according to the same biographer, whose panegyrics are truly the keen-

est satires, "Sir Thomas followed the most passable rather than the most able men living, in a time when active men were more useful than virtuous." And in this humour, to gratify both king and commons, he preferred six bills against the clergy, bringing them into a *præmunire* to awe them. When sir Thomas More could not act with the times, Audley could; he took the seals when More resigned them. To conclude his character in the words of his strange biographer: "The king might well trust him with his conscience, when he trusted the king with *his*; owning no doctrine but what was established, ever judging the church and state wiser than himself. (!)" Lloyd's Worthies, I. 85.]

this convent, because in each respect it was remarkable. It was founded anno 1108, by queen Matilda ⁿ, (wife to king Henry the First,) dedicated to the Holy Trinity, for black canons, or canons-regular; and one Norman (by name and nation) was first prior thereof. In process of time it became rich in land and ornaments, and passed all the priories in London or Middlesex, especially in this particular, that the prior thereof was always an alderman of London ^o, namely, of Portsoken Ward, (though otherwise their convent standeth in Ealgate Ward,) and used to ride amongst the aldermen in a livery like the rest, save that his habit was in the shape of a spiritual person. In the year 1264, Eustathius ^p, the eighth prior of this convent, because he himself was loath to deal in temporal matters, instituted Theobald Fitz-Ivo alderman in his place. They were most bountiful housekeepers, relieving all comers and goers, and got themselves much reputation for their hospitality.

A guess at
king Hen-
ry's design.

3. Some conjecture this was king Henry's design in dissolving this priory, thereby to make a discovery in people's affections, how they resented the same. He dispatched this convent first, as the forlorn hope is sent out before the body of the army, which, if meeting with unsuspected dangers, may give timely notice to the rest to advance no farther; and if he had found the people much startled thereat, he could quickly knock off, retrench his resolutions, and (dexterous to decline envy for himself) hand-

ⁿ Harpsfield, in his Catalogue of Abbeys. [Stow's Survey, p. 145. I. p. 391, edition by Strype.]
^o Stow, ib.
^p Idem. [p. 393.]

somely cast the same on his instruments employed therein. Others think the king as yet had no such project in intention, but did it merely to gratify Sir Thomas Audley, whom he loved the better for hating Cardinal Wolsey, now beginning to fall, against whom he had bitterly inveighed in the parliament.

4. As for the manner of the dissolving thereof, The priory taken by composition. whereas all other abbeys afterwards were stormed by violence, (whatsoever is plausibly pretended to the contrary,) this only was fairly taken by composition; for [Nicholas Hancock]^p, the prior thereof, was sent for by the king, commended for his hospitality, promised preferment as a man worthy greater dignity, which promise surely he performed, though the particulars of the agreement are not to be known. Whereupon, anno 1531, the twenty-third year of the king's reign, in the month of July, he surrendered the same to the king's use. As for the canons, they were sent to other houses of the same order, who now, being severally disposed in other convents, they might serve them as monitors to warn all the rest, seasonably to prepare for the time of their dissolution.

5. The rooting out of this priory wrought a The effect thereof upon the people. a middle effect in people, for they were neither dumb nor clamorous thereat, but grumbled out their discontentment for a time, and then returned to their former temper. However, at first they were so abstemious, that whereas the priory, church, and steeple was proffered to whomsoever would take it down ^q, no man would undertake the offer. Where-

^p [Stow, *ib.* p. 394. *Monasticon* VI. i. p. 151, new edition.]

^q Stow, *ib.*

upon sir Thomas Audley was fain to be at more charges than he could make of the materials; the workmen with great labour beginning at the top, loosed stone from stone, and, throwing them down, most part of them were broken in the fall, and remained useless.

This the
ancientest
of all prio-
ries.

6. What might move the king to single this priory out of all the rest, to lead this sad dance, is variously conjectured. Indeed this was the ancientest of all England of that order since the Conquest; I mean, of canon-regulars, as our author telleth us^r; and therefore it was but reasonable the oldest should go first, the first born should be first buried. But surely no such consideration moved king Henry to this choice, who was not so methodical in his deeds of undoing.

At this day
called the
Duke's
Place.

7. As for the lord Audley, on whom this priory was bestowed, Margaret, his sole daughter and heir, was married to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, who dwelt therein, and which from him was called the Duke's Place. No ingenuous soul will envy so honourable a person the accommodation of so handsome an habitation; only some perchance will bemoan that the Lord's place, (for so in their and Jacob's language they called the church^s;) whither alone the numerous neighbour-inhabitants repaired for public service, should be so destroyed, that the people were for many years left churchless, till their wants very lately were supplied^t by the re-edifying thereof out of the ruins, by the charity of others; I am sure none of the heirs of him who demolished the same.

^r Stow, ib.

^t Viz. Anno Dom. 1621.

^s Gen. xxxviii. 17.

OF THE SUPPRESSION OF THE ORDER OF OBSERVANT FRIARS, AND A PREPARATORY FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF ALL THE REST.

It is the practice of advised physicians, in purging of long corrupted bodies, (where the ill humours may prescribe peaceable possession for many years,) to proceed not violently all at once, but gently by degrees. The same course was embraced by king Henry in dissolving of abbeys, gradually, and therefore the less visibly, to work their subversion, so to avoid the danger of a sudden and extreme alteration. And first he began with the Minorites, or Franciscan Observant Friars, whose chief seats were Greenwich and Canterbury^u. Two motives mainly incensed him against this order: one, because two of their most eminent fathers, Hugh Rich, prior of a convent in Canterbury, and Richard Risby, had tampered with Elizabeth Barton, *alias* the holy maid of Kent, and were convicted and executed with her for high treason^x; a second, because this order generally manifested most contumacy and contempt against the king in the matter of queen Katherine's divorce, inveighing both in their sermons and disputations^y against the unlawfulness thereof, espe-

Observant
Friars why
first falling
under king
Henry's
displeasure.

^u [Wolsey had attempted, in the year 1525, to subject this order to a visitation, but without success. "In this month (January) the cardinal, as legate," says Hall, "would have visited the Friars Observants, but they in no wise would therein consent; wherefore nineteen of the same religion were accused at Paul's Cross by

"one of the same religion, called Friar Forest." Chron. p. 691. "This man was afterwards executed, in 1538, for speaking against the king's supremacy, having before sworn to the contrary." Ib. p. 825.]

^x [Hall, *ib.* p. 812.]

^y Sanders de Schis. Anglic. p. 81=86.

cially Elston and Payton, two famous friars in London. A great papist^z beholds it as ominous, and a prognostic of sad success, that the lady (afterward queen) Elizabeth, just eleven months before, had been christened in these friars' church in Greenwich; as if her baptizing therein portended that those friars should soon after be washed away from this their convent^a.

^z Idem. p. 80=85.

^a [The circumstance to which Fuller has thus briefly alluded is related at greater length by Stow, and is altogether so curious, and affords such a remarkable picture of the manners of the time, that I shall make no apology for setting it down in a note:

“The first that openly resisted,” says the chronicler, “or reprehended the king touching his marriage with Anne Boleyn, was one friar Peto, a simple man, yet very devout, of the order of Observants. This man, preaching at Greenwich upon the two and twentieth chapter of the third book of the Kings, viz. the last part of the story of Achab, saying, *Even where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth, even there shall the dogs lick thy blood also, O king*, and therewithal spake of the lying prophets which abused the king, &c.: “I am,” quoth he, “that Mischeas whom thou wilt hate, because I must tell thee truly that this marriage is unlawful; and I know I shall eat the bread of affliction and drink the water of sorrow;

“yet because our Lord hath put it into my mouth, I must speak it.” And when he had strongly inveighed against the king's second marriage, to dissuade him from it, he also said, “There are many other preachers, yea, too many, which preach and persuade thee otherwise, feeding thy folly and frail affections upon hope of their own worldly promotion; and by that means they betray thy soul, thy honour, and posterity, to obtain benefices, to become rich abbots, and get episcopal jurisdiction and other ecclesiastical dignities. These, I say, are the four hundred prophets, who in the spirit of lying seek to deceive thee; but take good heed lest you being seduced you find Achab's punishment, which was to have his blood licked up of the dogs;” saying it was the greatest miseries in princes to be daily abused by flatterers, &c. The king, being thus reproved, endured it patiently, and did no violence to Peto; but the next Sunday, being the eighth of May, Dr. Curwin preached in the same

2. Hereupon, in the year of our Lord 1534, the aforesaid whole order of Friars Observant were suppressed, and Augustine Friars substituted in their

Totally and finally dissolved.

“ place, who most sharply
 “ reprehended Peto and his
 “ preaching, and called him
 “ dog, slanderer, base beggarly
 “ friar, closeman, rebel, and
 “ traitor, saying that no sub-
 “ ject should speak so auda-
 “ ciously to princes. And
 “ having spoke much to that
 “ effect, and in commendation
 “ of the king’s marriage, there-
 “ by to establish his seed in his
 “ seat for ever, &c., he then
 “ supposing to have utterly
 “ suppressed Peto and his par-
 “ takers, he lift up his voice
 “ and said, ‘ I speak to thee,
 “ Peto, which makest thyself
 “ Micheas, that thou mayest
 “ speak evil of kings ; but
 “ now thou art not to be found,
 “ being fled for fear of shame,
 “ as being unable to answer
 “ my arguments.’ But whilst
 “ he thus spake, there was one
 “ Elstow, a fellow friar to Peto,
 “ standing in the rood-loft, who
 “ with a bold voice said to Dr.
 “ Curwin, ‘ Good sir, you know
 “ that father Peto, as he was
 “ commanded, is now gone to
 “ a provincial council holden
 “ at Canterbury, and not fled
 “ for fear of you, for to-morrow
 “ he will return again. In the
 “ mean time I am here as an-
 “ other Micheas, and will lay
 “ down my life to prove all
 “ those things true which he
 “ hath taught out of holy
 “ scripture ; and to this combat
 “ I challenge thee before God
 “ and all equal judges. Even

“ unto thee, Curwin, I say,
 “ which are one of the four
 “ hundred prophets into whom
 “ the spirit of lying is entered,
 “ and seekest by adultery to
 “ establish succession, betray-
 “ ing the king unto endless
 “ perdition, more for thy own
 “ vain-glory and hope of pro-
 “ motion than for discharge of
 “ thy clogged conscience and
 “ the king’s salvation.’ [On]
 “ this Elstow waxed hot and
 “ spake very earnestly, so as
 “ they could not make him
 “ cease his speech, until the
 “ king himself bade him hold
 “ his peace, and gave order
 “ that he and Peto should be
 “ convented before the council,
 “ which was done the next
 “ day. And when the lords
 “ had rebuked them, then the
 “ earl of Essex told them that
 “ they had deserved to be put
 “ into a sack and cast into the
 “ Thames. Whereunto Elstow,
 “ smiling, said, ‘ Threaten these
 “ things to rich and dainty folk,
 “ which are clothed in purple,
 “ fare deliciously, and have
 “ their chiefest hope in this
 “ world, for we esteem them
 “ not, but are joyful that for
 “ the discharge of our duties
 “ we are driven hence ; and,
 “ with thanks to God, we
 “ know the way to heaven to
 “ be as ready by water as by
 “ land, and therefore we care
 “ not which way we go.’ Those
 “ friars and all the rest of their
 “ order were banished shortly

places. Nor were these Observants (like the Canon-Regulares in the last chapter) disposed of in other foundations, but totally and finally banished out of all religious societies; for king Henry his smiles complimented the former out of their houses by their own willing condescension, whilst his frowns outed these as delinquents by a violent expulsion; yea, probably some of them had been expelled their lives as well as their livings, (two hundred of them being at once imprisoned,) had not sir Thomas Wriothesly^b, their great friend and favourer, seasonably interceded for them to the king, on hopes of some of their future conformity to his majesty's desires.

The Supplication of Beggars, with the sense thereof.

3. Immediately after, a famous petition, called the Supplication of Beggars, came into public view. It was made some years before by one Mr. Simon Fish^c, a gentleman of Gray's Inn, and solemnly presented by George Eliot, an English merchant, and entertained by king Henry for a great rarity; though indeed the same long since had been tendered him by queen Anna Bollen^d, and the king acquainted with the passages therein: so that possibly this supplication might first come from some

"after, and after that none
"durst openly oppose them-
"selves against the king's af-
"fections. Dr. Curwin was
"made dean of Hereford, and
"after that archbishop of Dub-
"lin in Ireland, and after that
"bishop of Oxford in queen
"Mary's time." Chron. p.
562.]

^b Sanders, *ib.* p. 89=95.

^c [More, in his *Life of More*, says that Fish afterwards repented of writing this book, recanted his errors, and returned to the church of Rome. p. 324. The whole tract has been frequently reprinted, and may be found in Fox's *Monuments*, as quoted below.]

^d Fox's *Mon.* II. 279. [Burnet's *Ref.* I. p. 325.]

near his majesty, as contrivers thereof. And as Moses^e was sent to be nursed unto her who, though generally unknown, was indeed his own mother which bare him, so petitions may sometimes be recommended back to the same power that first framed them; great ones delighting, not only for the greater solemnity, but also for their better security, to transfer their intentions to be others' entreaties; their private designs finding more acceptance when passing under the notion of a public desire. The effect thereof was to complain how a crew of strong, puissant, counterfeit-holy, idle beggars and vagabonds by their luxury starved a number of needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick people, which otherwise might comfortably be maintained; as also to discover the foul enormities and filthy conversation used amongst those pretended pious fraternities, as the same is set forth at large in the Book of Martyrs, whither we remit the reader.

4. Only a word of the geometry, arithmetic, and chronology used by the author of this supplication. For his geometry, I conceive he faileth not much in proportion, when, in measuring the content of this kingdom, he affirmeth that "They had got into their hands more than the third part of all the realm." But whereas he auditeth the revenues of the friars in England, besides their lands, to amount yearly to four hundred thirty thousand three hundred thirty and three pounds, allowing their quarterage to arise out of fifty-two thousand parishes, he highly over-

The geometry,
arithmetic,
and chronology of the
author
thereof.

^e Exod. ii. 8.

reacheth their number, not completing ten thousand^f. Indeed the papists tell us of ten thousand churches in England destroyed all in one year,

Millia dena unus templorum destruit annus.

Yet these being conventual, not parochial churches, add nothing to the former computation. Yea, should all the chapels of ease in this land be admitted to take a new degree, and to commence churches in this catalogue, it would not make up the number. But it is given to beggars sometimes to hyperbolize, to make their case the more pitiful; and indeed, if we defalk a third part of that sum, yet still vast was the remainder of such friars' revenues. But whereas the said author of this supplication saith that "four hundred years past these friars had not one penny of this money," *quære*, whether he be not mistaken in his chronology, and whether some of the same profits accrued not to the Benedictines before the Conquest?

The Anti-supplication of the Souls in Purgatory.

5. In answer to this an anti-supplication was made, and set forth by sir Thomas More, (extant amongst his other works,) called the Supplication of the Souls in Purgatory; the scope whereof is, to press the continuation of those lands given to pious uses for the good of the deceased, and that they might not be aliened without danger of sacrilege. In this supplication pleasant dallying and scoffing are so intermixed with complaints, that the author thereof discovereth himself more satirist than saint in his expressions: so hard it is for an actor so to divest himself of himself, as not to vent some of his

^f See Camd. Brit. in his division of Brit. p. 117.

own humours with the property of that person whom he is to represent. And seeing sir Thomas More would have his own jests when dying, no wonder if he makes others to jeer when dead.

6. These two supplications pressing both together for audience and reception, that of the beggars on earth found the best entertainment: whether because it came first, which we know is great advantage in beggars—first come, first served; or because these terrestrial beggars were nearer at hand, (and so best able to manage their own suit,) whilst those in purgatory were conceived at a greater distance; or chiefly because their supplication suggested matter of profit to the king and his courtiers: and such whispers sound loud, and commonly meet with attentive ears. And as an introduction to the dissolution of all abbeys, spies were sent forth to make strict discovery of men's behaviours therein. Indeed the lord Cromwell, scoutmaster-general in this design, stayed at the court whilst his subordinate emissaries (men of as prying eyes as afterwards they proved of gripple hands) sent unto him all their intelligence, in manner and form as in due time shall ensue.

The first supplication best received.

THE LESSER MONASTERIES BESTOWED ON THE KING.

Now because some months were employed in that service before a perfect account was returned to the lord Cromwell, the suppressing of the smaller monasteries may here seasonably be inserted; for in the twenty-seventh of the king's reign, anno 1539^f, a motion was made in parliament, That to support

A gainful motion made for the king.

^f [1535-6.]

the king's states and supply his wants, all religious houses might be conferred on the crown, which were not able clearly to expend above two hundred pounds a-year.

Reported
by mistake
opposed by
bishop
Fisher.

2. Some may report that John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, earnestly though pleasantly opposed the motion, by alleging an apologue out of Æsop, "That
" the helve of the axe craved a handle of the wood
" of oaks only to cut off the serebows of the tree,
" but when it was a complete instrumental axe it
" felled down all the wood;" applying it, that the grant of these smaller houses would in fine prove destructive to all the rest. But Fisher being now in his grave, this could not be spoken in this parliament, which with more probability was formerly urged by him against cardinal Wolsey in dissolving the forty houses, whereof before.

Easily
passed in
parliament.

3. This proposition found little opposition in either houses. Henry the Eighth was a king, and his necessities were tyrants: and both suing together for the same thing, must not be denied. Besides, the larger thongs they cut out of other men's leather, the more entire they preserved their own hide; which made the parliament to ease their own purses by laying the load on those lesser houses, which they accordingly passed to the crown.

A preamble
of import-
ance re-
stored out
of the re-
cords to the
printed
statute.

4. The lord Herbert in his History ^s complaineth, and that justly, "that this statute for dissolution of
" the lesser monasteries doth begin very bluntly,
" without any formal preamble in the printed books
" they are published." It seemeth that herein he never searched the record itself, (otherwise indus-

^s Of Henry VIII. p. 376. [Burnet I. p. 389.]

trious in that kind,) to which a solemn preface is prefixed, shewing some reasons of the dissolution, and pious uses to which they were attained, in form as followeth :

The Preamble is this :

“ Forasmuch as manifest sin, vicious, carnal, and
 “ abominable living is daily used and committed
 “ commonly in such little and small abbeys, priories,
 “ and other religious houses of monks, canons, and
 “ nuns, where the congregation of such religious
 “ persons is under the number of twelve persons,
 “ whereby the governors of such religious houses
 “ and their convent spoil, destroy, consume, and
 “ utterly waste, as well their churches, monasteries,
 “ priories, principal houses, farms, granges, lands,
 “ tenements, and hereditaments, as the ornaments of
 “ their churches, and their goods and chattels, to the
 “ high displeasure of Almighty God, slander of good
 “ religion, and to the great infamy of the king’s
 “ highness and the realm, if redress should not be
 “ had thereof. And albeit that many continual
 “ visitations hath been heretofore had by the space
 “ of two hundred years and more, for an honest and
 “ charitable reformation of such unthrifty, carnal,
 “ and abominable living, yet nevertheless little or
 “ no amendment is hitherto had, but their vicious
 “ living shamelessly increaseth and augmenteth, and
 “ by a cursed custom so rooted and infested, that a
 “ great multitude of the religious persons in such
 “ small houses do rather choose to rove abroad in
 “ apostasy than to conform themselves to the obser-
 “ vation of good religion ; so that without such small
 “ houses be utterly suppressed, and the religion ^h

^h [“ Religious persons,” printed copy.]

“ therein committed to the great and honourable
“ monasteries of religion in this realm, where they
“ may be compelled to live religiously for reformation
“ of their lives, there can else be no [redress nor]
“ reformation in that behalf. In consideration where-
“ of, the king’s most royal majesty, being supreme
“ head in earth, under God, of the church of Eng-
“ land, daily finding and devising the increase,
“ advancement, and exaltation of true doctrine and
“ virtue in the said church, to the only glory and
“ honour of God, and the total extirping and de-
“ struction of vice and sin, having knowledge that
“ the premises be true, as well by the compts of
“ his late visitations as by sundry credible informa-
“ tions; considering also that divers and great
“ solemn monasteries of this realm, wherein, thanks
“ be to God, religion is right well kept and observed,
“ be destitute of such full numbers of religious per-
“ sons as they ought and may keep, hath thought
“ good that a plain declaration should be made of
“ the premises, as well to the lords spiritual and
“ temporal as to other his loving subjects, the com-
“ mons in this present parliament assembled.

“ Whereupon the said lords and commons, by a
“ great deliberation, finally be resolved, That it is
“ and shall be much more to the pleasure of Al-
“ mighty God, and for the honour of this his realm,
“ that the possessions of such small religious houses,
“ now being spent, spoiled, and wasted for increase
“ and maintenance of sin, should be used and con-
“ verted to better uses, and the unthrifty religious
“ persons so spending the same to be compelled to
“ reform their lives; and thereupon most humbly
“ desire the king’s highness that it may be enacted

“ by authority of this present parliament, that his
 “ majesty shall have, to him and to his heirs for
 “ ever, all and singular such monasteries, &c.

“ His majesty shall have and enjoy,” &c., as it
 followeth in the printed statute ^h.

In this preamble two principles are laid down of Two prin-
 ciples which
 must not be
 questioned.
 infallible truth, and posterity must not be so pre-
 sumptuous as to question them :

i. The smallest convents were the greatest sinners,
 and they who had the least lands led the lowest
 lives.

ii. It was harder to reform little convents than
 those that were greater.

It seems such small houses, like little fishes, could
 not be caught with the net of reformation, as slip-
 ping through the holes thereof; and therefore no
 way to repress their faults except by suppressing
 their foundation. All I will add is, God first
 punished great Sodom, and spared little Zoar,
 though probably also in fault. Here Zoar was first
 punished: let great Sodom beware, and the larger
 monasteries look to themselves.

5. And now adieu all religious houses in England Exact mea-
 suring to
 the stan-
 dard of
 dissolution.
 that could not clearly spend above two hundred
 pounds per annum; and we must not believe any
 sinister dealing was used by favour to rack the
 revenues of some above, and out of dislike to shrink
 the rents of others beneath, the standard of dis-
 solution, when twenty shillings a-year under or over
 the aforesaid sum might save or destroy a small
 monastery. As for such (if any in that posture)
 who had just two hundred pounds and no more,

^h [27 Hen. VIII.] cap. 28.

they were obnoxious to the statute, whilst five shillings more saved all; as that is a fair ball in the tennis court which toucheth the line, yet goeth over it.

Many aged persons at a loss for livelihood.

6. Ten thousand persons were by this dissolution sent to seek their fortunes in the wide world. Some, indeed, had fathers or friends to receive them; others none at all; some had twenty shillings given them at their ejection, and a new gown, which needed to be of strong cloth to last so long till they got another. Most were exposed to want. I see no such certainty for a comfortable livelihood as a lawful calling; for monkish profession was no possession, and many a young nun proved an old beggar. I pity not those who had hands and health to work, but surely the grey hairs of some impotent persons deserved compassion; and I am confident such, had they come to the doors of the charitable reader hereof, should have had a meal's meat and a night's lodging given unto them.

Abbey lands politically scattered among many purchasers.

7. A clear revenue of thirty thousand pounds per annum was here advanced to the crownⁱ, (besides ten thousand pounds in plate and movables,) though the king enjoyed it but a short time, as passing it away by grant, sale, and exchange to his subjects. This was done by the politic counsel of the wise lord Cromwell, not hoping that these small morsels to so many mouths should satisfy their hunger, but only intending to give them a taste of the sweetness of abbey lands. And here papists plentifully rail

ⁱ [“ An hundred thousand pounds,” says Burnet, (Ref. I. p. 447,) without reckoning the sums which would arise from selling the bells, lead, and building materials of such of the abbeys and churches as were destroyed.]

upon him in scattering these lands all abroad, that if any should be so scrupulous as to find fault with the fact, a general guiltiness should amount unto innocence. Thus they say, "There is no fear that a man shall be condemned for felony, who hath so many receivers in the county, that scarcely a judge can sit, and surely no jury can be empannelled upon him, saving such who had been parties with him ^k."

8. No fewer than three hundred seventy-five convents, as Sanders doth account them, were dissolved at this time: sure I am none was left standing in the whole diocese of Bangor, where no foundation was valued at full seventy pounds per annum ¹.

9. We must not forget how, in the foresaid preamble, the king fairly claweth the great monasteries; wherein, saith he, religion, thanks be to God, is right well kept and observed; though he clawed them soon after in another acceptation. The truth is, king Henry could not suppress the lesser abbeys but by the consent of the greater abbots, whereof twenty-six, as barons, voted in the parliament, who mollified them by this commendation into a concurrence with his desire.

10. However, most specious uses were pretended, (though few, perchance, had faith firm enough to believe their full performance,) that all should be done to the pleasure of Almighty God, and for the

^k [Burnet (Ref. I. p. 448) asserts the same, that these lands were sold to the principal gentry in the several counties, to allay the general discontent of the times, and, by interweaving their interests with the proceedings of the crown, to oblige them to assist in these proceedings.]

¹ See Speed his Catalogue of Valuations.

honour of the realm; and particular care is taken in the statute, as it is printed, for the reservation of many rents and services, corrodies, and pensions to founders, donors, and benefactors. Order also was taken that those to whom abbey lands were passed should keep, or cause to be kept, a continual house and household in the same site or precinct; they were also to occupy yearly as much of the demesns in tillage as the abbots did, or their farmers under them, within the time of twenty years next before this act, otherwise forfeiting to the king's highness, for every month so offending, *6l. 13s. 4d.*, to be recovered to his use in any of his courts of record. The arrears whereof, if rigorously exacted, would amount to a vast sum from such offenders, whose hospitality was contracted to a shepherd and his dog, neither relieving those who would work by industry, nor such who could not work by their charity.

Such penalties graciously repealed by king James.

11. These penalties stood in full force above eighty years, viz. until the twenty-first of king James, when by act of parliament they were repealed. Indeed such who are obnoxious to penal statutes are only innocent by courtesy, and may be made guilty at their prince's pleasure; and though such statutes may be dormant as disused, they are never dead till revoked, seeing commonly princes call on such statutes when themselves are called on by their necessities. Many of the English gentry knew themselves subject to such penalties, when, instead of maintaining tillage, [they] had converted the granges of abbeys into enclosures; and therefore provided for their own safety when they wrought the king to a revocation of those statutes ^m.

^m See the Statutes the 21 of king James, c. 28.

12. But the courtiers grudged at this grant and great indulgence given by the king without any valuable compensation, some sticking not to say that hereby the king at once gave his subjects more than ever they gave him in subsidies, benevolences, contributions, or any other way whatsoever, all the time of his reign; which, if so, let no man's eye be evil because the king's was so good to his subjects.

Some
grudge at
so great a
gr^{ant}.

THE NORTHERN REBELLION OCCASIONED BY
THIS DISSOLUTION.

When all in the school are equally guilty, and the master beginneth at the bottom to correct the least boys first, no wonder if those in the highest form begin to shake; as here no doubt the bigger abbeys did, except some few, who, (to follow the metaphor,) like sturdy striplings counting themselves above correction, began to prepare themselves to make resistance: hence presently arose the northern rebellion, wherein all the open undertakers were north of Trent, though, no doubt, many secret compliers south of Thames were engaged.

Northern
rebellion,

2. This commotion began first in Lincolnshire, where the rebels presented six articles to the king, in the last whereof they complained that divers bishops of England, of his grace's late promotion, had subverted the faith of Christ, as they thought; which is, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Rochester, Salisbury, St. David's, and Dublin ⁿ.

begun, sup-
pressed,
punished.

3. This Lincolnshire commotion being quickly

ⁿ [These risings began in October, 1536, (Burnet, Ref. I. p. 456,) and were not fully quieted till July 1537, when a general amnesty was proclaimed all over the north by the duke of Norfolk. Burnet, ib. p. 470.]

suppressed, and a right understanding begotten betwixt the king and his subjects, the rebellious humour removed into Yorkshire, where no fewer than fifty thousand (saith Sanders) were assembled in a body under Robert Aske, a mean gentleman, their captain, and one Diamond, (though a knave of another suit,) who termed himself the Earl of Poverty. Yet this distemper also was seasonably cured by the king's pardon and their submission; till soon after a great part of them fell into a relapse of rebellion, carrying in their ensigns the five wounds of our Saviour, the chalice, with the host, and the name of Jesus betwixt them; who, being vanquished by the king's forces under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury, were condignly executed for the same °.

° [For an account of the rising in Lincolnshire, see Hall's Chron. p. 820. These, though amounting, as the writer states, to near twenty thousand men, quietly dispersed upon the king's proclamation. But the insurrection in Yorkshire was far more formidable, following within six days after the quieting of the other. "These men," says this author, "had each of them to other bound themselves by their oath to be faithful and obedient to his captain; they also declared by their proclamation solemnly made, that this their insurrection should extend no further, but only to the maintenance and defence of the faith of Christ, and deliverance of holy church sore decayed and oppressed, and also for the furtherance as well of private as public matters in the realm touching the wealth of all the king's poor subjects. They named this seditious and treacherous voyage an holy and blessed pilgrimage; they had also certain banners in the field, whereupon was painted Christ hanging on the cross on the one side, and a chalice with a painted cake in it on the other side, with divers other banners of like hypocrisy and feigned sanctity. The soldiers also had a certain cognizance or badge embroidered or set upon the sleeves of their coats, which was the similitude of the five wounds of Christ, and in the midst thereof was written the name of our Lord." p. 822.]

4. Indeed Sanders (to whom it is as natural to Excused by Sanders unjustly. defame as for a stone to descend) complaineth, that the king executed those whom formerly he had pardoned for the same offence, contrary to God's proceedings, with whom *peccata remissa non recurrunt*; yea, contrary to equity and all common justice: but our chronicles make it plain that they ran on the score of a new rebellion, (their faults specifically not numerically the same,) and justly suffered for their offences therein.

5. Thomas lord Darcy and the lord Hussey ^P (first and last baron of his family) were beheaded on this account; the first of these being much bemoaned both for what he had been (a martial man of merit by sea and land) and for what he was, (decayed, being almost eighty, with old age,) insomuch that there goeth a tradition that he had the king's pardon in his pocket, and slept the while the sentence of condemnation was passed on him, and then produced it too late: such, it seems, were the rigorous proceedings against him.

6. Aske and Diamond were executed in this rebellion, and so also were six abbots, namely, of Sawley, Barling, Gervaux, Whaley, Rivers, with the prior of Burlington, besides many gentlemen of prime account, whereof these the chief ^q: [sir] Robert Constable, [sir] Thomas Percy, [sir] Francis Bigot, Nicholas Musgrave, Nicholas Tempest, [sir] Stephen Persons executed.

^P [Lord Darcy was executed for the northern rebellion, and suffered on Tower Hill; the other for the Lincolnshire insurrection, and was beheaded at Lincoln. See Burnet, Ref. I. p. 470.]

^q [Aske and the others were at first pardoned, and subsequently appeared at court; but being accused, at the conclusion of the year, for rebelling again, they were executed in June following. Hall, 824.]

Hamilton, Thomas Gilby, William Lomley, [sir] John Bulmer, and his wife. However, some pity may seem proper to these persons, as ignorantly zealous, and grieved to behold the destruction of the old religion before they had received any competent instruction for a new. And thus was there a rout of the most ancient of the northern gentlemen of the Romish persuasion, who in the next generation had scarcely rallied themselves again but they were routed the second time in the rebellion of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland.

THE RETURN OF THE VISITORS OF ABBEYS.

The return
of the lord
Cromwell's
agents.

By this time the instruments employed by the lord Cromwell to make discovery of the vicious lives of monks and friars were all returned in their persons, or in their intelligence sent unto him. They were men who well understood the message they went on, and would not come back without a satisfactory answer to him that sent them, knowing themselves were likely to be no losers thereby. And now they had found out water enough to drive the mill, (besides what ran by,) a sufficient detection to effect the business. Of these, some were put in commission to visit abbeys; others moving in a lower but no less needful sphere of activity^r.

The prin-
cipal com-
missioners.

2. Of these commissioners the principal were Richard Layton, Thomas Legh, William Peters, doctors of the law; doctor John London, dean of Wallingford^s. Of the three former I can say nothing, but find the latter (though employed to

^r [Their commission has been printed by Weever, p. 106.]

^s Lord Herbert in the *Life of Hen. VIII.* p. 427.

correct others) no great saint himself; for afterwards he was publicly convicted of perjury^t, and adjudged to ride with his face to the horse's tail at Windsor and Ockingham, with papers about his head, which was done accordingly^u.

3. Their power was partly inquisitive, to search Their two-edged sword. into the former lives of religious persons; partly impositive, to enjoin them stricter rules for their future observation. It is hard to say whether their eyes were more prying for what was past, or hands more heavy for the time to come; and most true it is, that betwixt both, many monks, formerly lazy in, were now weary of, their present profession.

4. Some counted their convents their prisons, Monks weary of their lives. being thus confined; for once out of the house, without lawful cause and leave obtained, and never in again. It was a fine thing when they might, but sad case when they must, live in their monasteries: the eighty-six articles of the visitors (looking, with Janus, partly backward, partly forward) did so vex them, that many who had hopes of others' subsistence, cast off the cowls and veils, and quitted their convents.

THE SECOND SORT OF INSINUATING EMIS- SARIES.

These visitors were succeeded with a second sort of public agents, but working in a more private way, Others undone by their own dissensions.

^t Fox's Acts and Mon. p. 1221, where is a picture thereof.

^u [In the rebellion lately mentioned one of the articles of their petition was, that Drs. Layton and Lee "may have " condign punishment for their

" extortions in time of visita-
" tion, in bribes of some reli-
" gious houses, x^{li}, xx^{li}, and
" for other sums, besides horses,
" advowsons, leases under con-
" vent seals by them taken, and
" other abominable acts." Wee-
ver's Fun. Mon. p. 104.]

encouraging the members in monasteries to impeach one another; for seeing there was seldom such general agreement in any great convent, but that factions were found and parties did appear therein, these emissaries made an advantageous use thereof. No abbey could have been so soon destroyed but by cunning setting it against itself, and secret fomenting of their own divisions. Whereupon many, being accused, did recriminate their accusers, and, hopeless to recover their own innocency, pleased themselves by plunging others in the like guiltiness; others, being conscious to themselves, prevented accusing by confessing their faults, and those very foul ones; insomuch that some have so much charity as to conceive that they made themselves worse than they were, though it was a needless work for a blackamoor to besoot his own face.

A charitable
censure.

2. Yea, some hold that as witches long tortured with watching and fasting, and pinched when but ready to nod, are contented causelessly to accuse themselves to be eased of the present pain, so some of these poor souls, frighted with menaces, and fearing what might be the success, acknowledged all and more than all against themselves; the truth whereof none on earth can decide.

SOLICITING AND TEMPTING EMISSARIES COM- PLAINED OF BY THE PAPISTS.

A devilish
design, if
true.

The papists do heavily complain (how justly God alone knoweth) that a third sort of agents were employed, to practise on the chastity of the nuns, so to surprise them into wantonness. Some young gallants were on design sent to some convents, with

fair faces, flattering tongues, store of gold, and good clothes, youth, wit, wantonness, and what else might work on the weaker sex: these having with much craft screwed themselves into the affections of nuns, and brought them to their lure, accused them afterwards to the king's commissioners for their incontinence. A damnable act, if true, and which mindeth me of the ensuing story, here not impertinently inserted.

2. Some sixty years since an English gentleman had the chastity of his wife in suspicion, jealous of a particular person who kept her company. To put it to trial, this her husband so contrived the matter, a private place was appointed, with all accommodations for such a deed of darkness, whither the woman with her suspected paramour were by set design (but wearing to them the visage of a seeming casualty) brought, and left together. Meantime her husband made himself master of a secret inspection out of the next room, where, with some of his friends, he was the witness of his wife's dishonesty and his own disgrace. Soon after he entered his action, sues for a divorce, and the court seemed generally inclined to the granting thereof.

3. But a reverend judge there present refused to consent thereunto, alleging it the duty of every husband, by his prayers, counsel, and all other lawful means, to save and secure the chastity of his wife, and not to tempt temptations to tempt her, who otherwise might charitably be presumed honest, if such a fore-plotted occasion had not debauched her; and this not the detecting, but first causing of her disloyalty. Seeing therefore in some sort he had been a pander to his wife, let him satisfy himself

A memorable story.

Sin plot, sin pay for.

in the assurance of what was doubtful before, and bear the burthen of his own betraying her.

Application
as far as
concerns
the matter
in hand.

4. How just this judge's sentence was, all circumstances considered, I will not interpose; only in application to the present purpose, though I confess the relation betwixt husband and wife the nearest, and therefore most obliging to their mutual preservation, the general principles of religion and the communion of saints tieth all Christians, as they tender the honour and glory of God, to preserve the consciences of others undefiled. It was therefore a mere satanical trick, (who is commonly called the tempter in scripture ^x,) first to solicit souls to sin, and after the committing thereof to be an *accuser of the brethren* ^y. And seeing the tempter is deeper guilty than the tempted, as more active and voluntary, no reason that he should escape and the other be punished. But all this discourse sinketh, the foundation failing, namely, if the premises cannot be (which as yet are not) proved, that such indirect dealing was used in surprising of any votaries into uncleanness.

A com-
plaint of
the papists.

5. But still the papists go further, complaining of false returns, that many of these inveiglers of nuns met with impregnable pieces of chastity, (neither to be battered by force nor undermined by fraud,) who, despairing to lie with their bodies, did lie on their reputations, making their fames to suffer in those false reports which they returned to the king's commissioners; and the following story is, I assure you, traditioned with very much credit amongst our English catholics.

^x Matt. iv. 3, and Thess. iii. 5.

^y Rev. xii. 10.

6. Two young gentlemen (whose names for just ^{A sad story, if true.} cause I forbear) went to a nunnery within twelve miles of Cambridge, in the nature of travellers on the highway, who being handsomely habited, and late at night, were admitted into some out-lodgings of that nunnery. Next day their civil addresses to the abbess were returned with such entertainment as became the laws of hospitality. Afterwards (producing or pretending a commission to visit their convent) they abode there certain days, and, how bad soever they were, met with no counterpart to embrace their wanton proffers. However, at their return, they gave it out that nothing but their weariness bounded their wantonness, and that they enjoyed those nuns at their own command.

7. One of the aforesaid gentlemen, with great ^{The pedigree of this tradition.} grief and remorse of heart, did in private confess the same to sir William Standly, knight, (afterwards employed in the Low Countries,) avowing that nothing in all his life lay more heavy on his conscience than this false accusation of those innocents; and the said sir William told this passage to a noble catholic still alive. All I will say to this story is this, that if this sir William Stanley was he who, contrary to his solemn oath to the earl of Leicester and the United States, betrayed the strong city of Deventer to the Spaniards^z, and lived many years after in a neglected, forlorn condition^a, one so faithless in his deeds may be presumed false in his words, and the whole credit of the relation may justly at least be suspected.

^z Camd. Eliz. in anno 1587, p. 507.

^a Idem. ibidem.

SOME CONVENTS, ON EXAMINATION, APPEARING
VERY VIRTUOUS.

Some con-
vents re-
taining
their pri-
mitive
piety.

It is confessed by impartial people, that some monasteries of both sexes, being put to the test, appeared very commendable in their behaviour, so that the least aspersion could not justly be cast upon them. I read in one author^b, that “some societies behaved themselves so well, that their lives were not only exempt from notorious faults, but their spare times bestowed in writing books, painting, carvil, engraving; so that their visitors became intercessors for them.” Amongst these the nunnery of Godstow, near Oxford, must not be forgotten, which, as it hath a good name, (being a Bethel, that is, God’s house or habitation,) well answered thereunto in the conditions of the people living therein.

But too
few to pre-
serve the
rest.

2. But there were few such black swans, and these innocent convents, being inconsiderable in number, could not preserve the rest from ruin. Eight and one pious persons are insufficient to save Sodom from destruction, if ten be the lowest number to which divine mercy will descend^c.

THE GENERALITY OF MONASTERIES NOTO-
RIOUSLY VICIOUS.

Charitable
premises.

I say the generality; otherwise, take any numerous society, and where there be many people there will be many offenders, there being a Cham amongst the eight in the ark^d, yea, a Cain amongst the four primitive persons in the beginning of the world^e; I add also notoriously vicious, for *in many things we*

^b Lord Herbert in Henry
VIII. p. 399.

^c Gen. xviii.

^d Gen. vii. 7.

^e Gen. iv. 1.

offend all^f. Yea, if the visitors had been visited, they were conscious to themselves of many failings, which might make them more favourably to reflect on the infirmities of others.

2. Here I shall present the reader with a black bill of some eminent malefactors, as I find them in my author in the same nature^g. Read, and blush, and sigh.

In Battle Abbey.

John Abbot,	}	Sodomites.
Richard Salchurst,		
Thomas Cuthbert,		
William March,		
John Hasting,		
Gregory Champion,		
Clement Westfield,		
John Crosse,		
Thomas Crambrooke,		
Thomas Bayll,		
John Hamfield,		
John Jherom,		
Clement Grigge,		
Richard Tovey,		
John Austine,		

In Canterbury.

Richard Gomersham,	}	Sodomites.
William Lichfield,		
John Goldingston,		
Nicholas Clement,		
William Cawston,		
John Ambrose,		
Thomas Farley,		
Thomas Morton,		

^f James iii. 2.

^g John Speed's Hist. of

Great Brit. p. 791, 1 = 1027.

col. 1.

Christopher James kept 3 married whores.

In St. Augustine.

Thomas Barham, a whoremonger and a sodomite.

In Chichester.

John Champion and Roger Barham, both of them unnatural sodomites.

In Cathedral Church.

John Hill had no less than 13 whores.

In Windsor Castle.

Nicholas Whyden had	4	} whores.
George Whitethorn kept	5	
Nicholas Spoter kept	5	
Robert Hunne had	5	
Robert Danyson kept	6	

In Shulbred Monastery.

George Walden, prior of Shulbred, had	7	} whores.
John Standney had at his command	7	
Nicholas Duke, to supply his venery, had	5	

In Bristow.

William, abbot of Bristow, kept 4 whores.

In Mayden-Bradley.

Richard, prior of Mayden-Bradley, kept 5 whores.

In Bath Monastery.

Richard Lincombe had 7 whores, and was also a sodomite.

In Abingdon Monastery.

Thomas, abbot of Abingdon, kept 3 whores, and had two children by his own sister.

In Bermondsey Abbey.

John White, prior, or rather bull of Bermondsey, had 20 whores.

I find this catalogue only in the third edition of Speed, proving it a posthume addition after the author's death, attested in the margin with the authority of Henry Steven his Apology for Herodotus^h, who took the same out of an English book, containing the Vileness discovered at the Visitation of Monasteries. Thus this being but the report of a foreigner, and the original at home not appearing, may justly abate in their belief of the full latitude of this report. Indeed tradition is the only author of many stories in this nature, amongst which the ensuing story entitleth itself to as much probability as any other.

3. One sir Henry Colt, of Nether Hall in the county of Essex, much in favour with king Henry the Eighth for his merry conceits, suddenly took his leave of him late at night, promising to wait on his grace early the next morning. Hence he hastened to Waltham Abbey, being informed by his setters that the monks thereof would return in the night from Cheshunt nunnery, where they had secretly quartered themselves. Sir Henry pitched a buck-stall, wherewith he used to take deer in the forest, in the narrowest place of the marsh where they

A coltish
trick served

^h Cap. 21, fol. 183.

were to pass over, leaving some of his confederates to manage the same.

upon the
monks of
Waltham.

4. The monks coming out of the nunnery, hearing a great noise made behind them, and suspecting to be discovered, put out the light they had with them, whose feet without eyes could find the way home in so used a path. Making more haste than good speed, they ran themselves all into the net. The next morning sir H. Colt brought and presented them to king Henry, who had often seen sweeter but never fatter venison.

More talk
than truth
of under-
ground
vaults.

5. Here I cannot believe what is commonly told of under-ground vaults leading from friaries to nunneries, confuted by the situation of the place, through rocks improbably and under rivers impossible to be conveyed. Surely had Waltham monks had any such subterranean contrivances, they would never have made use of so open a passage; and such vaults extant at this day in many abbeys extend but a few paces, generally used for the conveyance of water, or sewers to carry away the filth of the convent.

Provision
made for
their lust.

6. More improbable it is, what is generally reported, that abbots made provision for their lusts on their leases, enjoining their tenants to furnish them, as with wood and coals, so with fuel for their wantonness. A reverend divineⁱ hath informed me that

ⁱ Mr. Steph. Marshall. [He was one of the Smectymnians, (see Collier, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. p. 108,) and there can be no doubt that his assertion is a mistake, not to say falsehood. Many of these foul tales were invented to bring the religious houses

into greater disrepute, and colour the underhand and ill practices of the visitors, who, whether guilty or not of other crimes very generally laid to their charge, certainly made no scruple of taking large bribes, and embezzling the property of

he hath seen such a passage on a lease of the abbey of Essex, where the lessee was enjoined yearly to provide *unam claram et lepidam puellam, ad purgandos renes domini abbatis.*

7. It was never my hap to behold any instrument with such a lustful clause or wanton reservation therein, and shall hardly be induced to believe it: first, because such *turpis conditio* was null in the very making thereof; secondly, because it was contrary to the *Charta Magna*, as I may call it, of monastical practice, *si non caste, tamen caute*; wherefore what private compact soever was by word of mouth made betwixt them upon their leases parole, sure all abbots were (if not so honest) so discreet, that no act *in scriptis* should remain, which on occasion might publicly be produced against them.

Charity
best in
doubtful
evidence.

8. As for the instances of their private incontinence, they are innumerable. I will insist but in one happening just at this juncture of time, and which may be presumed very operative to the ruin of such religious houses.

A Sodom
in Sion
nunnery.

“ *A Lettore, certefying the Incontynensye of the Nuns
“ of Syon with the Frioires, and aftore the acte
“ done the Frioires reconsile them to God.*

(Endorsed),

“ To the right honourable Master Thomas Crom-
“ well, chief secretary to the king’s highnesse.

religious houses. (Burnet, Ref. I. p. 484.) Nor is Cromwell or his friends by any means free from these imputations. There are many letters to him in which he is requested by one or another to bestow upon them this or that priory; others,

again, in which money is offered to him for his favour in these matters, which certainly would not have been made to one who was severely upright, as those employed in such proceedings especially ought to be. Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. iv. 125. orig.]

“ It maye please your goodnesse to understand
 “ that Bisshope^k this day preched, and declared the
 “ kynges tytelle very well, and hade a grete audy-
 “ ense, the chorche full of people. One of the
 “ Focars^l in his said declaration openly called him
 “ false knave, with other foolish words; it was the
 “ foolish fellow with the corled head that kneeled
 “ in your waye when you came forth of the confes-
 “ sore’s chamber. I can no lesse doe but set him
 “ in prisone, *ut pœna ejus sit metus aliorum*. Yes-
 “ terday I learned many enormous things against
 “ Bisshope, in the examination of the lay brederen:
 “ first that Bisshope perswaded tow of the brede-
 “ rene to have gone their wayes by night, and he
 “ himselfe with them, and to the accomplishment of
 “ that they lacked but money to buy them seculere
 “ apparell; further, that Bisshope would have per-
 “ swaded one of his lay brederen, a smithe, to have
 “ made a keay for the doare, to have in the night-
 “ time received in wenches for him and his fellowes,
 “ and especially a wiffe of Uxebridge, now dwelling
 “ not farre from the old lady Derby, nigh Uxebridge,
 “ which wiffe his old customer hath byne many times
 “ here at the grates communing with the said Bis-
 “ shop, and muche he was desirous to have hade her
 “ conveyed in to him. The said Bisshop also per-
 “ swaded a nunne, to whom he was confessour, *ad*
 “ *libidinem corporis perimplendam*; and thus he per-
 “ swaded her in confession, making her to believe,
 “ that whensoever and as ofte as they shold medle
 “ together, if she were immediately after confessed

^k He was one of friars who, the Brigitian nuns.
 according to the constitution ^l I conceive this two proper
 of your order, lived here with names.

“ by him, and tooke of him absolution, she shold
 “ be cleere forgeven of God, and it shold be none
 “ offence unto her before God ; and she writte
 “ diveres and sundrye lettores unto him of such
 “ their foolishnesse and unthriftynesse, and wold
 “ have had his brother the smithe to have pulled
 “ out a barre of iron of y^t window, whereas ye ex-
 “ myned the ladye abbas, that he might have gone
 “ in to her by night ; and that same window was
 “ their commoning place by night ^m. He perswaded
 “ the sextene that he would be in his contemplacion
 “ in the chorche by night, and by that meanes was
 “ many nightes in the chorche talking with her at
 “ the saide grate of the nunnes quire, and there
 “ was their meeting-place by night, besides their
 “ day communications, as in confession. It were
 “ too long to declare all thinges of him that I have
 “ heard, which I suppos is true. This afternoone I
 “ intend to make forder serche, both of some of the
 “ brederen, and some also of the sisters of such like
 “ matteres : if I fynde any thing apparent to be
 “ true, I shall (God willing) thereof certify your
 “ mastorshipe to morow, by vij. in the mornyng.
 “ And after this daye I suppos there will be no
 “ other thinges to be knowne as yet here ; for I
 “ have already examined all the brederen, and many
 “ of them wold gladly departe hense, and be ryghte
 “ weary of their habbyte. Such religion and fained
 “ sanctetye God save me froe. If Master Bedyll
 “ had byne here a frior, and of Bisshops counsell,
 “ he wold right welle have helped him to have

^m This copy was taken out of sir Simon Dewes. [I have
 the MS. letters in the library of collated it with the original.]

“ broghte his mattor to passe, without brekyng
 “ uppe of any grate or yet counterfetting of keayes,
 “ such capassetye God hath sent him.

“ From Syone, this Sondaye, xij. Decembris. By
 “ the speedy hand of your assured poor priest,

“ RICHARD LAYTON ”.

We will conclude this discourse with one obser-
 vation, how through ignorance the true meaning of
 that word *recluse* was in that age abused; for in
 pure Latin it signifieth one set open, or let loose to
 his own liberty :

Quid non ebrietas designat, operta recludit ° ?

whereas recluse was taken in that age for one close
 shut up; so that many monks and friars were
 recluses indeed, not in the common acception, but
 true notation of that name P.

ⁿ This was one of the prime
 visitors aforementioned.

^o Hor. lib. i. epist. 5.

^p [The general visitation of
 the monasteries began in the
 month of October, and in Fe-
 bruary following, a parliament
 being held at Westminster,
 these monstrous reports of the
 commissioners were certified;
 upon which it was resolved that
 the lesser monasteries (as Fuller
 has stated) should be given to the
 king. But to make the surrender
 of these houses the more easy,
 the following measures were
 adopted, as described by Wee-
 ver: “ First of all, for an in-
 “ troduction to that which fol-
 “ lowed, Cromwell and the rest
 “ of the visitors in their visi-

“ tations put forth of their
 “ convents all religious persons
 “ that desired to be eased of
 “ the burthenous yoke of their
 “ profession, to whom the abbot
 “ or prior was to give to such
 “ so departed for their habit a
 “ priest’s gown, and forty shil-
 “ lings of money; the nuns to
 “ have such apparel as secular
 “ women wore, and to go whi-
 “ ther they would. They put
 “ forth likewise all religious
 “ persons that were under the
 “ age of four-and-twenty years,
 “ and afterwards closed up the
 “ residue that would remain,
 “ so that they could not come
 “ out of their places; and took
 “ order that no man should
 “ come to the houses of women,

ABBOTS, WILLINGLY UNWILLING, RESIGNED
THEIR MONASTERIES TO THE KING.

Sanders saith that king Henry sent a large instrument to every monastery, fairly engrossed in parchment, enjoining them all to subscribe, sign, and seal the same with their seal conventual, upon the pain of his displeasure. It is not probable that such a formal writing was sent unto them, drawn up beforehand by the king's officers; but most certain it is, which amounts almost to as much in effect, a general intimation was given to all houses how acceptable such an act would be to the king. It was also pressed upon the said monks, friars, and nuns, that they, through their viciousness, being obnoxious to the king's anger, this might and would be done without their consent; so that it was better for them, *rebus sic stantibus*, to make a virtue of necessity; the rather because this compliment conduced nothing to the king's right, (on whom the parliament had already bestowed those abbey-lands,) but might add much to their own advantage, as being the way whereby their pensions might the more easily be procured, largely allotted, and surely satisfied unto them.

“ nor women to the houses of
“ men, but only to hear their
“ service in the church. This
“ little bondage, after so long
“ and so licentious a time of
“ liberty, could not be endured;
“ which being perceived by the
“ commissioners, with fair pro-
“ mises of other preferments
“ or competent yearly pensions
“ they so wrought with the
“ abbots, priors, and prioresses,
“ and the rest of the convents,
“ that divers of them surren-
“ dered up their houses, with
“ the appurtenances, into the
“ king's hands before the sit-
“ ting of parliament.” Fun.
Mon. p. 105. Of the abomi-
nable frauds committed in the
suppression of the abbeys, see
an original paper presented to
queen Elizabeth, printed by
the same author, p. 124.]

Monks per-
suaded into
a resigna-
tion.

Strive who
should be
the fore-
most.

2. The premises made such impression on the parties concerned therein, that fearing the lag would be looked on with bad eyes, they ran as it were a race in their resignations, who should be first and foremost therein. However they used several forms therein, some only condemning their lives for superstitious, but not confessing themselves personally vicious, as by the following instrument may appear :

*“ The Surrender of the Warden and Fryers of
“ St. Francis in Stanford ⁹.*

“ For as moche as we, the warden and freers of
“ the howse of Saynt Frances in Stannforde, comenly
“ callyd the gray freers in Stannforde, in the county
“ of Lincoln, doo profoundly concider that the per-
“ feccion of Christian lyving dothe not conciste in
“ dome ceremonies, weryng of a grey cootte, dis-
“ geasing our selffe after straunge fassions, dokyng
“ and beckyng, in gurdyng owr selffes wyth a gurdle
“ full of knots, and other like papisticall ceremonyes,
“ wherein we have byn moost principally practysed
“ and misselyd in tymes past ; but the very tru waye
“ to please God, and to live a true Christian man,
“ wythe owte all ypocrasie and fayned dissimulation,
“ is sincerely declaryd unto us by owr Master Christe,
“ his evangelists and apostoles. Being mindyd her-
“ after to folowe the same, conformyng owr selffe
“ unto the will and pleasure of owr supreme hedde
“ undre God in erthe, the Kinges Maiesty, and not
“ to follow hensforth the supersticious tradicions of

⁹ Out of the records of the Court of Augmentation, [first printed by Weever, who received it from his friend John

Masters, master of the Augmentation Office, in his *Fun. Mon.* p. 110.]

“ ony forincycall potentate or poore, wythe mutuall
 “ assent and consent doo submytt ovr selffes unto
 “ the mercy of ovr saide soveraygn lorde ; and
 “ wythe like mutuall assent and consent doo surren-
 “ der and yelde upe unto the hands of the same all
 “ ovr saide howse of Saynt Frances in Stannforde,
 “ comenly callyd the grey Friers in Stannforde, wythe
 “ all lands, tenements, gardens, medowes, waters,
 “ pondyards, fedyngs, pastures, comens, rentes, re-
 “ versions, and all other our interest, ryghtes, or
 “ tytles aperteynyng unto the same ; mooste humbly
 “ besechyng his mooste noble grace to disspose of
 “ us and of the same as best schall stonde wythe
 “ his mooste graciouse pleasure ; and farther, frely
 “ to grant unto every on of us his licens undre
 “ wretynge and seall to change our abites into seculer
 “ fassion, and to receve suche maner of livyngs as
 “ other seculer pristres comenly be preferryd unto :
 “ and we all faythfully schall prey unto Allmyghty
 “ God long to preserve his mooste noble grace, wythe
 “ encrease of moche felicitie and honor.

“ And in witnes of all and singuler the premysses,
 “ we the saide warden and covent of the grey freers
 “ in Stannforde to these presentes have putte ovr co-
 “ vent sceall the yeght day of Octobre, in the thirtythe
 “ yere of the raygn of ovr mooste soverayn kinge
 “ Henry the Yeght.

“ *Factum* Johannis Schemy, gardian :

“ *Per me Fratrem* Johannem Robards.

“ *Per me Fratrem* Johannem Chadwhort.

“ *Per me Fratrem* Ricardum Pye.

“ *Per me Fratrem* Johannem Clarke.

“ *Per me Fratrem* Johannem Quoyte.

“ *Per me Fratrem Johannem German.*

“ *Per me Fratrem Johannem Yong.*

“ *Per me Fratrem Johannem Lovell.*

“ *Per me Fratrem Willielmum Tomson*^r.”

A more
humble
form of
surrender.

3. Other resignations were far more humble and submissive, with an acknowledgment of their vicious and voluptuous lives: such was the surrender made by the prior and convent of St. Andrew's in Northampton, which, because very tedious, we shall only transcribe so much thereof as concerneth our present purpose^s:

“ But as well we as others ovr predecessors, callyd
“ religiose persones within yowr said monastery, tak-
“ ing on us the habite or owtewarde vesture of the
“ saide rule, onely to the intent to lead ovr liffes in
“ an ydell quyetnes, and not in vertuose exercyse,
“ in a stately estymacion, and not in obedient hu-
“ mylyte, have undre the shadowe or color of the
“ saide rule and habite vaynly, detestably, and also
“ ungodly employed, yea rather devowred the yerely
“ revenues yssuing and comyng of the saide posses-
“ sions, in contynuall ingurgitacions and farcyngs of
“ ovr carayne bodyes, and of others the supportares
“ of ovr voluptuose and carnal appetyte, with other
“ vayne and ungodly expensys, to the manyfest sub-
“ vertion of devocion and clenness of lyvyng, and to
“ the most notable slaunder of Chrysts holy Evan-

^r [This deed is also printed at length in Weever, *ib.* p. 106.]

^s [Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. iv. p. 131 orig. Layton, in his letter to Cromwell respecting the visitation of this convent,

says, “ The house is in debt
“ greatly, the lands sold and
“ mortgaged; the former let
“ out, and the rent received
“ beforehand, for x., xv., xx.
“ years.”]

“ gely, which in the forme of owr professyon we
“ dyd ostentate and openly advaunte to kepe most
“ exactly ; withdrawyng therby from the symple
“ and pure myndys of yowr graces subjects the
“ onely truth and comfort which they oughte to have
“ by the true faith of Christe ; and also the devyne
“ honor and glory onely due to the glorious maiestye of
“ God Almyghty, steryng them with all persuasions,
“ ingynges, and polyce, to dedd images and counter-
“ fett reliques, for owr dampnable lucre : which our
“ most horryble abhominacions and execrable per-
“ suacions of yowr graces people, to detestable
“ errours, and our long coveryd ipocrysie cloked
“ with fayned sanctite ; we revolving dayly and con-
“ tinually ponderyng in owr sorrowfull harts, and
“ therby perseyving the botomlas gulf of everlastyng
“ fyre redy to devowre us if persysting in this state
“ of lyving, we shulde departe from this uncertayn
“ and transytory liffe, constrayned by the intollerable
“ anguysh of owr conscience, callyd as we trust by
“ the grace of God, who wolde have no man to perysh
“ in synne, with harts moost contrite and repentante,
“ prostrate at the noble feet of yowr moost roiall
“ maiestye, most lamentably doo crave of yowr
“ highnes, of yowr habundant mercy, to grant unto
“ us, most grevous agaynst God and yowr highnes
“ yowr most gracious perdon for owr saide sondry
“ offences, omyssyons, and negligences comytted,
“ as before by us is confessyd, agaynst yowr highnes
“ and yowr most noble progenitors ; and where yowr
“ hyghnes, being supreme hedd immediately next
“ aftre Christe, of his church, in this yowr roialme of
“ England, so consequently generall and only refor-
“ mator of all religious persones there, have full au-

“ thority to correcte or dyssolve, at yowr graces
 “ pleasure and libertye, all covents and relygious
 “ companyes abusyng the rewles of their profession :
 “ and moreover to yowr highnes, being owr soveraygn
 “ lord and undoubted founder of yowr saide monas-
 “ tery, by dissolucion whereof apperteyneth onely
 “ the oryginall title and propre inherytance, as well
 “ of all other goods moveable and unmoveable, to
 “ the saide monastery in any wyse apperteyning or
 “ belonging, to be dissposed and imployed as to yowr
 “ graces most excellent wysdome shall seme expe-
 “ dyent and necessary,” &c.

“ *Per me* Franciscum, priorem.

“ *Per me* Johannem, sub-priorem.

“ *Per me* Thomam Smyth.

“ *Per me* Thomam Golston.

“ *Per me* Robertum Martin.

“ *Per me* Jacobum Hopkins.

“ *Per me* Richardum Bunbery.

“ *Per me* Johannem Pette.

“ *Per me* Johannem Harrold.

“ *Per me* Thomam Barly.

“ *Per me* Willielmum Ward.

“ *Per me* Thomam Atterbury.

“ *Per me* Willielmum Fowler^t.”

Other resignations, varying in their words, met for the main in the matter, and were with all speed presented to the king's visitors. As schoolboys hope to escape with the fewer stripes for being the first in untying their points, those convents promised to

^t [Dated the 1st of March, 29 Hen. VIII. Weever, *ib.* p. 110.]

themselves the kindest usage which were forwardest in their resignations, though all on the matter fared alike.

4. Yea, John de Warboise, so called from the place of his nativity in Huntingdonshire, (where my worthy friend Mr. William Johnson is well benefited,) though the first, with his sixty *Benedicti* monks^u, who with solemn subscription renounced the pope's supremacy, and now as officious as any in surrendering his convent to the king's visitors, met with no peculiar and extraordinary civility above others of his order.

Betwixt first and last no great difference.

5. Such resignations sealed and delivered, the visitors called for the seals themselves, which now had survived their own use, having passed the last effectual act; and these, generally made of silver, were by the king's officers presently broken in pieces. Such material stamps being now abolished, it will be charity to preserve their impressions, and exhibit them to posterity; which here we shall endeavour, rendering some probable reason how most of them refer to the founders or situation, or some remarkable action therein.

THE SEAL OF ARMS OF THE MITRED ABBEYS IN ENGLAND.

In presenting of them I will not be confined to the strict terms of blazonry, the rather because some of their arms may be presumed so ancient, as fitter to give rules to than take them from our modern heraldry. And what my pen cannot sufficiently

The design of the work.

^u Speed in his Description of Huntingdonshire.

describe, therein the reader may satisfy himself by his own eye, to which these coats are presented in the last sheet of this volume after the history of Waltham Abbey.

The arms
of Tavistock.

1. I will make a method of my own, beginning (where the sun ends) in the west: Tavistock, in Devonshire, gave verry, or^x, and azure, on a chief or, two mullets, gules.

Of Glastonbury.

2. Glastonbury gave vert, (as I conjecture the colour,) a cross bottony argent. In the first quarter the woman with a glory holding a babe, radiated about his head, in her arms, because, forsooth, by the direction of the angel Gabriel their church was first dedicated to the Virgin Mary^y.

Of Middleton.

3. Middleton, in Gloucestershire, gave sable, three baskets argent, replenished with loaves of bread, gules. Had the number of the baskets been either seven or twelve, some would interpret therein a reference to the reversions preserved by Christ his command of the loaves miraculously multiplied; whereas now they denote the bounty of that abbey in relieving the poor.

Of Malmesbury.

4. What Malmesbury in Wiltshire gave, I cannot yet attain.

Of Abingdon.

5. Abingdon gave [argent] a cross flurt betwixt martlets sable; much alluding to the arms of our English kings before the Conquest, who, it seems, were great benefactors thereunto.

Of Reading.

6. The abbey of St. James, in Reading, gave azure, three scallop-shells, or. Here I know not what secret sympathy there is between St. James and

^x [Argent and blue, according to Reyner, 214. Some of the seals not found by Fuller have been supplied in the new plate.]
^y See the first cent. par. 11.

shells; but sure I am that all pilgrims that visit St. James of Compostella in Spain, the paramount shrine of that saint, returned thence *obsiti conchis* ^y, all beshelled about on their clothes, as a religious donative there bestowed upon them.

7. The abbey of Hyde, *juxta* Winton, gave argent, ^{Of Hyde.} a lion rampant sable, on a chief of the second, four keys argent.

8. Battle Abbey, in Sussex, gave gules, a cross ^{Of Battle.} betwixt a crown or, in the first and third quarter; a sword (bladed argent, hilted or) in the second and fourth quarter thereof. Here the arms relate to the name, and both arms and name to the fierce fight hard by, whereby duke William gained the English crown by conquest, and founded this abbey. Nor must it be forgotten that a text **ƿ**, pierced through with a dash, is fixed in the navel of the cross: now though I have read letters to be little honourable in arms^z, this cannot be disgraceful, partly because church heraldry moveth in a sphere by itself, partly because this was the letter of letters, as the received character to signify *Christus*.

9. St. Augustine's, in Canterbury, gave sable, a ^{Of St. Augustine.} cross argent.

10. Cross we now the Thames, where westward ^{Of Gloucester.} we first fall on St. Peter's, in Gloucester, whose dedication to that apostle sufficiently rendereth a reason for the arms thereof, viz. azure, two cross-keys, (or two keys saltire,) or.

11. Tewksbury gave gules, a cross of an antique ^{Of Tewksbury.} form or, a border argent.

^y Erasmus in his dialogue called "Peregrinatio Religionis ergo." [p. 377, ed. 1643.]

^z Accidence of Armes.

Of Winch-
comb.

12. I will not adventure on the blazoning of the arms of Winchcomb, (having much conformity therein with Mortimer's coat,) but leave the reader to satisfy his own eyes in the inspection thereof.

Of Ciren-
cester.

13. I should be thankful to him who would inform me of the arms of Cirencester, which hitherto I cannot procure.

Of St. Al-
ban's.

14. St. Alban's gave azure, a cross saltire, or ^a.

15. Westminster Abbey gave azure a cross flury [or] betwixt five martlets or; and this I humbly conceive were anciently the entire arms of that abbey, being in effect the same with those of king Edward the Confessor, the first founder thereof. But afterwards their conventual seal was augmented with the arms of France and England on a chief or, betwixt two roses gules, plainly relating to king Henry the Seventh enlarging their church with his chapel.

Of St.
John's of
Jerusalem.

16. The prior of St. John of Jerusalem gave gules a cross argent, which the lord prior sometimes empaled with (but before) his own coat ^b, and sometimes bare it in a chief about it ^c.

Of Waltham.

17. The arms of Waltham Abbey, in Essex, appear at this day neither in glass, wood, nor stone, in or about the town or church thereof. At last we have recovered them (*unus homo nobis*) out of a fair deed of Robert Fuller's, the last abbot, though not certain of the metal and colours, viz. gules (as I conjecture) two angels, (can they be less than or?) with their hands (such we find of them in scripture ^d)

^a St. Mary's, in Coventry. had no arms in their seal, as my good friend Mr. Dugdale informed me.

^b Thus sir Thos. Tressam.

^c Thus sir Thos. Docwray.

^d Matt. iv. 6.

holding betwixt them a cross argent, brought hither, saith our antiquary ^e, by miracle out of the west, whence Waltham had the addition of holy cross.

18. The arms of St. John's, in Colchester, I leave ^{Of Colchester.} to the eye of the reader.

19. Bury gave azure three crowns or, the arms ^{Of Bury.} of the kings of the East Angles, assumed in the memory of king Edmund, (to whom this abbey was dedicated,) martyred by the Danes, when his crown of gold, thorough a crown of thorns, or arrows rather, was turned into a crown of glory.

20. St. Bennet's in the Holme, in Norfolk, gave ^{Of St. Bennet's.} sable, a pastoral staff argent, picked below and reflexed above, (intimating the abbot's episcopal jurisdiction in his own precincts,) betwixt two crowns or, pointing at England and Norway, the two kingdoms of Canutus, the founder thereof. The aforesaid staff was infulated, that is, adorned with an holy lace or label, carelessly hanging down or cast across, such with which their mitres used formerly to be fastened.

21. Thorny Abbey, in Cambridgeshire, gave azure ^{Of Thorny.} three crosses crossed fitchee, betwixt three pastoral staves, or.

22. Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire, gave or, three ^{Of Ramsey.} rams' heads coupéd argent, on a bend azure; the rest of the rams must be supposed in the blue sea, the fens appearing such when overflown. Besides, such changes were common here, whereof Melibæus complaineth in the marshes of Mantua ^f:

——— *Non bene ripæ*

Creditur, ipse aries etiam nunc vellera siccat.

^e Camd. Brit. in Essex. [sub init.] ^f Virgil, Eclog. iii. 95.

There is no trusting to the found'ring bank,
The ram still dries his fleece so lately dank.

But since, the draining of the fens hath, I hope,
secured their cattle from casualties.

Of Peter-
borough.

23. The very name of Peterborough unlocks the reason why that abbey gave gules, two cross-keys betwixt four crosses crossed fitchee, or.

Of Crow-
land.

24. Crowland Abbey gave quarterly three (call them long knives or short) swords bladed argent, hafted or pomelled or, azure three whips stringed and knotted or, the second like the third, the fourth like the first: instruments of cruelty, relating to their monks massacred by the Danes, anno 870 Ɔ, whereof their historian gives us this account, that first they were *examinati*, tortured, see there the whips, and then *exanimati*, killed, see there the swords. But if any will have those whips to relate to the whip of St. Bartholomew, the most remarkable relic of that monastery, I will not appose.

Of Eves-
ham.

25. The arms of Evesham Abbey, in Worcestershire, I cannot recover, but possibly may before the conclusion of this work.

Of Shrews-
bury.

26. Shrewsbury gave azure, a lion rampant over a pastoral staff bendways, [or], so that both the ends thereof are plainly discovered.

Of Selby.

27. Cross we now north of Trent, where only two remain: Selby, founded by William the Conqueror, which gave sable, three swans argent, membred or; alluding, as I believe, to the depressed situation of the place, where the neighbouring river of Ouse affordeth such birds in abundance.

Of York.

28. St. Mary's, in York, gave argent, a cross

gules, and a key, in the first quarter of the same. In the midst of the cross a king in a circle in his robes of state, with his sceptre and mound; yet hath he only a ducal cap, and no crown on his head. I humbly conceive (under favour of better judgments) this king-duke's picture to relate partly to king William Rufus, partly to Alan duke of Britain and Richmond, the principal co-founders of that monastery.

THE LORD DARCY HIS EXTRACTION JUSTLY
VINDICATED.

Amongst the principal persons who suffered for their zeal in defending of abbeys was the lately mentioned Thomas lord Darcy^h, whose extraction I find foully aspersed by the pen of that passionate prince, king Henry the Eighth; for when the rebels boasted of the many noblemen who sided with them, in confutation thereof king Henry returned a letter to them, interlined with his own hand, wherein this passage: "Others, as the lord Marney and Darcy, are but mean, scarce well-born gentlemen, and yet of no great lands till they were promoted by us, and so made knightsⁱ." It cannot be denied but that king Henry too much consulted his choler, (now swelling high, because opposed by the rebels,) more than his judgment in this his expression; and seeing an historian should *suum cuique tribuere*, give me leave a little to enlarge in this subject.

2. Of the lord Marney I can say but little, finding him whilst as yet but a knight, sir Henry, servant

A causeless
aspersion,
grounded
on passion.

What the
lord Mar-
ney was.

^h Vide supra, pag. 379, par. 5.

ⁱ Speed's Chron. in his first ed. p. 776 = 1023 of the 3rd.

and one of the executors to the lady Margaret, countess of Derby; at which time he was chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. It seemeth he rose by the law, being the first and last baron of his name, whose sole daughter was married to Thomas Howard, viscount Bindon.

Three noble
branches of
the Darcys
in the
north.

3. Longer must we insist on the parentage, performances, and posterity of Thomas lord Darcy, finding in the north three distinct branches thereof, whereof the first was

<i>Begun</i>	<i>Continued</i>	<i>Extinguished</i>
In Normandy or Darcy, possessed, under king William the Conqueror, of many manors in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire ^k , where Normanby, his prime seat, seemeth so named by him.	For ten generations, most of them buried in Nocton Priory, in Lincolnshire, by them founded and endowed, viz. 1. Robert. 2. Thomas. 3. Thomas. 4. Norman. 5. Norman. 6. Philip. 7. Norman. 8. Philip. 9. Norman. 10. Philip.	In Philip Darcy dying issueless, whose two sisters and co-heirs were married, the one to Roger Pedwardine, the other to Peter of Limbergh ^l .

4. The first male line of the Darcys being thus determined, a second race succeeded, derived from Norman Darcy, the *penultim* lord in the last pedigree :

^k Domesday Book, chap. xxxii. in Lincolnshire.

^l [Philip de Limbery, according to Banks, Dormant Bar. II. 144, and Dugdale's Baronetage, I. 371, though printed Peter in the genealogical table affixed to the same.]

<i>Begun</i>	<i>Continued</i>	<i>Extinguished</i>
In John Darcy, (son to the aforesaid Norman,) steward to the king's household, justice of Ireland.	For five descents, being barons of Knaith and Moy-nill. 1. John. 2. John. 3. Philip. 4. John. 5. Philip.	In Philip the fifth baron, who, though dying under age, left two daughters, Elizabeth, married to sir James Strangeways, of Hartley Castle, and Margaret, to sir John Conyers of Hornby Castle.

5. Thus expired the second male stem of the Darceys, styled barons of Knayth, long since aliened from their family, and for this last hundred years the habitation of the lord Willoughby, of Parham. Come we now to the third stem, which was

<i>Begun</i>	<i>Continued</i>	<i>Extinguished</i>
In sir John Darcy of Torquay, second son to the last lord John Darcy of Knayth.	Through seven generations : 1. Richard. 2. William. 3. Thomas. 4. George. 5. John. 6. Michael. 7. John.	In John lord Darcy of Ashton dying issueless, though he had four wives, in the reign of king Charles.

6. Thomas Darcy here named is the person, the subject of this discourse, of whom four things are memorable :

i. He was knighted by king Henry the Seventh, who made him captain of the town and castle of

Berwick¹, and commander of the east and middle marches.

ii. King Henry the Eighth, in the first year of his reign, made him justice in Eyre of the forests beyond Trent, summoned him the same year as a baron to parliament, employed him with a navy, anno 1511, to assist Ferdinand king of Arragon against the Moors, and made him knight of the garter.

iii. Though the ancestors of this Thomas Darcy, since the second branch was expired, were styled lords in some deeds, (whether by the courtesy of the country, or because the right of a barony lay in them,) yet this Thomas was the first summoned baron to parliament, in the first of king Henry the Eighth, and his successors took their place accordingly.

iv. Though the revenue of this Thomas lord Darcy was not great at the beginning of king Henry the Eighth, because the heirs-general of the lord Darcys of Knayth carried away the main of the inheritance, yet he had a considerable estate, augmented by his match with Dousabella, the daughter and heiress of sir Richard Tempest.

The result of all is this: this lord was most honourably descended, and his nobility augmented, not first founded, by king Henry the Eighth, as his words did intimate. Let, therefore, passionate princes speak what they please, their patient subjects will believe but their just proportion; and although the fox's ears must be reputed horns whilst the lion in presence is pleased so to term them, yet they

¹ Privata Sigilla de anno 14 Henrici VII.

never alter their nature, and quickly recover the name after the lion's departure. This I thought fit to write in vindication of the lord Darcy, who, though he owed his life to the law, it is cruelty he should lose both it and the just honour of his extraction.

7. As for the present Conyers, lord Darcy, he is not only descended from the foresaid lord Thomas, but also from the heir-general of the second stem of the Lord Darcys of Knayth, and was by king Charles accordingly restored to take his place in parliament.

THE ANCIENT ENGLISH NOBILITY GREAT
LOSERS BY THE DISSOLUTION
OF ABBEYS.

Although many modern families have been great ^{Ancient nobility} gainers by the destruction of monasteries, yet the ^{losers.} ancient nobility, when casting up their audits, found themselves much impaired thereby, both in power and profit, commodity and command: I mean such whose ancestors had been founders of abbeys, or great benefactors unto them. These reserved to themselves and their heirs many annual rents and services, reliefs, escuage; as also that such abbots and their successors should do fealty and homage to their heirs for such lands as they held of them in knight's service.

2. Now although order was taken at the disso- ^{Good rents ill paid.} lution to preserve such rents to the founders' heirs, (payable unto them by the king's officers out of the exchequer,) yet such sums, after long attendance, were recovered with so much difficulty that they were lost in effect: thus, when the few sheaves of the subject are promiscuously made up in the king's

now, it is hard to find them there, and harder to fetch them thence.

Services
wholly
lost.

3. As for the foresaid services reserved (either at money or money-worth) to them and their heirs, they were totally and finally extinguished; for formerly such abbeys used,

i. To send men on their own charges in voyages to war, to aid and attend such of their founders' and benefactors' heirs of whom they held land in knight's service.

ii. They bountifully contributed a portion to the marriage of their eldest daughters.

iii. They bare the costs and charges to accoutre their eldest sons in a genteel military equipage when knighted by the king.

But now, the tree being plucked up by the roots, no such fruit could afterwards be expected.

With the
commodity
of corrodies.

4. Nor must we forget the benefit of corrodies, so called *a conradendo*, from eating together; for the heirs of the foresaid founders (not by courtesy, but composition for their former favours) had a privilege to send a set number of their poor servants to abbeys to diet therein: thus many aged servants, past working, not feeding, (costly to keep, and cruel to cast off,) were sent by their masters to such abbeys, where they had plentiful food during their lives. Now though some of those corrodies (where the property was altered into a set sum of money) was solvable out of the exchequer after the dissolution of abbeys, yet such which continued in kind was totally extinct, and no such diet hereafter given where both table and house were overturned.

**THE PREMISES PROVED BY INSTANCE IN THE
FAMILY OF THE BERKELEYS.**

The noble family of the Berkeleys may well give an abbot's mitre for the crest of their arms, because so loving their nation, and building them so many synagogues. Hence it was, that partly in right of their ancestors, partly by their matches with the co-heirs of the lords Mowbray and Seagrave, in the vacancies they had a right of nomination of an abbot, in following foundations :

<i>Place.</i>	<i>Founder.</i>	<i>Order.</i>	<i>Value.</i>
1. St. Augustine's, in Bristol.	1. Robert Fitz-Harding, whose posterity assumed the name of Berkeley.	1. Black canons of the order of St. Victor.	<i>l. s. d. ob. q.</i> 767 15 3 00
2. Burton Lazars, in Leicestershire.	2. The lord Mowbray, in the reign of king Henry the First.	2. Leprous people professing the order of St. Augustine.	[265 10 2 0 1]
3. Byland, or Bella Launda, in Yorkshire.	3. Robert de Mowbray, and Gunnora his mother.	3. [Cistercians.]	[295 5 4]
4. Chacombe, in Northamptonshire.	4. Hugh de Anaf, knight, in the time of the Conqueror, whose son Robert took the name of Chacombe, and Annabilia his daughter was married to Gilbert lord Seagrave.	4. [Black canons.]	[93 6 3 6]
5. Combe, in Warwickshire.	5. [Lord Mowbray and others.]	5. [Cistercians.]	[343 0 5]
6. Croxton, in Leicestershire.		6. Premonstratensian monks.	458 19 11 1 1
7. Epworth, in the Isle of Axeholme, in Lincolnshire.	7. Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham in the reign of king Richard the Second.	7. Carthusians.	290 14 7 1
8. Fountains.	8. To which the Mowbrays were grand benefactors.	8. [Cistercians.]	[1173 0 7 6]
9. Kirkby, in Leicestershire.	9. Roger de Beller, who held this manor of the lord Mowbray.	9. Canons regular of St. Augustine.	178 7 10 0 1
10. Newburge, in Yorkshire.		10. [Black canons.]	[457 13 5]

What shall I speak of the small houses of Longbridge and Tintern, in Gloucestershire, (not men-

tioned in Speed) the hospitals of St. Katharine and Mary Maudlin's, near Bristol, the well-endowed school of Wotton-under-edge, in Gloucestershire, besides forty chantries founded by the Berkeleys? yea, I have read in a manuscript belonging unto them, no less judiciously than industriously composed by Mr. John Smith, (who did and received many good offices to and from that family, as is mutually confessed,) that the forenamed abbeys and others, held of the lord Berkeley at the dissolution no fewer than eighty knights' fees, and payed services unto them accordingly; all which are now lost, to the value of ten thousand pounds, within the compass of few years.

2. Nor will it be amiss to insert that Robert Derby, the last abbot of Croxton, was presented thereunto, April 22, the 26th of king Henry the Eighth, by Thomas (the sixth of that name) lord Berkeley, (the place being void by the death of one Attercliffe,) belonging to his presentation by inheritance; and in the record he commandeth the prior and convent to receive and obey him as abbot.

Robert
Derby last
abbot of
Croxton.

INGRATITUDE TO THEIR FOUNDERS A GRAND FAULT IN MANY ABBEYS.

Ingratitude is the abridgment of all baseness, a fault never found unattended with other viciousness. This is justly charged on the account of many abbeys, whose stately structures grew so proud as to forget the rock whence they were hewn, and the hole of the pit whence they were digged; unthankful to such founders who, under God, had bestowed their maintenance upon them.

If unthank-
ful, all bad.

Great
bounty.

2. One instance of many:—Vast was the liberality of the lord Berkeleys to St. Austin's, in Bristol, leaving themselves in that their large estate not one rectory to which they might present a chaplain; all the benefices in their numerous manors being appropriated to this and other monasteries. Now see the requital.

Ill requited.

3. Maurice, (the first of that name,) lord Berkeley, having occasion to make the ditch about his castle the broader, for the better fortifying thereof, took in some few feet of ground out of Berkeley church-yard, which church, with the tithes thereof, his ancestors had conferred on the aforesaid monastery. The abbot, beholding this as a great trespass, or rather as a little sacrilege, so prosecuted the aforesaid lord with church censures, that he made him in a manner cast the dirt of the ditch in his own face, enforcing him to a public confession of his fault, and to give five shillings rent for ever, with some tithes, and pasture for as many oxen as would till a plough-land, by the words of his will, *Pro emendatione culpæ meæ de fossato quod feci de cæmiterio de Berkeley circa castellum meum.*

Summum
jus.

4. I know it will be pleaded for the abbot that there is as much right in an inch as in an ell, that he was a fiduciary entrusted to defend the rights of his convent, that founders' heirs are not privileged to do injuries; yea, they of all persons most improper to take back what their ancestors have given. However, the lord's encroachment on the church-yard being in a manner done in his own defence, the thing in itself so small, and the merit of his ancestors so great to that abbey, might have met with that meekness which should be in the breasts

of all spiritual persons to abate his rigorous prosecution against him.

5. Thomas, the first lord Berkeley of that name, ^{Another instance of ingratitude.} found little better usage from the abbot of St. Austine's, though he had formerly, besides confirmation of many lands, conferred on that convent pasture for twenty-four oxen; discharging also their lands, lying within certain of his manors, from all services and earthly demands, only to remember him and his in their prayers; yet did that abbot and convent implead him before the pope's delegates for tithes of pawnage of his woods, for tithes of his fishing and of his mills. The lord removed the suit to common law, as challenging the sole power to regulate *modum decimandi*. And now, when all was ready for a trial before the judge itinerant at Gloucester, it was compounded by friends on such terms as the abbot in effect gained his desire.

6. Indeed, so odious and obvious was the unthank- ^{A cause of their ruin.} fulness of some convents, that it is reputed by some the most meritorious cause of their dissolution, and their doing things without and against the will of their founders is instanced in the statute as a main motive to take them away ^m.

7. Some who pretend to a Prometheus' wit fondly ^{An over-wise conceit.} conceive that the founders of abbeys might politicly have prevented their dissolution had they inserted a provision in their foundations, that in case abbey lands should be alienated to other uses against or besides the owners' intents, then such lands should revert to the true heirs of the said founders, if then in being.

^m For the dissolution of chantries and colleges, 37 Hen. VIII. cap. 4.

Easily con-
futed.

8. But such consider not that such a reservation would have savoured more of wildness than wisdom in that age: as well might one have sought to secure himself with a shelter against the falling of the skies, as equally probable as the diverting of abbey lands to other intentions. Besides, such a jealous clause might be interpreted heretical, to put into people's fancies a feasibility of such alterations; yea, I have heard it questioned by the learned in the law whether such a conditional settlement with such a clause were legal or no, many maintaining that such donations must be absolute. But suppose such a clause in their foundations, it had not much befriended them at this time, seeing cables are as easily cut off as twine-threads by power of parliament, when disposed to make such a dissolution.

Strong faith
to believe so
much of
king
Henry's
charity.

9. Now some conceived it just abbey lands should have been restored to the heirs of their founders; but seeing the most and greatest abbeys were built and endowed before the Conquest, it was hard to find out their heirs, if extant. Besides, this would minister matter of much litigiousness equally to share them amongst their many benefactors; wherefore the king, the founder-general of them all, mediately or immediately in himself or in his subjects, as who in his person or ancestors confirmed, consented, or at least connived at their foundations, may charitably be presumed to seize them all into his own hands, so to cut off the occasion of dangerous division amongst his subjects about the partition of those estates.

SECT. V.



TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE

LADY ELIZABETH POULETT,

OF ST. GEORGE HINTON^a.

Madam,

There be three degrees of gratitude, according to men's several abilities: the first is to requite, the second to deserve, the third to confess, a benefit received. He is a happy man that can do the first, no honest man that would not do the second, a dishonest man who doth not the third.

I must be content, in reference to your favours on me, to sit down in the last form of thankfulness; it being better to be a lag in that school than a truant, not at all appearing

^a [Arms of Ken. Ermine, three crescents gules. She was the daughter and co-heir of Christopher Ken, of Ken Court, esq., in Somersetshire, (from whom bishop Ken was descended,) and married John, the eldest son of sir Anthony, and grandson of sir Amias Poulett, who in 1627 was advanced to the dignity of a baron by the title of lord Poulett, of Hinton St. George. According to Lloyd, the husband of this lady was entrusted by king Charles I. with his first commission of array in 1642, "when other noblemen were crest or coronet-fallen, and excepted to by the enemy as the most dangerous offender; being a pious man for religion, an hospitable and well-reputed man for doing justice and good to his country, a watchful and active man in the field, and a shrewd man in council." *Memoirs*, p. 652. He died in 1649, six years before this portion was printed of Fuller's History: to this affliction he alludes, I suppose.]

therein. Yea, according to our Saviour's counsel and comfort, the lowest place is no hinderance to a higher^b, when the master of the household shall be pleased to call him up. When this is done, and God shall ever enable me with more might, my gratitude shall wait on your ladyship in a greater proportion.

Meantime this present (having otherwise little of worth) may plead something of properness therein, seeing Somersetshire is the chief subject of this section, the same county which receiveth honour from you by your birth, and returneth it to you by your barony therein. God bless you in all your relations, and make your afflictions, which are briars and thistles in themselves, become sweet-brier and holy thistle by sanctifying them unto you.

OF MIRACLES IN GENERAL, TO WHICH MONASTERIES DID MUCH PRETEND.

A true
miracle
descr. bed.



RIGHT is the rule of what is so, and what is otherwise. We will therefore premise the description of a true miracle: a miracle is a work of God, passing the power of nature, done for the confirmation of faith on the mission generally of a new ministry.

i. *Work of God*] *Who only doth wondrous things*^c; for though he sometimes useth men as moral instruments whereby, yet never as natural causes to effect miracles.

ii. *Passing the power of nature*] Hence it is that it is not done by leisure, but presently; not by degrees, but perfectly. God's cures are never subject to relapse, (once healed and ever healed,) except the party run on the score of a new guilt:

^b Luke xiv. 10.

^c Psalm lxxii. 18.

Thou art made whole, sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee^d.

iii. *Done for the confirmation of faith*] God will not make his works cheap by prostituting them merely for the satisfaction of man's curiosity.

iv. *On the mission generally of a new ministry*] For, although some sprinkling of miracles on other occasions, yet their main body was done by Moses, a new lawgiver to the Jews; by Elias and Elisha, two grand restorers (adequate almost to a giver) of the law, in a general visible defection to idolatry; by Christ and his apostles, as the first preachers of the gospel.

In this our description no mention of the rarity of miracles, because the same resulteth from the premises, frequency abating from the due wonder thereof.

2. Now that such miracles long since are ceased Miracles long since ceased. appears by the confession of ancient fathers and most ingenious Romanists. St. Chrysostom (twenty-third Homily on St. John) thus expresseth himself: Καὶ γὰρ νῦν εἰσὶ οἱ ζητοῦντες καὶ λέγοντες, διὰ τί μὴ καὶ νῦν σημεῖα γίνονται; εἰ γὰρ πιστὸς εἶ, ὡς εἶναι χρή, καὶ φίλεις τὸν Χριστόν, ὡς φιλεῖν δεῖ, οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχεις σημείων. Ταῦτα γὰρ τοῖς ἀπίστοις διδοταί. "For even now "there be seekers and sayers, wherefore also now "are not miracles done? for if thou beest a believer, "as thou oughtest to be, and dost love Christ as "thou oughtest to love him, thou hast no need of "miracles; for miracles are given to unbelievers."

3. St. Augustine, passing his censure on the By St. Augustine's confession.

^d John v. 14.

miracles of his age, had so low an opinion of their truth that he ranked them under two heads ^e :

i. *Figmenta mendacium hominum*, Forgeries of lying men.

ii. *Portenta fallacium spirituum*, Prodigies of deceitful devils.

4. Bishop Fisher himself, writing against Luther ^f, and occasionally treating of the power of miracles, *cujus effectum nunc nullum cernimus*, of which, saith he, we now see no effect; which addeth to the wonder that so wise a man should engage in the foolish wonder of the holy maid of Kent.

Why miracles ceased.

5. The true cause of the ceasing of miracles is not any want of divine power to effect them, as if that infiniteness could ever, like Naomi, be superannuated and effete, to have no more true wonders in the womb thereof, but because miracles are the swaddling-clothes of infant churches. And when doctrines are once established and received in a church, miracles are impertinent; yea, it is no better than a tempting of God, after such assurance given long since to the truth, still to expect a miraculous confirmation thereof.

The magazine of protestant miracles.

6. Wherefore, when the importunity of papists presseth us to produce miracles to attest our religion, we return unto them, that ours is an old faith, founded long since on the scriptures; and we may justly lay claim to all the miracles in the New Testament to be ours, because done in demonstration of that doctrine which we at this day do defend, and

^e De Unitate Ecclesiæ, cap. 16.

^f De Captivitate Babylonica, cap. 11.

are the seals of that instrument, the writing wherein we desire and endeavour to maintain and practise.

7. Such forgery must needs be an high and heinous offence. If the counterfeiting of the mark, tokens, and letters of others, so as to gain any money into their hands thereby, be punishable by pillory, imprisonment ^g, or any other corporal penalty under death, at the discretion of the judge; yea, if it be treason for any to forge the king's sign-manual, privy signet, or privy seal ^h, how great a guilt do they contract who falsify the signature of the high God of heaven? miracles being of that nature whereby he immediately impresseth his own power and presence on that which is so supernaturally brought to pass.

8. I know what such forgers plead for themselves, viz. that they have a good intent therein to beget, continue, or increase a reverence to religion, and veneration to the saints and servants of God, so to raise up vulgar fancies to the highest pitch of piety. Wherefore, as Lycurgus made a law, not that theft should be death, but death to be caught in their thieving, so these conclude counterfeiting miracles no fault, but when done so bunglingly that it is detected, conceiving otherwise the glory accrueth to God by their hypocrisy.

9. But what saith the Holy Spirit? *Will you speak wickedly for God, and talk deceitfully for Him? will you accept His person, will you yet contend for God? Do you so mock Him, shall not His excellency make you afraidⁱ?* Yea, so far is such fraud from

^g Statute 33 of Hen. VIII.

^h Statute 1 Mary.

ⁱ Job xiii. 7.

adding repute to religion, that, being found out, it disposeth men to atheism, and to a suspicion of the truth even of the real miracles in scripture.

The forgery
in relics,
and the
cross espe-
cially.

10. The pretended causes of which miracles are generally reducible to these two heads:

- i. Saints' relics.
- ii. Saints' images.

How much forgery there is in the first of these is generally known, so many pieces being pretended of Christ's cross as would load a great ship; but amongst all of them commend me to the cross at the priory of Benedictines at Bromeholme in Norfolk, the legend whereof deserveth to be inserted. Queen Helen, they say, finding the cross of Christ at Jerusalem, divided it into nine parts, according to the nine orders of angels; of one of these (most besprinkled with Christ's blood) she made a little cross, and, putting it into a box adorned with precious stones, bestowed it on Constantine her son. This relict was kept by his successors until Baldwin, emperor of Greece, fortunate so long as he carried it about him, but slain in fight when forgetting the same; after whose death Hugh his chaplain (born in Norfolk, and who constantly said prayers before the cross^k) stole it away, box and all, brought it into England, and bestowed it on Bromeholme in Norfolk. It seems there is no felony in such wares, but catch who catch may; yea, such sacrilege is supererogation. By this cross thirty-nine dead men are said to be raised to life, and nineteen blind men restored to their sight. It seems such merchants

^k Capgrave's *Legenda*, in the *Life of King Edmond*, [f. 108 b.]

trade much in odd numbers, which best fasteneth the fancies of folk, whilst the smoothness of even numbers makes them slip the sooner out of men's memories.

11. Chemnitius¹ affirmeth, from the mouth of a False teeth of Apollonia. grave author, that the teeth of Saint Apollonia being conceived effectual to cure the tooth-ache in the reign of king Edward the Sixth, (when many ignorant people in England relied on that receipt to carry one of her teeth about them,) the king gave command, in extirpation of superstition, that all her teeth should be brought in to a public officer deputed for that purpose, and they filled a tun therewith. Were her stomach proportionable to her teeth, a county would scarce afford her a meal's meat.

12. The English nuns at Lisbon^m do pretend that False arms of Thomas Becket. they have both the arms of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury; and yet pope Paul the Third, in a public bull set down by Sandersⁿ, doth pitifully complain of the cruelty of king Henry the Eighth, for causing the bones of Becket to be burnt, and the ashes scattered in the wind; the solemnity whereof is recorded in our chronicles, and how his arms should escape that bonfire is to me incredible.

13. The late mentioning of Apollonia curing the Saints, their several employments. tooth-ache mindeth me of the popish designing of

¹ In his Examination of the Council of Trent, cap. de Imag. pag. 1.

^m Anatomy of the Nuns of Lisbon, [by Thomas Robinson.

Printed in 1622, and reprinted by Morgan in the Phœnix. See p. 332 of the last edition.]

ⁿ De Schis. Angl. lib. 1, pag. 171 [= 141].

saints, some to be physicians of diseases, and others patrons of occupations :

St. Sebastian cureth the plague.	St. Pelage protects neat-herds.
St. Petronel the fever.	St. Anthony the swine-herds.
St. Macurine the phrensy.	St. Gertrude the rat-catchers.
St. Maine the scab.	St. Honor the bakers.
St. Genow the gout.	St. Eloy the smiths.
St. Clare the sore eyes.	St. Luke the painters.
St. Crispin protects shoe-makers.	St. Nicholas the mariners.
St. Roch the coblers.	St. Hubert the hunters.
St. Wendelin the shepherds.	St. Yves the lawyers ^u .

Not to speak of St. Anne, proper to help people to lost goods ; St. Leonard, said to open the doors of gaols and make prisoners' fetters fall off: and pity it is that he should shew a cast of his office to any save to honest persons in durance. Expect not from me a reason why such saints are patrons to such professions, superstitious fancy being all the author thereof ; otherwise, were judgment consulted with, Luke should be tutelar to physicians, as his proper calling, though perchance he entertained painting also as a quality for delight and accomplishment.

Miracles
why most
in convents.

14. Now most miracles may be called conventual, monks being more dexterous thereat than secular priests, because their convents afforded greatest conveniency of contrivance, with more heads and hands to plot and practise therein. And this may be conceived one main cause which justly incensed divine jealousy against them, and in due time advanced the

^u [See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, i. 286, ed. Ellis.]

destruction of monasteries, because fathering the issue of earth or hell to be the offspring of heaven, entitling their monstrous delusions to be miraculous operations.

OF FALSE MIRACLES, MANY BROODS WHEREOF WERE HATCHED IN MONASTERIES.

Such false miracles are reducible to two ranks : A dichotomy of miracles.

i. Reported, but never done.

ii. Done, but not true miracles, as either the product of nature, art, or satanical machination.

2. Of the former, whose being is only in report, Reported, not done. were many thousands, whose scene, for the better countenancing thereof, is commonly laid at distance both of time and place. These, like the stuff called stand-far-off, must not have the beholder too near, lest the coarseness thereof doth appear. Thus any reddish liquor (especially if near the eyes of the image of a saint) is reported blood; any whitish moisture (especially if near the breast of the image of a she-saint) is related to be milk: though both of them neither more nor less true than what William of Newborough writes of the place near Battle Abbey in Sussex^o, where the fight was fought between the Normans and English, that on every shower fresh blood springeth out of the earth, as crying to God for vengeance; being nothing else than a natural tincture of the earth, which doth dye the rain red, as in Rutland and in other places.

3. Of pretended miracles which are really done, Done by nature. let precedency be allowed to those which proceed

^o Camd. Brit. in Sussex, [p. 225.]

from natural causes ; and here we will instance, in one out of many thousands. St. Nun's Pool in Cornwall was formerly famous for curing mad folk, and this the manner thereof :

St. Nun's
cure of
madmen.

4. The water running from St. Nun's Well^p fell into a square and close walled plot, which might be filled to what depth they listed. Upon this wall was the frantic person set, his back being towards the pool, and from thence with a sudden blow on the breast tumbled headlong into the pond, where a strong fellow (provided for the nonce) took him and tossed him up and down along and athwart the water, until the patient, foregoing his strength, had somewhat forgot his fury ; then was he conveyed to the church, and certain masses said over him, and St. Nun had the thanks of his recovery. Amidst all this water there was not one drop of miracle, but mere natural causes artificially managed ; and that not curing the phrensy, but abating the fit for the present.

Occult
qualities no
miracles.

5. But other seeming miracles, done by nature and the concurrence of art, were spun with a finer thread, especially when they made advantage of occult qualities, the certain reason whereof no philosopher can render. Such casualties happen in some times and places, which properly are not miracles, though they puzzle all men to assign the cause whereby they are effected ; one of which kind I here transmit to posterity, invested with all the circumstances thereof, which I have carefully (not to say curiously) inquired into.

A wonder
akin to a
miracle in
London.

6. In the year of our Lord 1646, on the sixteenth

^p Carew, in his Survey of Cornwall, p. 123.

of February, this happened in the parish church, St. Leonard's, Eastcheap, whilst Mr. Henry Roughborough was minister and Mr. John Taylor upper churchwarden thereof. Thomas Hill, the sexton of that parish, making a grave in the night-time for George Streaton, in the south side in the passage into the chancel, and under the first stone, opened a grave wherein he found two skulls, and, as he conceived, the proportionable bones of bodies belonging unto them; under all these he lit on a corpse, whose coffin above was consumed, but the body, which he brought out of the grave, complete and entire, save that the nose thereof flatted with his spade, as the sexton believed; the flesh thereof, both for colour and hardness, like scalded bacon dried; his hair and nails complete, with his eyes (but sunk into his head) and all his entrails entire, (for a young chirurgeon did open him,) save that shrunk very much within his body.

7. Some said it was the corpse of Mr. Pountney, ^{A corpse unconsumed.} in Soper Lane, a merchant, buried thirty-four years before; others, of one Paul, a wealthy butcher in Eastcheap, (which was averred both by his principal apprentice, as also by William Haile, the old surviving sexton,) interred four-and-twenty years ago. I read a memorial hereof entered in their parish register, and thousands of people are alive to attest the truth thereof. Had this happened in the time of popery, what a stock had here been to graft a miracle on, the branches of the fame whereof would have spread all over Christendom.

8. Such false miracles succeed which are effected ^{Seeming miracles} by art alone, whereof several kinds: first, such ^{as done by art.} are done by confederacy, wherein if but five complot

together, they may easily deceive five thousand: thus the holy maid of Kent was admired for telling men's secret sins, by keeping correspondency with the friars that formerly had heard their confessions; others done by legerdemain: thus there was a rood at Bexley in Kent made with devices to move the eyes and lips, (but not to see and speak,) which in the year 1538^q was publicly shewed at St. Paul's by the preacher, (then bishop of Rochester,) and there broken in pieces, the people laughing at that which they adored but an hour before. Such imposture was also used at Hailes Abbey in Gloucestershire, where the blood of a duck (for such it appeared at the dissolving of the house) was so cunningly conveyed that it strangely spurted or sprang up, to the great amazement of common people, accounting it the blood of our Saviour.

Mysterious
ventriloqui.

9. Thirdly, strange things are done by *ventriloqui*, which is a mysterious manner of uttering words, not out of the porch of the mouth and entry of the throat, (the common places of speech,) but out of the inward room or rather arched cellar of the belly, yet so that the hollowness thereof seemingly fixeth the sound at a distance, which no doubt hath been mistook for the voice of images.

10. Lastly, such as are done by the power of Satan, who hath a high title and large territory, as termed *prince of the power of the air*^r. Now the air being Satan's shop, he hath therein many tools to work with, and much matter to work on; it is the magazine of meteors, lightning, thunder, snow,

^q Stow's Chron. in that year. ^r Ephes. ii. 2.

hail, wind, rain, comets, &c. wherewith many wonders may be achieved ; and it is observable that air is required to those two senses, sight and hearing, which usher in most outward objects into the soul. False lights are of great advantage to such as vend bad wares : Satan's power must needs be great in presenting shows and sounds, who can order the air, and make it dark or light, or thick or thin, at pleasure.

11. We will conclude with one particular kind of miracles, wherein monks, by the devil's help, did drive a great trade : namely, predictions, or pretended prophecies. Of these some were post-date, cunningly made after the thing came to pass ; and that made the invention of Prometheus which was the act of Epimetheus. Others were languaged in such doubtful expressions that they bare a double sense, and commonly came to pass contrary to the ordinary acceptance of them. However, hereby Satan saved his credit, (who loves to tell lies, but loathes to be taken in them,) and we will only instance in two or three, which we may write and hear with the more patience because the last in this kind, which at the dissolution of abbeys brought up the rest of monastical prophecies.

12. There was in Wales a great and loobily image, called Darvell Gatherne, of which an old prophecy went that it should burn a forest, and on that account was beheld by the ignorant with much veneration. Now at the dissolution of abbeys it was brought up to London, and burnt at the gallows in Smithfield, with friar Forrest, executed for a traitor.

Hæret Del-
phinus in
ulmo.

13. A prophecy was current in the abbey of Glastonbury, that a whiting should swim on the top of the Torr thereof, (which is a steep hill hard by,) and the credulous country people understood it of an eruption of the sea, which they suspected accordingly. It happened that abbot Whiting (the last of Glastonbury) was hanged thereon for his recusancy to surrender the abbey, and denying the king's supremacy; so swimming in air, and not water, and waved with the wind in the place.

Prophetical
mottos in-
scribed in
Gloucester
church.

14. We will close all with the propheticall mottos (at leastwise as men since have expounded them) of the three last successive abbots of Gloucester, because much of modesty and something of piety contained therein :

i. Abbot Boulers, [or Butler,] *Memento, memento* ; that is, as some will have it, Remember, remember, this abbey must be dissolved.

ii. Abbot Seabrooke, *Fiat voluntas Domini* ; that is, If it must be dissolved, the will of the Lord be done ^s.

iii. Abbot Mauborn, [or Malvern,] *Mersos reatu suscita* ; Raise up those which are drowned in guiltiness.

Which some say was accomplished when this abbey found that favour from king Henry the Eighth to be raised into a bishopric. But I like the text better than the comment, and there is more humility in their mottos than solidity in the interpretations.

^s [In his time was built the tower of Gloucester Cathedral, with its quadrangular pinnacles.

He lies buried behind the right of the quire. See Dugdale's Monast. I. 995.]

THAT MANY PRECIOUS BOOKS WERE EMBEZZLED AT THE DISSOLUTION OF ABBEYS, TO THE IRREPARABLE LOSS OF LEARNING.

The English monks were bookish of themselves, and much inclined to hoard up monuments of learning. Britain, we know, is styled "another world," and in this contradistinction (though incomparably less in quantity) acquits itself well in proportion of famous writers, producing almost as many classical schoolmen for her natives as all Europe besides. Other excellent books of foreign authors were brought hither, purchased at dear rates, if we consider that the press (which now runs so incredibly fast) was in that age in her infancy, newly able to go alone, there being then few printed books in comparison of the many manuscripts. These, if carefully collected and methodically compiled, would have amounted to a library exceeding that of Ptolemy's for plenty, or many Vaticans for choiceness and rarity; yea, had they been transported beyond the seas, sent over and sold entire to such who knew their value, and would preserve them, England's loss had been Europe's gain, and the detriment the less to learning in general; yea, many years after the English might have repurchased for pounds what their grandfathers sold for fewer pence into foreign parts.

2. But alas! those abbeys were now sold to such chapmen, in whom it was questionable whether their ignorance or avarice were greater, and they made havoc and destruction of all. As brokers in Long Lane, when they buy an old suit, buy the linings

English
libraries
excellently
furnished.

The miser-
able mar-
tyrdom of
innocent
books.

together with the outside, so it was conceived meet that such as purchased the buildings of monasteries should in the same grant have the libraries (the stuffing thereof) conveyed unto them. And now these ignorant owners, so long as they might keep a ledger-book or terrier, by direction thereof to find such straggling acres as belonged unto them, they cared not to preserve any other monuments. The covers of books, with curious brass bosses and clasps, intended to protect, proved to betray them, being the baits of covetousness; and so, many excellent authors, stripped out of their cases, were left naked, to be burnt or thrown away. Thus Æsop's cock, casually lighting on a pearl, preferred a grain before it; yet he left it as he found it, and, as he reaped no profit by the pearl, it received no damage by him: whereas these cruel cormorants, with their barbarous beaks and greedy claws, rent, tore, and tattered these inestimable pieces of antiquity. Who would think that the fathers should be condemned to such servile employment as to be scavengers, to make clean the foulest sink in men's bodies? Yea, which is worse, many an ancient manuscript Bible cut in pieces to cover filthy pamphlets; so that a case of diamond hath been made to keep dirt within it: yea, the wise men of Gotham bound up in the wisdom of Solomon.

John Bale
lamentably
bemoaneth
this mas-
sacre.

3. But hear how John Bale, a man sufficiently averse from the least shadow of popery, hating all monkery with a perfect hatred, complained hereof to king Edward the Sixth^t: "Covetousness was at

^t In his Declaration upon Leland's Journey, anno 1549. [This first sentence is an abridgment of the original.]

“ that time so busy about private commodity, that
“ public wealth in that most necessary and of respect
“ was not any where regarded.—A great number of
“ them which purchased those superstitious mansions
“ reserved of those library books some to serve their
“ jakes, some to scour their candlesticks, and some
“ to rub their boots; some they sold to the grocers
“ and soap-sellers, and some they sent over sea to
“ the bookbinders, not in small number, but at
“ times whole ships full, to the wondering of the
“ foreign nations. Yea, the universities of this realm
“ are not all clear in this detestable fact; but
“ cursed is that belly which seeketh to be fed with
“ such ungodly gains, and so deeply shameth his
“ natural country. I know a merchant-man (which
“ shall at this time be nameless) that bought the
“ contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings
“ price, a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff hath
“ he occupied instead of grey paper by the space of
“ more than these ten years, and yet he hath store
“ enough for as many years to come. A prodigi-
“ ous example is this, and to be abhorred of all
“ men which love their nation as they should do.—
“ Yea, what may bring our realm to more shame
“ and rebuke than to have it noised abroad that we
“ are despisers of learning? I judge this to be true,
“ and utter it with heaviness, that neither the
“ Britons under the Romans and Saxons, nor yet
“ the English people under the Danes and Normans,
“ had ever such damage of their learned monuments
“ as we have seen in our time. Our posterity may
“ well curse this wicked fact of our age, this un-
“ reasonable spoil of England’s most noble anti-
“ quities.”

Learning
receiveth
an incur-
able wound
by the loss
of books.

4. What soul can be so frozen as not to melt into anger hereat? What heart, having the least spark of ingenuity, is not hot at this indignity offered to literature? I deny not but that in this heap of books there was much rubbish: legions of lying legends, good for nothing but fuel, whose keeping would have caused the loss of much precious time in reading them. I confess also there were many volumes full fraught with superstition, which notwithstanding might be useful to learned men; except any will deny apothecaries the privilege of keeping poisons in their shops, when they can make antidotes of them. But, besides these, what beautiful Bibles, rare fathers, subtle schoolmen, useful historians (ancient, middle, modern)! what painful comments were here amongst them! what monuments of mathematics! all massacred together, seeing every book with a cross was condemned for popish; with circles, for conjuring. Yea, I may say that then holy divinity was profaned, physic itself hurt; and a trespass, yea, a riot committed on the law itself; and more particularly the history of former times then and there received a dangerous wound, whereof it halts at this day, and, without hope of a perfect cure, must go a cripple to the grave.

No anabaptistical
humour,
but down-
right igno-
rance the
cause
thereof.

5. Some would persuade us that in all this there was a smack or taste of anabaptistical fury, which about this time began in Germany, where they destroyed the stately libraries of Munster and Osna-burg. Indeed, as the wicked tenants in the gospel thought themselves not safe in and sure of the vineyard till they had killed the heir, that so the inheritance might be their own, so the anabaptists con-

ceived themselves not in quiet possession of their anarchy, and sufficiently established therein, whilst any learning did survive, which in process of time might recover its right against them; and therefore they bent their brains to the final extirpation thereof. But I am more charitably inclined to conceive that simple ignorance, not fretted and embossed with malice or affected hatred to learning, caused that desolation of libraries in England; though perchance some there were who conceived these books, as the *garment spotted with sin*^u, had contracted such a guilt, being so long in the possession of superstitious owners, that they deserved as an anathema to be consigned to a perpetual destruction.

6. Some will say that herein I discover an hankering after the onions and flesh-pots of Egypt, and that the bemoaning the loss of these monuments is no better than Lot's wife's looking back with a farewell glance to the filthy city of Sodom. To such I protest myself not to have the least inclination to the favour of monkery. But enough: for I know some back-friends of learning there be that take it ill that we have jogged them in this discourse; and therefore we will let them alone, to be settled quietly on the lees of their own ignorance, praying to God that never good library may lie at the mercy of their disposal, lest, having the same advantage, they play the like prank, to the prejudice of learning and religion.

Sullen dispositions
causelessly
aggrieved.

^u Jude 23.

MANY GOOD BARGAINS, OR RATHER CHEAP
PENNYWORTHS, BOUGHT OF
ABBEY LANDS.

The profuse
gifts and
grants of
king Henry.

If ever the poet's fiction of a golden shower rained into Danae her lap found a moral or real performance, it was now, at the dissipation of abbey lands; and though we will not give hearing or belief in full latitude of his slanderous pen that reports how king Henry (when ancient and diseased, choleric and curious in trifles) was wont to reward such as ordered his skrine or chair in a convenient distance from the fire, so as to please him with the church of some abbey or lead of some church^x, yet it is certain that in this age small merits of courtiers met with a prodigious recompence for their service: not only all the cooks, but the meanest turn-broach in the king's kitchen did lick his fingers; yea, the king's servants, to the third and fourth degree, tasted of his liberality; it being but proportionable, that where the master got the manor in fee, his man under him should obtain some long lease of a farm of considerable value.

King Henry
his engage-
ment to
liberality.

2. Indeed king Henry, besides his own disposition to munificence, was doubly concerned to be bountiful herein: first, in honour, for seeing the parliament with one breath had blown so much profit unto him, and had with their suffrage conferred the harvest of abbey lands on the crown, it was fitting that some (especially the principal advancers of the business) should, with Ruth, *glean amongst the sheaves*^y; secondly, in policy, to make many and great men

^x Sanders, de Schis. Angl. [p. 178, ed. 1588.]

^y Ruth ii. 16.

effectually sensible of the profit of this dissolution, and so engaged to defend it. Wherefore, as he took the greater flowers to garnish his own crown, so he bestowed the less buds to beautify his noblemen's coronets. But, besides these, he passed abbey lands in a four-fold nature to persons of meaner quality.

3. First, by free gift. Herein take one story of many: Master John Champernowne^z, son and heir apparent of sir Philip Champernowne, of Modbury in Devon, followed the court, and by his pleasant conceits won good grace with the king. It happened two or three gentlemen, the king's servants and Mr. Champernowne's acquaintance, waited at a door where the king was to pass forth, with purpose to beg of his highness a large parcel of abbey lands, specified in their petition. Champernowne was very inquisitive to know their suit, but they would not impart the nature thereof. This while out comes the king; they kneel down, so doth Mr. Champernowne, being assured by an implicit faith that courtiers would beg nothing hurtful to themselves; they prefer their petition, the king grants it; they render him humble thanks, and so doth Mr. Champernowne. Afterwards he requires his share, they deny it; he appeals to the king; the king avows his equal meaning in the largess: whereupon his companions were fain to allot this gentleman the priory of St. Germans in Cornwall, valued at two hundred forty-three pound and eight shillings of yearly rent^a,

^z Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 109, [ed. 1602. Lady Champernowne is mentioned by Strype as having some charge of the princess Elizabeth. Grind. 5.]

^a Speed, [p. 1053, 3rd ed. and Dugdale I. ad fin.] But quære whether he had all the land, or only the site of the priory.

(since by him or his heirs sold to Mr. Eliot,) for his partage. Here a dumb beggar met with a blind giver, the one as little knowing what he asked as the other what he granted. Thus king Henry made cursory charters, and *in transitu* transacted abbey lands. I could add how he gave a religious house of some value to Mistress [Cornwallis], for presenting him with a dish of puddings which pleased his palate.

How sir
Miles Par-
tridge got
Jesus bells.

4. Secondly, by play, whereat he lost many a thousand pound per annum. Once being at dice, he played with sir Miles Partridge (staking an hundred pounds against them) for Jesus bells ^b, hanging in a steeple not far from St. Paul's in London, and as great and tunable as any in the city, and lost them at a cast. I will not, with some, heighten the guilt of this act equal to that which *cast lots on Christ's garments*; but sure it is no sin to say that such things deserved more serious and deliberate disposal.

Glaucus
and Dio-
medes his
exchange.

5. Thirdly, by exchange. To make these chops none were frighted with the king's power, but flattered into them by the apprehension of their own profit; for many lands of subjects, either naturally bald or newly shaven of their woods, were commuted for granges of abbeys, which, like satyrs or selvages, were all overgrown with trees and timber, besides other disadvantages, both for quantity and quality of ground, as enhanced for old rent. Oh, here was the Royal Exchange!

^b Stow's Survey of London, [p. 357. This sir Miles Partridge, a man notorious for his base character, whom Strype calls a gamester and a ruffian, afterwards perished by the hands of justice. See Strype's Memorials, ii. 115.]

6. Lastly, by sale at under rates. Indeed it is beneath a prince (enough to break his state to stoop to each virgate and rod of ground) pedlar-like to higgle for a toy by retail; and all tenants and chapmen which contract with kings expect good bargains; yet officers entrusted to manage the revenue of the crown ought not to behold it abused out of all distance, in such under-valuations. Except any will say he is not deceived who would be deceived, and king Henry, for the reason aforesaid, connived at such bargains, wherein rich meadow was sold for barren heath, great oaks for fuel, and farms for revenue passed for cottages in reputation. But for farther instruction we remit the reader to that information^c presented to queen Elizabeth by a man in authority (though nameless) of the several frauds and deceits offered the crown in this kind. But the motion rather drew odium on the author than brought advantage to the crown: partly because of the number and quality of persons concerned therein, and partly because (after thirty years) the owners of abbeys were often altered; and though the chamber be the same, yet if the guests be a new company, it is hard for the host from them to recover his old arrearages. Yea, by this time when the foresaid information was given in, the present possessors of much abbey land were as little allied to those to whom king Henry granted them, as they to whom the king first passed them were of kin to the first founders of those monasteries.

^c Weever's Funeral Mon. pag. 125.

OF THE ACTIONS OF POLICY, PIETY, CHARITY,
AND JUSTICE, DONE BY KING HENRY THE
EIGHTH, OUT OF THE REVENUES OF DIS-
SOLVED ABBEYS.

Good as well as bad must be observed in mixed actions.

We would not willingly be accounted like those called the *μωμοσκόποι* amongst the Jews, whose office it was only to take notice of the blots or blemishes, the defects and deformities in sacrifices. We would not weed king Henry's actions in his dissolving of abbeys, so as only to mark the miscarriages and misdemeanours therein. Come we to consider what commendable deeds this king did raise on the ruins of monasteries.

King Henry augmented the crown revenues.

2. First, he politicly increased the revenues of the crown and duchy of Lancaster, (on which he bestowed the rich abbey of Fournes in that county,) with annexing much land thereto, and erecting the court of augmentations (whereof largely hereafter) for the more methodical managing thereof; though alas! what the crown possessed of abbey land was nothing to what he passed away. Surely had the revenues of monasteries been entirely kept and paid into the exchequer, there to make an *ærarium sacrum* or public treasury, it is questionable whether the same had been more for the ease of the subject or use and honour of the sovereign.

Founded five new bishoprics.

3. Secondly, he piously founded five bishoprics *de novo* (besides one at Westminster, which continued not) where none had been before; for though anciently there had been a bishop's seat at Chester for a short time, yet it was then no better than the summer-house of the bishop of Lichfield, (only during the life of one Peter living there,) which

now was solemnly made a bishopric for succession, and four others, namely,

<i>Bishop's See.</i>	<i>Diocese assigned it.</i>	<i>Taken from the Bishopric of</i>
1. Oxford.	1. Oxfordshire.	1. Lincoln.
2. Bristol.	2. Dorset, and some part of Gloucestershire.	2. Salisbury.
3. Peterborough.	3. Northamptonshire and Rutland.	3. Lincoln.
4. Gloucester.	4. Gloucestershire, the rest.	4. Worcester.
5. Chester.	5. Chester, Lancaster, and Richmondshire.	5. Lichfield and York.

Such who honour prelacy^d must acknowledge these new foundations of the king's for a worthy work. Those also of contrary judgment will thus far forth approve his act, because, had he otherwise expended these abbey lands, and not continued them to our times in these new bishoprics, they had not been in being, by their late sale, to supply the commonwealth.

4. Thirdly, where he found a prior and monks belonging to any ancient cathedral church, there he converted the same into a dean and prebendaries, as in

- | | |
|----------------|---------------|
| 1. Canterbury. | 5. Worcester. |
| 2. Winchester. | 6. Rochester. |
| 3. Ely. | 7. Durham. |
| 4. Norwich. | 8. Carlisle. |

I dare not say that he entirely assigned (though a good author^e affirmeth it) all or the most part of those priory lands to these his new foundations. However, the expression of a late bishop of Nor-

^d [In some copies, "Such who
"are prelatically persuaded."]

^e Godwin in Henry VIII.
anno 1539.

Nothing
was taken
away.

wich ^f is complained of as uncivil and untrue, that
“ king Henry took away the sheep from that cathe-
“ dral, and did not restore so much as the trotters
“ unto it.”

Grammar-
schools
founded by
him.

5. Fourthly, he charitably founded many grammar-
schools, (great need whereof in that age in this land,)
as in Canterbury, Coventry, Worcester, &c., allowing
liberal salaries to the masters and ushers therein,
had they been carefully preserved; but sometimes
the gifts of a bountiful master shrink in the passage
through the hands of a covetous steward.

Hospitals
by him con-
ferred on
London.

6. Fifthly, he charitably bestowed Grey Friars
(now commonly called Christ Church) and the hos-
pital of St. Bartholomew, in London, on that city,
for the relief of the poor thereof; for the death of
Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, (his beloved bro-
ther-in-law,) happening the July before, so impressed
king Henry with a serious apprehension of his own
mortality, (such the sympathy of tempers, intimacy
of converse, and no great disparity of age betwixt
them,) that he thought it high time to bethink him-
self of his end, and to do some good work in order
thereunto. Hereupon, on the 13th of January fol-
lowing, anno 1546 ^g, he bestowed the said hospitals
on the city; a gift afterwards confirmed and enlarged
by king Edward the Sixth.

Trinity
College in
Cambridge
and profes-
sors' places
by him en-
dowed.

7. Sixthly, he built and endowed the magnificent
college of Trinity, finished King's College Chapel in
Cambridge, and founded professors' places for lan-
guages, physic, law, and divinity, in both universities,
as in the proper place thereof shall hereafter largely
appear.

^f Dr. Montague.

^g Stow's Survey of London, p. 417.

8. Seventhly, he employed John Leland, a most learned antiquary, to perambulate and visit the ruins of all abbeys, and record the memorables therein. It seems, though the buildings were destroyed, king Henry would have the builders preserved, and their memories transmitted to posterity. This task Leland performed with great pains, to his great praise, on the king's purse, who exhibited most bountifully unto him, as himself confesseth in these his Latin verses :

Leland employed by him to survey, collect, and preserve antiquities.

*Ante suos Phæbus radios ostendere mundo
 Desinet, et claras Cynthia pulchra faces :
 Ante fluet rapidum tacitis sine piscibus æquor,
 Spinifer et nullam sentis habebit avem :
 Ante sacræ quercus cessabunt spargere ramos,
 Floraq sollicita pingere prata manu :
 Quam, Rex dice, tuum labatur pectore nostro
 Nomen, quod studiis, portus et aura, meis.*

The sun shall sooner cease his shine to shew,
 And moon deny her lamp to men below ;
 The rapid seas shall sooner fishless slide,
 And bushes quite forget their birds to hide ;
 Great oaks shall sooner cease to spread their bowers,
 And Flora for to paint the meads with flowers,
 Than thou, great king, shalt slip out of my breast,
 My studies' gentle gale and quiet rest.

Pity is it that Leland's worthy collections were never made public in print ; and some, justly to be praised for care in preserving, may as justly be taxed for envy in engrossing such monuments of antiquity. But let us a little trace Leland's Itineraries, after he in writing had finished the same. First, his collections came into the hand of sir John Cheke, school-master, then secretary to king Edward the Sixth,

leaving the same to Henry Cheke, his eldest son, secretary to the council in the north. Here our great antiquary, who afterwards described Britain, got a sight and made a good use thereof, it being most true, *si Lelandus non laborasset, Camdenus non triumphasset*. From Mr. Cheke (by what transactions I know not) four of Leland's works came into the possession of William Burton, as he confesseth in his description of Leicestershire^h, and by him were bestowed on the public library at Oxford, where the original remaineth, and scarce so many copies of them as properly may be called some are at this day in private men's possessions.

Read, and
bethankful.

9. This Leland, after the death of king Henry the Eighth, his bountiful patron, fell distracted, and so died; uncertain whether his brains were broken with weight of work or want of wages: the latter more likely, because after the death of king Henry his endeavours met not with proportionable encouragement. By the way we may sadly observe that two of the best scholars in this king's reign, loved and preferred by him, died both mad, and bereft of their wits: Richard Pace, dean of St. Paul'sⁱ, and this Leland; which I mark not out of ill will to the dead, to lessen their memory amongst men, but of good will to the living, to greaten their gratitude to God; especially to scholars, that God may preserve them in a *sound mind*^k, both in the apostle's high sense and in the common acception thereof: the rather because the finer the string, the sooner, if overstrained, is it broken.

^h P. 39 and 40, [ed. 1622.] Whitg. iii. 390, ed. Oxon.]

ⁱ Godwin in Henry VIII. ^k 2 Tim. i. 7.

anno 1525. [See also Strype's

10. He maintained many learned youths, on great cost and charges, in all foreign courts and countries; for this was the fashion in his reign, to select yearly one or more of the most promising pregnancies out of both universities, and to breed them beyond the seas on the king's exhibitions unto them. Sir Thomas Smith¹, bred in Queen's College in Cambridge, and afterward principal secretary to queen Elizabeth, was one of the last educated in this manner. These young men proved afterwards the picklocks of the cabinet councils of foreign princes, no king having better intelligence than king Henry from beyond the seas.

Intelli-
gencers
bred by him
beyond the
seas.

11. Lastly, he justly paid a great yearly sum of money to many monks and nuns during their lives, the manner and condition of which pensions we will now at large relate.

OF THE MANY AND LARGE PENSIONS CONSTANTLY PAID BY KING HENRY TO MONKS AND NUNS DURING THEIR LIVES.

It was in those days conceived highly injurious to thrust monks and nuns out of house and home, without assigning them any allowance for their subsistence. Alas! many of them *dig they could not, and to beg they were ashamed*; their fingers were either too stiff, by reason of their old age, to begin now to bow to a manual trade; or hands too soft, because of their tender breeding, to take pain in a laborious vocation. And although there wanted not some to persuade the king to out them without any maintenance, (it being but just they should

The good-
nature of
king Henry
herein.

¹ Camd. Eliz. in anno 1577.

practice real who had professed seeming poverty,) yet the king, better natured herein than some courtiers, allowed and duly paid to some large, to most competent, to all certain annuities.

High injustice to detain promised pensions.

2. Indeed there cannot be an higher piece of injustice than for a king or state publicly to promise pensions to necessitous persons, and never perform the same; so that poor people shall have some hundreds in common report, and not one penny in real and effectual payment: for, first, the grant raiseth and erecteth the spirits of such pensioners for the present, which soon after (tyranny so to torture them) sink and settle down on the non-performance thereof; secondly, such expectations often make people proportion their present expenses according to those their hopes, to their great damage and detriment, yea, sometimes to their utter undoing; thirdly, such noise of pensions granted takes off from them the charity of their kindred and friends, as needless to persons presumed able to subsist of themselves: not to speak how much it lessens the reputation of a state, rendering them justly censurable, either of indiscretion in granting pensions where not deserved, or injustice in not paying them when granted.

The first qualification of his pensioners.

3. Yet all persons were not promiscuously capable of the king's pensions, but only those who were qualified accordingly; namely, first, such as at the dissolution of their abbeyes were not preferred to any other dignity or benefice. By the way, this was a temptation to the king and chancellor ofttimes to prefer mean men (which formerly had been monks and friars) to no mean livings, because (beside the general want of able ministers) such incumbents

being so provided for, their pensions ceased, and the exchequer was disburdened from future paying them any exhibition.

4. These pensions of the king were confirmed to the monks and nuns by his letters patent under the broad seal, and registered in the Court of Augmentations; one copy whereof we here insert, having seen some hundreds of them, all the same in essentials, not conceiving it impertinent to translate the same, desiring the lawyers not to laugh at us if we miss the legal terms, whilst we hit the true meaning thereof:

A copy of
the king's
letters pa-
tent for
pensions.

HENRICUS OCTAVUS, Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ Rex, fidei defensor, Dominus Hiberniæ, et in terra supremum caput Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ, omnibus ad quos præsentēs litteræ pervenerint, salutem. Cum nuper monasterium de Carthus de Hinton, in com' nostro Somer. jam dissolvatur, unde quidam Edmundus Horde tempore dissolutionis illius et diu antea Prior inde fuit; Nos volentes rationabilem annualem pensionem, sive promotionem condignam, eidem Edmundo ad victum, exhibitionem et sustentationem suam melius sustentandum provideri; Sciatis igitur quod nos in consideratione præmissorum de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, per advisamentum et

“ HENRY THE EIGHTH, by the
“ grace of God, king of England
“ and France, defender of the
“ faith, lord of Ireland, and su-
“ preme head of the English
“ church on earth. To all to
“ whom our present letters shall
“ come greeting. Whereas the
“ monastery of the Carthusians
“ of Hinton, in our county of
“ Somerset, is now lately dis-
“ solved, whereof Edmund Horde
“ was prior at the time of the
“ dissolution thereof, and long
“ before; We are willing that a
“ reasonable pension annual, or
“ suitable promotion should be
“ provided for the said Edmund,
“ the better to maintain and sus-
“ tain him in diet and mainte-
“ nance. Know therefore that we,
“ in consideration of the premises,
“ out of our special grace and
“ favour, certain knowledge, and
“ our mere motion, by the advice
“ and consent of the chancellor

consensum cancellarii et consilii Curiae Augmentationum reventionum coronæ nostræ, dedimus et concessimus, ac per præsentem damus et concedimus eidem Edmundo quandam annuitatem sive annualem pensionem, quadragint' quatuor librar' sterlingorum, habend', gaudendum et annuatim percipiendum easdem quadraginta quatuor libras, præfato Edmundo et assignatis suis a festo Annuntiationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis ultimo præterito ad terminum et pro termino vitæ ipsius Edmundi vel quousq; idem Edmundus ad unum vel plura beneficia ecclesiastica, sive aliam promotionem condignam, clari annui valoris quadragint' quatuor librarum aut ultra per nos promotus fuerit, tam per manus thesaurarii reventionum augmentationum coronæ nostræ pro tempore existentis, de thesauro nostro in manibus suis de reventionibus prædictis, remanere contingen', quam per manus receptor. exituum et reventionum dicti nuper monasterii pro tempore existent', de eisdem exitibus et reventionibus ad festum Sancti Michaelis archangeli, et Annuntiationis beatæ

“ and council of the Court of
 “ Augmentations of the revenues
 “ of our crown, have given and
 “ granted, and by these presents
 “ do give and grant to the same
 “ Edmund an annuity or yearly
 “ pension of forty-four pounds
 “ sterling; that the said forty-
 “ four pounds may be had, en-
 “ joyed, or yearly received by the
 “ aforesaid Edmund, and his as-
 “ signs, from the feast of the
 “ Annunciation of the blessed
 “ Virgin Mary last past to the
 “ term and for the term of the
 “ life of the said Edmund, or
 “ until the said Edmund shall be
 “ preferred by us to one or more
 “ ecclesiastical benefices, or other
 “ suitable promotion of the clear
 “ yearly value of forty-four pounds
 “ or upwards, as well by the hands
 “ of the treasurer of the augmen-
 “ tations of the revenues of our
 “ crown for the time being, out
 “ of our treasure, which shall
 “ chance to remain in his hands,
 “ of the revenues aforesaid; as
 “ from the receiver of the profits
 “ and revenues of the said late
 “ monastery for the time being,
 “ out of the said profits and
 “ revenues at the feast of Saint
 “ Michael the archangel, and the
 “ Annunciation of the blessed

Mariæ Virginis, per æquales portiones. Et ulterius de uberiori gratia nostra, dedimus et pro consideratione prædicta per præsentis concedimus præfato Edmundo Horde undecim libras sterlingorum habend. eidem Edmundo ex dono nostro per manus thesaurarii prædicti de thesauro prædicto, vel per manus dicti receptoris de exitibus et reventionibus maneriorum, terrarum et tenementorum dicti nuper monasterii solvend'. Eo quod expressa mentio de vero valore annuo, aut de certitudine præmissorum, sive eorum alicujus aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per nos præfato Edmundo ante hæc tempora fact' in præsentibus minime fact' existit, aut aliquo statuto actu ordinatione provisione, sive restrictione in contrarium inde habit', fact', ordinat' seu provis', aut aliqua alia re causa, vel materia quacunque in aliquo non obstante. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste Ricardo Rich, milite apud Westmonasterium vicesimo septimo die Aprilis, anno regni nostri tricesimo primo.

“ Virgin Mary, by equal portions.
 “ And furthermore, of our more
 “ plentiful grace, we have given,
 “ and for the consideration afore-
 “ said by these presents do grant
 “ to the aforesaid Edmund Horde
 “ eleven pounds sterling, that the
 “ said Edmund may have it from
 “ our gift by the hands of our
 “ foresaid treasurer of our fore-
 “ said treasure, or by the hands
 “ of our foresaid receiver to be
 “ paid out of the profits and reve-
 “ nues of the manors, lands, and
 “ tenements of the said late mo-
 “ nastery. —————

“ any statute, act, ordinance, pro-
 “ mission, or restriction to the
 “ contrary had, made, ordained,
 “ or provided, or any other mat-
 “ tēr, cause, or thing whatsoever
 “ in any wise notwithstanding.
 “ In testimony whereof we have
 “ made these our letters patents.
 “ Witness Richard Rich, knight,
 “ at Westminster, the twenty-
 “ seventh day of April, in the
 “ one and thirtieth of our reign.

Per cancellarium et concilium Curiae Augmentationum Reventionum Coronae Regiae, virtute warranti regii.

“ By the chancellor and council of the Court of Augmentations of the Revenues of the Crown, by virtue of the king’s warrant.”

See we here the payment to this Prior consisted of two sums of several natures or conditions; namely,

i. The forty-four pounds being properly the pension paid yearly unto him.

ii. The additional eleven pounds, granted with an *ulterius*, paid but once as advance-money, to fit him with necessaries at his departure out of the convent.

This is observable in all the patents I have seen, that constantly the king’s gratuity for their *vale*, some small fractions excepted, bears the proportion of a fourth part of their yearly pension.

What church livings were inconsistent with pensions.

5. Suppose, then, this our prior preferred to a church dignity or living amounting very near but not to the full value of forty-four pounds yearly, this did not avoid his pension, but that he might hold it and his living together. Wherefore, as it was the desire and endeavour of every monk so advanced to beat down the value of his church living as low as might be, thereby to render himself capable of it and his pension, so was it the proper work of the king’s officers in the Augmentation Court truly to state the valuation of the livings of such pensioners, that the crown might not be defrauded; where, by the way, I conceive livings were estimated not according to the favourable rates

in the king's book, (where few of forty-four pounds per annum,) but according to the ordinary value, as they were worth to be let and set in that age.

6. Here fain would I be satisfied, from some ^{A quære} learned in the laws, that whereas provision is made ^{pro-} ^{pounded.} in this patent for the Prior to enjoy his pension until *per nos*, by the king's self, or his under-officers, he was preferred to promotion of equal value, whether or no this pension determined, if not the king but some inferior patron provided such preferment for him; seeing, in a general sense, all may be said presented by the king, as patron paramount of the church of England, who by virtue of his law have institution and induction into any ecclesiastical promotion.

7. That effectual passage is inserted in all patents ^{Seniority in} of abbots, priors, and monks, that they were in the ^{convents an} ^{advantage.} convent *diu antea*, long before the dissolution thereof; otherwise many young folk who lately came in even barely went out, without any pensions. Such novices and probationers, whose cowls came but yesterday out of the draper's shop, having youth and strength to provide for themselves, were left to the choice of their own calling, without any other annuity allowed them.

8. Their pensions, though seeming but small, ^{Many pen-} being many in number, made a deep hole in the ^{sions mount} ^{to much} ^{money.} king's revenue, insomuch that he received from some houses but small profits *de claro* until the said pensions were extinguished; as will appear (guess Hercules from his foot) by comparing the profits arising from, with the pensions allotted to, the monks in the aforesaid priory of Hinton in Somersetshire.

Edmund Hord, prior, his pension 4 <i>l.</i> ; his gratuity, 1 <i>l.</i>		
Monks.	Pensions.	Gratuities.
	<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>
Thomas Fletcher . . .	6 13 4	1 13 4
William Burford . . .	6 13 4	1 13 3
Hugh Laycocke . . .	8 0 0	2 0 0
Robert Frye . . .	6 13 4	1 13 4
John Bachcroft . . .	8 0 0	2 0 0
Robert Russell . . .	2 0 0	0 10 0
Robert Lightfoot . . .	2 0 0	0 10 0
Robert Noling . . .	6 13 4	1 13 4
Henry Gurney . . .	6 13 4	1 13 4
Thomas Hellyer . . .	6 13 4	1 13 4
Nicholas Baland . . .	6 13 4	1 13 4
William Reynold . . .	6 13 8	1 13 4
Robert Savage . . .	6 13 4	1 13 3
William Robinson . . .	2 0 0	0 10 0
John Chamberlaine . . .	6 13 4	1 13 4
William Coke . . .	6 13 4	1 13 4
James Marble . . .	6 13 4	1 13 4
Roger Legge . . .	2 0 0	0 10 0
Henry Bourman . . .	6 13 4	1 13 4
John Calert . . .	2 0 0	0 10 0
Robert Stamerdon . . .	6 13 4	1 13 4

The total sum of yearly pensions, 163*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*
The total sum of gratuities, 40*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.*

Now whereas the priory of Hinton, at the dissolution thereof, was valued at no more than two hundred sixty-two pounds twelve shillings^m, if the aforesaid sum of yearly pensions be thence deducted, the clear remainder to the king was but ninety-nine pounds five shillings fourpence. But the crown had a double advantage: one, that priory lands were lasting, whilst pensions expired with monks' lives; and the other, that the pensions were but bare penny-rent, whilst abbey lands were lowly rated, far beneath their true valuation.

The pensions of the abbots in Somerset.

9. Now because our hand is in, and I for the present can make use of an authentic manuscript (once Henry baron Hunsdon's, lord chamberlain)

^m Speed in his Catalogue of Religious Houses, p. 707.

kindly communicated to me by a worthy friend of all the pensions in Somersetshire ⁿ, it will not be amiss to exemplify such as were allotted to the several abbots and priors therein.

<i>Place.</i>	<i>Abbot.</i>	<i>Pension.</i> <i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>Gratuity.</i> <i>l. s. d.</i>
Athelney.	R. Hamlyn.	50 0 0	The prebend of Sutton. 20 0 0 0 0 0
Bruton.	John Ely.	80 0 0	
Keynsham.	John Stoneton.	60 0 0	
<i>Place.</i>	<i>Prior.</i>	<i>Pension.</i> <i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>Gratuity.</i> <i>l. s. d.</i>
Bath.	William Gibby.	8 0 0	An house in Bath. 20 0 0 30 0 0 8 6 8
Montacute.	R. Whitlocke o.	80 0 0	
Taunton.	W. Williams.	60 0 0	
Witham.	John Michell.	33 6 8	
<i>Place.</i>	<i>Master.</i>	<i>Pension.</i> <i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>Gratuity.</i> <i>l. s. d.</i>
Bridgewater.	Robert Walshe.	33 6 8	16 13 4 0 0 0
Wells.	Rich. Clarkeson.	12 0 0	

These two last were hospitals.

The aforesaid book reacheth not Bristol, because not properly in Somersetshire, but a county incorporate by itself. As for Whiting, late abbot of Glastonbury, he was executed for a traitor, and so his pensions paid. No mention therein of the prior of Michelney, whose place may be presumed void by his death, or he otherwise preferred.

10. We may observe great inequality in these pensions, not measured as the Jews' manna, by one and the same homer, but increased or diminished—
1. According to the wealth of the house dissolved; for where more profit accrued to the king by the

^{Pensions go by favour.}

ⁿ Mr. Edward Pepys, of the Temple.

^o Besides the capital messuage in East Chynock.

suppressions, their larger pensions were allowed to the prior or monk thereof. 2. According to the merits of the man. 3. According to his age and impotency needing relief. Lastly, and chiefly, according as the parties were befriended by the king's officers in the Augmentation Court; wherein, as in all other courts, favour ever was, is, and will be in fashion.

Largest pensions allotted the hospitallers.

11. But of all pensions, the largest in proportion and strongest in conveyance (as passed, not as the rest, by letters patent, but by act of parliament) were those assigned to the late lord prior, and those of the order of the knights hospitallers. These being men of high birth and honourable breeding, the king no less politicly than civilly thought fit to enlarge their allowance, (a main motive which made them so quietly to surrender their strong and rich hospitals,) as in the printed statute doth appear P.

P Anno 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 24. [They did not resign so readily at first. According to Weever, "the religious order of St. John's of Jerusalem, whose chief mansion-house was in the precincts of Clerkenwell parish, within the county of Middlesex, consisting of gentlemen and soldiers of ancient families and high spirits, could by no means be brought in to present to his majesty any of these puling petitions (such as those of St. Francis in Stamford) and public recognitions of their errors; thereby, like the rest, to give a loaf

" and beg a shive, to turn themselves out of actual possession and lie at the king's mercy for some poor yearly pension; but like stout fellows stood out against any that thought to enrich themselves with their ample revenues, until they were cast out of their glorious structures and all other their estates." He then recites part of the act against them, passed in a subsequent parliament, by which this corporation of knights was dissolved, and forbidden under heavy penalties to wear any of the insignia of their order. Fun. Mon. p. 112.]

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To sir William Weston, lord prior,		1000	0	0					
To sir John Rawson ¶ [500 marks]		666	13	4					
<i>Confreres.</i>	<i>Pensions.</i>				<i>Confreres.</i>	<i>Pensions.</i>			
	<i>l. s. d.</i>					<i>l. s. d.</i>			
Clement West	200 0 0				Edmund Husse	66 13 4			
John Sutton	200 0 0				Ambrose Cave	66 13 4			
Richard Poole	133 6 8				Richard Broke	66 13 4			
John Rawson	133 6 8				Cuthbert Leighton	60 0 0			
Giles Russell	100 0 0				Thomas Copledike	50 0 0			
George Aylmer	100 0 0				Edward Brown	50 0 0			
Edward Bellingham	100 0 0				William Tyrell	30 0 0			
Thomas Pemberton	80 0 0								

To Anthony Rogers, Oswald Massingberd, &c. ten pounds apiece yearly to be paid, as all the former pensions, during their natural lives. In the same statute it is provided, that John Mapleston, clerk, sub-prior of the said hospital; William Ersted, clerk, master of the Temple in London; Walter Lymsey, and John Winter, chaplains there, should every one of them have, receive, and enjoy (the said master and two chaplains of the Temple doing their duties and services there during their lives) all such mansion-houses, stipends, wages, with all other profits of money in as large and ample manner as they were accustomed to do ^r.

[¶] He was prior of Kilmainham in Ireland.

^r [In addition to these instances of pensions granted on the suppression of religious houses to some of the inmates, I will add one from the Cotton MSS., Cleopatra E. iv. p. 206:

“ An order taken the second day of March, the twentieth year of the reign of our sovereign lord king Henry the Eighth, by his highness’ commissioners, with the reli-

gious of the late monastery of St. Andrews the Apostle, in Northampton, for their annual pensions given unto them only of his grace’s charity during the term of their natural lives, to begin at the feast of the Annunciation of our Lady next ensuing, as on his grace’s behalf is to them promised by the said commissioners.

“ First, Francis [Leycester, late prior, and Thomas Betts,

Stout hearts
can bear the
less grief.

12. No mention (as in other patents) of any gratuities in ready moneys given unto them, which probably, cast into their pensions, made them mount so high. As for the thousand pounds yearly allowed sir William Weston, not one penny thereof was paid, he dying the next day, (the house of his hospital and of his earthly tabernacle being dissolved both together^s;) soul-smitten with sorrow: gold, though a

“ sub-prior of the said late
“ monastery, ben by the said
“ commissioners respited upon
“ certain considerations till my
“ lord privy seal’s pleasure
“ therein be known.

“ Thomas Smyth, of the age
“ of fifty-two years, for his
“ yearly pension, 4*l*.

“ Thomas Cowlestone, of the
“ age of fifty years, for his
“ yearly pension, 4*l*.

“ Robert Martin, of the age
“ of forty-one years, for his
“ yearly pension, 4*l*.

“ James Hopkyns, of the age
“ of fifty-two years, for his
“ yearly pension, 4*l*.

“ Richard Bunbury, of the
“ age of forty years, for his
“ yearly pension, 4*l*.

“ John Rote, of the age of
“ thirty-six years, is assigned
“ by the said commissioners to
“ the vicarage of St. Giles in
“ Northampton, being of the
“ yearly value of 7*l*., and of
“ the gift of the said monas-
“ tery, in recompense of his
“ yearly pension.

“ John Herold, of the age
“ of thirty-two years, for his
“ yearly pension, 3*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.

“ Thomas Barber, of the age
“ of thirty-one years, for his
“ yearly pension, 3*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.

“ William Warde, of the age

“ of twenty-nine years, for his
“ yearly pension, 2*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

“ Thomas Atbury, of the age
“ of twenty-seven years, for his
“ yearly pension, 2*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

“ William Southeeste, of the
“ age of thirty-one years, for
“ his yearly pension, 2*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.”

This agreement is signed by the commissioners, Richard Layton, Robert Southwell, and Thomas Myldemay. The sum total of the pensions thus paid, and paid for a very few years, amounts to 34*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. The annual income of this house, as returned in the king’s books, which may be considered as under rather than over stated, is 263*l*. 7*s*. 1*d*. Another circumstance must also be observed in regard to these pensions, that they were not paid to all the inmates in general, nor yet according to a fixed amount. By what principle, then, were the commissioners regulated? They who have examined the proceedings of these unscrupulous ministers of my lord privy seal can scarcely be at loss to divine.]

^s Weever, Fun. Mon. p. 430.
[The 7th of May, 1540, being Ascension-day. Part of his monumental inscription is in Weever, *ib*.]

great cordial, being not able to cure a broken heart.

13. We will here present a female patent of the pension allowed to the abbess of Buckland, though in all essentials very like unto the former.

The patent for a pension to the prioress of Buckland.

HENRICUS OCTAVUS, Dei gratia, etc. Cum nuper monasterium de Buckland, in com' nostro Som' jam dissolvatur, unde quædam Katherina Bowser tempore dissolutionis illius et diu antea priorina inde fuit; Nos volentes rationabilem annualem pensionem, sive promotionem condignam, eidem Katherinæ ad victum, exhibitionem et sustentationem suam melius sustinendum provideri; Sciatis igitur quod nos in consideratione præmissorum de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, per advisamentum et consensum cancellarii et concilii Curiaë Augment' reventionum coronæ nostræ, dedimus et concessimus, ac per præsentés damus et concedimus eidem Katherinæ quandam annuitatem sive annualem pensionem quinquaginta librarum sterlingorum, habendum gaudendum et annuatim percipiendum easdem quinquaginta libr' præfat' Katherinæ et assignatis suis a

“ HENRY THE EIGHTH, by the
“ grace of God, &c. Whereas
“ the late monastery of Buckland,
“ in our county of Somerset, is
“ now lately dissolved; whereas
“ one Katherine Bowser was
“ prioress at the time of the
“ dissolution thereof, and long
“ before. We are willing that a
“ reasonable pension annual or
“ suitable promotion should be
“ provided for the said Katherine,
“ the better to sustain her in diet
“ and maintenance: Know there-
“ fore that we, in consideration
“ of the premises, of our special
“ grace and certain knowledge,
“ and our own mere motion, by
“ the advice and consent of the
“ chancellor and council of the
“ Court of Augmentations of the
“ revenues of our crown, have
“ given and granted, and by these
“ presents do give and grant unto
“ the said Katherine a certain
“ annuity or annual pension of
“ fifty pounds sterling, that the
“ said Katherine or her assigns
“ may have, enjoy, or yearly re-
“ ceive the said fifty pounds from

festo Annuntiationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis ultimo præterito, ad terminum vitæ ipsius Katherinæ, tam per manus thesaurarii nostri reventionum augmentacionum coronæ nostræ prædict' pro tempore existen', de thesauro nostro in manibus suis de reventionibus prædict' remanere contingen', quam per manus receptor' exituum et reventionum dict' nuper monasterii pro tempore existen', de eisdem exit' et reventionibus ad festum Sancti Michaelis archangeli, et Annuntiationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis, per æquales portiones solvendum. Et ulterius de uberiori gratia nostra, damus et pro consideratione prædicta per præsententes concedimus præfatæ Katherinæ viginti quinque libr' sterlingor' habend' eidem Katherinæ ex dono nostro per manus dict' thesaurarii de thesauro prædicto, vel per manus dict' receptoris de exitibus et reventionibus maneriorum, terrarum et tenementorum dicti nuper monasterii solvend'. Eo quod expressa mentio, etc. In cujus rei testimonium, etc.

Teste Ricardo Rich, milite, apud Westmonasterium, decimo die Maii, anno regni nostri tricesimo primo.

“ the feast of the Annunciation
 “ of the blessed Virgin Mary last
 “ past for the term of the life of
 “ the said Katherine, as well by
 “ the hands of our treasurer of
 “ the augmentation of the revenue of our crown for the time
 “ being, out of our treasure which
 “ shall happen to remain in his
 “ hands out of the revenues aforesaid, as by the hands of the
 “ receiver of the profits and revenues of the said late monastery
 “ for the time being out of the
 “ said profits and revenues at the
 “ feast of St. Michael the archangel, and the Annunciation of
 “ the blessed Virgin Mary, to be
 “ paid by equal portions. And
 “ furthermore, of our more plentiful grace, and for the considerations aforesaid, we give,
 “ and by these presents do grant
 “ to the aforesaid Katherine
 “ twenty-five pounds sterling for
 “ the said Katherine to have of
 “ our proper gift, by the hands
 “ of our foresaid treasurer out of
 “ our treasury aforesaid, or by
 “ our said receiver to be paid out
 “ of the profits and revenues of
 “ the manors, lands, and tenements of the said late monastery, because that express mention, &c. In witness whereof,
 “ &c.

“ Witness Richard Rich, knight,
 “ at Westminster, the tenth
 “ of May, in the thirty-first
 “ year of our reign.”

There are but two considerable differences betwixt this and the former patent: 1. Whereas pensions allotted to priors and monks were conditional, as determinable upon their preferment to ecclesiastical promotion of equal value: this to the prioress (as to all nuns) was absolute for term of life, women being not capable of any church advancement. Secondly, whereas the gratuity allotted to monks generally amounted to a fourth part of their pension, this to the prioress was double as much as a just moiety thereof. Whether this proceeded from the king's courtesy to the weaker sex, or because *mundus muliebris*, there was such a world of tackling required to rig and launch them forth to shift for themselves in a secular life.

14. But as for ordinary nuns, we find that four pounds pension and forty shillings gratuity was generally their provision; and that only for those qualified with a *diu antea*, that they had been in the convent a long time before the dissolution thereof; otherwise I meet with no portions to those that lately were entered into the houses, being outed and left at large to practise the apostle's precept, *I will that the younger women marry, bear children, guide the house*^t, &c.

15. The vivacity of some of these pensioners is little less than a miracle, they survived so long; for though none will say they lived out of despite, to anger the king to pay their pensions, surely none so highly affected him as to die in duty to exonerate his exchequer of their annuity. Isabel Sackville^u,

^t 1 Tim. v. 14.

^u [She was cousin to Thomas Sackville, lord Buckhurst,

whom she appointed her executor. See Weever, ib. 429, who has preserved her epitaph.]

Youth and strength accounted a pension to itself.

Methusalah pensioners.

lady prioress of Clerkenwell, is an eminent instance of longevity in this kind ; for,

i. In the one and twentieth of king Henry the Seventh, she was a nun in Clerkenwell priory^x, when a legacy was bequeathed her as niece by William Sackville, esq., and must be then conceived fifteen years of age.

ii. She was the last prioress of Clerkenwell, at the dissolution thereof.

iii. She died in the twelfth of queen Elizabeth, as appears by her epitaph in Clerkenwell Church, and by computation must be allowed eighty years of age.

But far older was that monk or nun (I am assured of the story, not the sex^y) to whom, living in or near Hampshire, Mr. John Pymme, then an officer in the exchequer, paid the last payment of his pension about the fifth year of king James.

^x To be seen in the pedigree of the earl of Dorset. Weever, Fun. Mon. p. 429.

^y Attested by Mr. Pymme's

kinsman to Godfrey [Goodman,] bishop of Gloucester. See his printed paper.

SECT. VI.

DOMINO

THOMÆ TREVOR, JUNIORI,

EQUITI AURATO ^a.

Multi sunt præproperi hæredes, qui nimia parentum vivacitate cruciantur. Hi languida expectatione macrescunt, postquam rura paterna spe vana decoraverint.

At tu e contra, venerandi patris tui canitiem (si fieri posset) immortalem reddere conaris, cum eam perpetuo obsequio humillime colas, quo efficacius cardiacum ad senectutem ejus elongandam nequit confici.

Non in patris sed mundi senescentis annos inquiris, cum historia plurimum delecteris, cujus ope, si præterita cum præsentibus conferantur, conjectura de futuris statui potest, quo nomine, hoc opus nostrum tibi non ingratum fore confido.

^a [Arms. Party per-bend, sinister, ermine and erminois, a lion rampant, or. Sir Thomas Trevor, bart., only son and heir of sir Thomas, descended from the ancient family of Tudor Trevor, earl of Hereford. He was created a baronet on August 11, 1641, being then described as of Enfield in the county of

Middlesex. He was made one of the knights of the Bath at the coronation of Charles II., and married Ann daughter of Robert Jennor, esq., of London, and secondly Mary daughter of Samuel Harbig, esq.; but, dying without issue in 1676, the title became extinct. See Brydges' Peerage, vi. 295.]

Deus te lectissimamque conjugem beat prole patrizante, non tam privato commodo quam bono publico, ne respública tantarum virtutum hærede destituatur.

OF THE ERECTION, OFFICERS, USE, CONTINUANCE, AND ABOLISHING OF THE COURT OF AUGMENTATION.

Augmentation Court, when erected.



DURING the scuffling for abbey land, in the twenty-seventh year of king Henry the Eighth, the Court of Augmentation was set up by act of parliament, to be a court of record, and to have an authentic great seal, besides a privy seal, and several officers appointed for management thereof, with large fees allowed unto them. I find the same exemplified in a fair vellum manuscript, which lately was archbishop Parker's; since the lord Coke's, whence I transcribed as followeth :

“ Sir Richard Sackville, chancellor, three hundred pounds yearly fee, forty pounds diet, and six shillings eightpence for every seal.

“ Sir John Williams, treasurer, three hundred and twenty pounds fee.

“ Sir William Cavendish, treasurer of the king's chamber, one hundred pounds fee, one hundred pounds diet, and ten pounds boat-hire.

“ Sir Thomas Moyle, sir Walter Mildmay, (general receivers,) to each two hundred pounds fee, and twenty pounds diet.

“ Richard Goodrich, attorney, one hundred pounds fee, and twenty marks diet.

“ Joseph Gosnall, solicitor, eighty pounds fee, diet twenty marks.”

Besides masters and surveyors of the woods, clerks,

keepers of records, ushers, messengers, assistants, carpenter and mason to the court, auditors, receivers, surveyors, woodwards for every county; the total sum of their fees yearly amounting unto seven thousand two hundred forty-nine pounds ten shillings and threepence. This catalogue, by the persons mentioned therein, seems taken towards the end of Edward the Sixth, when the court began to decline.

2. It belonged unto this court to order, survey, and govern, sell, let, set all manors, lands, tenements, rents, services, tithes, pensions, portions, advowsons, patronages, and all hereditaments formerly belonging to priories, and since their dissolution, to the crown, as in the printed statute more largely doth appear ^b. All persons holding any leases, pensions, corrodies, &c. by former grants from the convents came into the court, produced their deeds, and upon examination of the validity thereof had the same allowed unto them. And although providence for themselves, and affection to their kindred, prompted many friars and convents (foreseeing their tottering condition) to antedate leases to their friends just at the dissolution, yet were they so frightened with fear of discovery that very few frauds in that kind were committed. The court was very tender in continuing any leases upon that least legal consideration.

The employment of the officers in this court.

3. But after some continuance of this court, the king's urgent occasions could not stay for the slow coming in of money from the yearly revenues of abbey land, insomuch that he was necessitated to sell outright a great part of those lands for the

Motives for the dissolution of this court.

^b An. 17 Hen. VIII. cap. 27.

present advance of treasure, and thereby quickly was the Court of Augmentation diminished. The king therefore took into consideration to dissolve it as superfluous, wherein the officers were many, their pensions great, crown profits thereby small, and causes therein depending few; so that it was not worth the while to keep up a mill to grind that grist, where the toll would not quit cost. It was therefore resolved to stop up this by-stream, that all causes therein should run in the ancient channel of the former courts of Westminster.

Finally dissolved in the first year of queen Mary.

4. Indeed, in the seventh of king Edward VI., a doubt did arise amongst the learned in the laws, whether the Court of Augmentation, the commencement whereof was first had by authority of parliament, would legally be dissolved, extinguished, and repealed by the king's letters patents? And the officers thereof (wonder not if they stickled for their own concernments) did zealously engage on the negative. Wherefore it was enacted by parliament, "That the king, during his natural life, had present power by his letters patents to alter, unite, annex, reduce, or dissolve any of those new-erected courts by his own letters patents." And the same act was confirmed in the first year of queen Mary, when the short-lived Court of Augmentation was dissolved; as which, from the birth thereof, 1535, to the extinguishing, 1553, survived but eighteen years.

THE LANDS OF CHANTRIES, FREE CHAPELS, AND COLLEGES DISSOLVED.

Prodigality always wanteth.

King Henry the Eighth his expenses, like sandy ground, suddenly sucked up the large shower of

abbey lands, and little sign or shew was seen thereof; yea, such the parching thirst of his pressing occasions, that still they called aloud for more moisture; for whose satisfaction the parliament, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, put the lands of all colleges, chantries, and free chapels in his majesty's full disposition.

2. This king made three meals, or (if you will) ^{King Henry's three meals on abbey lands.} one meal of three courses on abbey lands, besides what cardinal Wolsey (the king's taster herein) had eat beforehand, when assuming smaller houses to endow his two colleges.

i. When religious houses under two hundred pounds a year (anno 1535)	} were granted to him by the parlia- ment.
ii. When all greater monas- teries (anno 1538)	
iii. When colleges, chantries, and free chapels (anno 1545)	

The first of these were most in number; the second richest in revenue; the third, in this respect, better than both the former, because they being spent and consumed, these alone were left to supply his occasions.

3. The universities were more scared than hurt ^{The universities' fears.} at the news of all colleges put into the king's disposal. They knew that barbarism itself had mischievous natural logic to make those general words reach far, especially if covetousness of some officers might be permitted to stretch them; whereupon they made their humble and seasonable addresses to the king for his favour ^c.

^c Lord Herbert in Hen. VIII. p. 537.

Happily
turned into
joy and
thankful-
ness.

4. None ever robbed the muses who were well acquainted with them. King Henry had too much scholarship to wrong scholars. Either university was so far from being impaired, that both were improved by his bounty with pensions for the places of their public professors; yea, the fairest college in either university, in effect, acknowledges him for its founder.

What
chantries,
&c. were.

5. Such colleges as were hives of drones (not of bees, industriously advancing learning and religion) were now intended to be suppressed, with free chapels and chantries.

i. Chantries consisted of salaries allowed to one or more priests to say daily mass for the souls of their deceased founders and their friends. These were adjectives, not able to stand of themselves, and therefore united, for their better support, to some parochial, collegiate, or cathedral church.

ii. Free chapels, though for the same use and service, were of a more substantial and firm constitution, as independent of themselves.

iii. Colleges were of the same nature with the former, but more considerable in bigness, building, number of priests, and endowments.

But the ensuing death of king Henry the Eighth, for a time, preserved the life of these houses, which were totally demolished by act of parliament in the first year of king Edward the Sixth.

Two sta-
tutes on
different
considera-
tions.

6. One may observe that the two statutes made for the dissolving of these houses were bestowed on different considerations.

Statute 37 Hen. VIII. cap. 4.

Chargeth misdemeanours on the priests and governors of the aforesaid chantries, that of their own authority, without the assent of their patrons, donors, or founders, they had let leases for lives or term of years of their said lands; and some had suffered recoveries, levied fines, and made feoffments and other conveyances, contrary to the will and purposes of their founders, to the great contempt of authority royal.

Wherefore, in consideration of his majesty's great costs and charges in his present wars with France and Scotland, the parliament put him and his successors for ever in the real and actual possession of such chantries, &c.

Statute 1 Edwardi VI. cap. 14.

Mentioneth the superstitious uses of these houses, considering that a great part of errors of Christian religion hath been brought into the minds and estimation of men by reason of the ignorance of their very true and perfect salvation through the death of Christ, and by devising and fancying vain opinions of purgatory and masses satisfactory for the dead.

Wherefore, that the said lands might be altered for better uses, viz. erecting grammar-schools, augmentation of the universities, and provision for the poor, the parliament bestowed them on the king, by his council, to dispose of the same accordingly.

7. To begin with chantries, their exact number in all England is unknown; but if Hercules may, by a mathematician, be measured by his foot, a probable conjecture may be made of them, from those which we find founded in the cathedral church of St. Paul's in London; for on the nineteenth of April, in the second year of king Edward the Sixth, a certificate was returned by the dean and chapter of Paul's to his highness' commissioners appointed for that purpose, affirming that they had forty-seven chantries within their church. We will only instance in the odd seven, enough to acquaint us with the nature of all the rest.

Forty-seven
chantries in
St. Paul's
Church,
London.

Chantry of	Founded by	For	To pray for	In St. Paul's Church.	Present Incumbents.	Revenue.
1. John Beauchamp, knight.	Himself in his lifetime.	One chaplain.	The said sir John and the souls of the progenitors of the earl of Warwick.	Next to the founder's tomb.	Sir Richard Strange.	<i>l. s. d.</i> Sum tot. 12 8 8 Deduct 9 6 8 Remain. 2 18 8
2. Sir John Poultney, knight, citizen of London.	His own last will and testament, in 23 of Edward the Third.	Three priests.	His own, and all Christian souls.	In a chapel by him built on the north side of the church.	1. Sir Fulk Witney. 2. Sir John Richardson. 3. Sir John Blossse.	Sum tot. 47 9 4 Deduct 39 17 8 Remain. 7 12 6
3. John, duke of Lancaster.	Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, Thomas earl of Worcester, executors to the duke; licensed by king Henry IV. in the 13th of his reign.	Two chaplains.	King Henry the Fourth, then living, and the soul of the aforesaid duke of Lancaster.	In a chapel by them built on the north of the church.	1. Sir Richard Smith. 2. Sir Roger Charlton.	Sum tot. 20 0 0 Deduct 16 6 8 Remain. 3 13 4
4. Walter Sherington.	The executors of his testament; licensed by king Henry VI. in the 24th of his reign.	Two chaplains, Englishmen and graduates.	The good estate of king Henry the Sixth, the soul of Walter Sherington.	In a chapel built for him at the north door of the church.	Mr. Thomas Bate-manson. Mr. John Wylmy.	Sum tot. 20 0 0 Deduct 16 0 0 Remain. 2 0 0
5. Thomas More, some time dean of the church.	His executors.	Three priests.	The soul of the said More, and others.	In the chapel of St. Anne.	Sir Richard Gates. Sir Robert Garret. Sir Morrice Griffith.	Sum tot. 67 0 6 Deduct 55 0 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ Remain. 12 5 0 $\frac{1}{4}$
6. Walter Thorpe.	His executors.	One chaplain.	The soul of the said Thorpe	At St. John's altar.	Sir Richard Nelson.	Sum tot. 11 16 0 Deduct 5 4 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ Remain. 6 11 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
7. Richard Fitzjames, bishop of London.	Henry Hill, citizen and haberdasher, in the 13th of Henry VIII.	One chaplain.	Richard Fitzjames, bishop of London.	At St. Paul's altar.	Sir John Hill.	Sum tot. 14 6 8 Deduct 14 6 8 Remain. 0 0 0

Know, reader, I am beholding for my exact intelligence herein to my worthy friend Mr. Thomas

Hanson, who not only lent much light to my lamp, out of choice records, (some in his possession, moe in his custody,) but also hath given much oil thereunto, in his bountiful encouraging of my endeavours. It seems the chapter would not go to the cost of true arithmetic, some of the sums being not rightly deducted; whose mistakes I chose rather to follow, than to vary any whit from the original.

8. Observe in these chantries some were not, Chantries when they began by royal license. some were, licensed by the king; for before the statute of mortmain, made by king Edward the Third, to be able and willing was all the license requisite in any to found a chantry; since which time a charter must be obtained from the king to pass lands of such nature and value to persons so qualified. Observe (call it the religious complement or mannerly devotion of those days) that the chantry priests (whosoever their founders were) prayed first for the good estate of that king living, and his soul after death, who first granted leave and license for that foundation.

9. See how the church of St. Paul was be-altared The altar in St. Paul's scarce to be seen for altars. in that age, wherein we find no fewer than fourteen, with their several dedications, viz.

- The altar of {
- i. The Trinity.
 - ii. The Virgin Mary.
 - iii. Michael the Archangel.
 - iv. The Apostles.
 - v. St. Andrew.
 - vi. St. John.
 - vii. St. Paul.
 - viii. St. Thomas.
 - ix. Mary Magdalene.
 - x. Martha and Mary Magdalene.
 - xi. St. Erkenwald.
 - xii. St. Chad.
 - xiii. St. Radigund.
 - xiv. St. Silvester.

And it is observable that almost every one of these forty and seven chantries founded in St. Paul's church had their priest officiating, either in several chapels or at several altars, probably not to disturb each other in their private celebrations; but [I] find not any chantry priests assigned to do service at the high altar indeed, either because that place was reserved as proper to the dignitaries of the cathedral, or because the solemnity and merit thereof was equally extensive to all souls in general, unfit to be confined to any particular parties deceased, how great soever.

More sirs
than
knights.

10. Such priests as have the addition of sir before their Christian name were men not graduated in the university, being in orders, but not in degrees; whilst others entitled masters had commenced in the arts. Note, that generally founders of chantries preferred priests not beneficed to those places, as best at leisure constantly to attend the same; nor

did their dead founders so engross the devotion of those priests, but that by general and special obits for other men, procession-pence, and other perquisites, they much bettered their maintenance. Single priests commonly had the greatest salaries, (more in proportion than when others were joined with them in the same society,) because tied to daily duty, having none by turns to relieve them; and the greater work deserved the greater wages.

11. Many deductions and resolutions were made by the dean and chapter out of the lands wherewith every chantry was endowed, besides the salary paid to the chaplains, as for quit-rents and tenths to the king, pensions to choristers, &c.; but one general expense was for an anniversary potation, (seldom exceeding ten shillings,) founded, as it seems, on Job's words, (Job iv.) as Bellarmine citeth the chapter without verse, *Panem tuum, et vinum tuum super sepulturam justi constitue*^d: *Put thy bread and thy wine upon the sepulture of the just man.* But no such words appear in the place alleged, though some such like are found in the fourth of Tobit^e; where, notwithstanding, no mention of wine, which the Jesuit adds of his own, that it might not be a dry (as some since have added wax, that it might not be a dark) feast: bread, wine, and wax being the essentials of every potation. The charges of an anniversary obit were also deducted, whereof forty shillings the market price; though some were so free they gave more, and some so favoured they had them for less.

^d De Purgator. lib. i. cap. 3, pag. 1375, edit. Lugduni, anno 1587.

^e Ver. 17.

Charitable,
swallowed
with super-
stitious
uses.

12. Some deductions were made by the will of the founders, to uses merely charitable, and no whit superstitious, out of the surplusage of the chantry lands, (the priest or priests therein first paid); as to the necessary relief of many poor people, and breeding of scholars in the universities. But as the stork in the fable, found amongst the cranes in destroying the corn of the husbandman, in vain pleaded his own piety to his parents, being killed for company sake with those birds amongst whom he was caught, so it is more than suspicious that these pious uses were utterly extinguished at the suppression of abbeys, to teach men's charities hereafter (if it be not a lesson now too late to be learned) to beware of too familiar converse with superstition. Nor do I speak at guess herein, but from the complaints of credible and impartial authors, of which this one I will insert.

The right-
eous de-
stroyed
with the
wicked.

13. There was a maid born in Cornwall, called Thomasine Bonaventure; and well did she brook the same, which from a keeper of sheep came at last to be the wife of sir John Percival, lord mayor of London. In her widowhood she laid out her estate, which was very great, in charitable uses, and amongst the rest founded a chantry and a free school at St. Mary Wike in Cornwall^f, (the place of her nativity,) with fair lodgings for the schoolmasters, scholars, and officers, and twenty pound a year, besides their salaries, to support incident charges. And here the best gentlemen's sons in Devon and Cornwall were virtuously trained up under one Cholwell, a religious teacher, until the said school was suppressed, in the

^f Carew's Survey of Cornwall, f. 119.

reign of king Edward the Sixth, only for a smack of popery, the chantry being annexed thereunto. And I suspect the like happened in other places. But to return to St. Paul's: all deductions discharged, the clear remainder belonged to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's.

14. Note, that the dean and chapter aforesaid assumed this power to themselves, that in case (to use their own terms) the exility of the lands or rents bestowed on any chantry were insufficient to maintain so many chaplains as were appointed in the foundation, then they would reduce them to a smaller number. For instance: the executors of Adam Burie, sometimes major of London, founded a chantry wherein seven priests should pray continually. This I may call a college chantry, equalling Katherine Hall in Cambridge for the number therein: but the means not holding out in full proportion, these seven were shrunk to four at the time of their suppression.

15. Another help the dean and chapter had: when the maintenance of any chantry fell short, by uniting two or moe mean chantries together. Thus Margaret Bigod gave a marish, called Richerness in Essex, with a stock of eleven score sheep thereon, to found a chantry with two chaplains, which, not sufficient for the same, was annexed to a small chantry of Richard Greene's; and one priest, sir Christopher Bricket by name, effectually no doubt, discharged both.

16. And yet, notwithstanding all these shifts, the dean and chapter of Paul's, in giving up their accounts to the king's commissioners, pretended

Gainful
contracting
the number
of the
priests.

Gainful
annexing of
chantries.

There is a
generation
rich, and
maketh
themselves
poor.

themselves yearly losers by some of these chantries ; for generally they were founded on candle-rents, (houses are London's land,) which were subject to casualty, reparations, and vacations. In such intervals, though the house wherewith the chantry was endowed wanted a tenant, yet the chantry must not want a chaplain to officiate for the dead. Yea, so charitable was the dean and chapter in such cases, as sometimes to allow lands in augmentation of maintenance, and assign houses of their own for the habitation of such chaplains as wanted a mansion. The king therefore may be said in some sort to have done a courtesy to the chapter of Paul's, when suppressing such poor chantries, formerly not beneficial but burdensome unto them.

Nothing
[pretended]
gotten.

17. By other chantries they were only savers, no gainers, having only their labour for their pain, in seeing things performed according to the will of the testator, as in bishop Fitz-James and many others ; so that, the priest paid and other allowances deducted, *remanet nil*, as they brought in the reckoning of their receipts and disbursements. However, we may take notice that herein the dean and chapter of Paul's were both their own accountants and auditors, and none could disprove their reckonings therein. But grant that among forty-seven chantries two or three of them were unprofitable servants, returning no emolument unto them ; yea, suppose as many prodigal children, wasting the stock of their parent, (understand the church wherein they were founded,) yet from the collective body of them altogether she gained a grand revenue. And it is considerable that in this their audit they only brought in their bare

annual rent of houses, their fines not being charged on their account, but swallowed in silence, to the great commodity of the chapter.

18. Vast was the wealth accruing to the crown by the dissolution of chantries. Many a little, saith the proverb, make a mickle. These foundations, though small in revenue, yet being many in number, mounted up a great bank. There was not a cathedral or collegiate church in England but some chantries were founded therein, as in many parochial churches. Thus at Oldwincle in Northamptonshire, the village of my nativity, a chantry in the parish church of All Saints was endowed with house and lands for a priest, at the cost of sir John Oldwincle, knight, about the reign of king Henry the Sixth. Yea, let the model of country churches be well observed, wherein such excursions of building as present themselves beyond the old fabric (from which oftentimes they differ, as neater and newer) were since erected, and added, as intended, and used for chantries.

The great though uncertain number of chantries.

19. Free chapels succeed, not so called from the freeness and bounty of their founders, but because subsisting of themselves, as children of full age, whose parents are still alive; for though chapel speaks a relation to a mother-church, yet free, avoweth them *sui juris*, especially so far forth that right of burials belonged unto them. These were greater than chantries, having more room for priests, and moe priests for that room, to pray for the souls of their founders. Colleges come the last (as the heaviest and best laden with land) into consideration: these, though fewest in number, were richer than both the former; insomuch that the college of

Free chapels and colleges.

Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire was yearly valued at four hundred nineteen pounds eleven shillings tenpence halfpenny; and no wonder, since this college had the rare happiness to be endowed by the kings both of York and Lancaster ‡, at deadly mutual enmity, yet jointly agreeing in their bounty to this place.

*A nemo scit
of wealth
accruing to
the crown.*

20. How much the yearly revenue of all these chantries, free chapels, and colleges amounted to, God knows, for the king knew as little as some in our age; indeed, some of his officers did, but would not know, as wilfully concealing their knowledge herein. Yea, some of these chantries may be said in a double sense to be suppressed, as not only put down, but also concealed, never coming into the exchequer, being silently pocketed up by private but potent persons. True it is the courtiers were more rapacious to catch and voracious to swallow these chantries than abbey lands; for at the first many were scrupulous in mind or modest in manners, doubting the acceptance of abbey land though offered unto them, till profit and custom (two very able confessors) had by degrees satisfied their consciences, and absolved them from any fault therein. Now, all scruples removed, chantry land went down without any regret. Yea, such who mannerly expected till the king carved for them out of abbey lands, scrambled for themselves out of chantry revenues, as knowing this was the last dish of the last course; and after chantries, as after cheese, nothing to be expected. As for those who fairly purchased them of the king, they had such good bargains

‡ See Speed's Catalogue in Northamptonshire.

therein, that thereby all enriched, and some ennobled, both themselves and posterity. But for satisfaction herein I refer the reader to his pen^h who never spared any that came under it, and seldom such as came near it; who speaks more bitterness than falsehood in this particular.

21. The chantry priests, by this suppression outed at once of all their livelihood, were not left to the wide world to shift for themselves, but had, *durante vita*, pensions settled on them by king Edward his letters patent. I have seen, in the auditor's office for the north part of the duchy of Lancaster, the account of William Mallet, esq.ⁱ, particular receiver of the rents, colleges, chantries, &c. in the county of York, viz. of so many of them as were in that shire annexed to the duchy of Lancaster, which parcel alone amounted yearly to seven hundred ninety-six pounds four shillings twopence halfpenny; out of which sum was deducted one hundred twenty-six pounds two shillings fourpence, for annual pensions to chantry priests and others, (five pounds apiece the general proportion,) assigned them for term of life by king Edward the Sixth.

22. The parliament, at the same time, put hospitals also into the king's possession; yet surely more tenderness was used to hospitals, and I find very few of them finally suppressed: indeed that of the Savoy at this time was much abused with "loiterers, vagabonds, and strumpets, that lay all day in the fields, and at night were harboured there^k." In which consideration king Edward dissolved the

^h Sir John Hayward in Edward VI. pag. 155.

ⁱ Made in the 3 & 4 of Phil.

and Mary.

^k Stow's Survey of London,

p. 344.

hospital, but gave the land thereof, worth six hundred pound per annum, to the city of London, to endow Bridewell therewith¹. Thus he did not extinguish charity, but only regulate and remove it from the Strand to Fleet Street; or, rather, took away with one hand what was abused, and restored it with the other to such as would better employ the same.

QUEEN MARY, ON HER OWN COST, RESTORETH
SOME CONVENTS.

Queen
Mary im-
parts her
intents to
four coun-
sellors.

Queen Mary (a princess more zealous, according to her devotion, than politic) resolved, by way of essay and trial, to restore certain dissolved convents, and endow them with competent maintenance. In order hereunto she called four of her principal counsellors most interested in money-matters, viz. William marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer; sir Robert Rochester, controller of her house; sir William Petre, secretary; and sir Francis Inglefield, master of the wards: and by a long speech acquainted them with her intentions therein. Now though the lord Paulet as treasurer (much being the want of money at this present) might dislike the motion, yet as courtier he complied with the queen's desires; the rather because it was in vain to withstand them, so really strong were her resolutions. But it is worth our attention to hear her oration:

“ You are here of our council^m, and we have
“ willed you to be called to us, to the intent ye
“ might hear of me my conscience, and the resolu-

¹ Stow ut prius, p. 491.

^m Hollinshed in Queen Mary, anno Dom. 1555, pag. 1127.

“ tion of my mind, concerning the lands and posses-
“ sions, as well of monasteries as other churches
“ whatsoever, being now presently in my possession :
“ First, I do consider that the said lands were taken
“ away from the churches aforesaid in time of schism,
“ and that by unlawful means, such as are contrary
“ both to the law of God and of the church. For
“ the which cause my conscience doth not suffer me
“ to detain them ; and therefore I here expressly
“ refuse either to claim or to retain the said lands
“ for mine ; but with all my heart, freely and will-
“ ingly, without all paction or condition, here and
“ before God I do surrender and relinquish the said
“ lands and possessions, or inheritances whatsoever,
“ and do renounce the same with this mind and
“ purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be
“ taken as shall seem best liking to our most holy
“ lord the pope, or else his legate the lord cardinal,
“ to the honour of God and wealth of this our
“ realm.

“ And albeit you may object to me again, that
“ considering the state of my kingdom, the dignity
“ thereof, and my crown imperial cannot be honour-
“ ably maintained and furnished without the posses-
“ sions aforesaid ; yet notwithstanding I set more by
“ the salvation of my soul than by ten kingdoms,
“ and therefore the said possessions I utterly refuse
“ here to hold after that sort and title, and give
“ most hearty thanks to Almighty God which hath
“ given me an husband likewise minded, with no
“ less good affection in this behalf than I am myself.
“ Wherefore I charge and command that my chan-
“ cellor (with whom I have conferred my mind in
“ this matter before) and you four, to-morrow, do

“ resort together to the most reverend lord legate,
 “ and do signify to him the premises in my name,
 “ and give your attendance upon him for the more
 “ full declaration of the state of my kingdom, and
 “ of the aforesaid possessions accordingly, as you
 “ yourselves do understand the matter, and can
 “ inform him in the same.”

Several
 orders re-
 erected by
 her.

2. In this matter the words of Sandersⁿ ought to be observed, presuming him best knowing in these acts of restitution then performed by her majesty, and that he would lose nothing for the measuring which might tend to the queen's credit.

“ Collegia nova amplissima	“ New colleges are founded
“ dote fundantur. Cœnobia	“ with a most ample endow-
“ Benedictinorum, Carthusia-	“ ment. Convents of Bene-
“ norum, Brigittensium, Domi-	“ dictines, Carthusians, Brigit-
“ nicanorum, Observantium, ac	“ teans, Dominicans, Observ-
“ aliorum Ordinum a devotis	“ ants, and other orders are
“ personis reædificantur; Ca-	“ re-edified by devout persons;
“ tholicis Regibus in hoc ge-	“ the catholic princes out-
“ nere pietatis subditis omnibus	“ shining all their subjects in
“ prælucentibus.”	“ this kind of piety.”

Now, seeing this passage is the best torch we meet with to direct us in this dark subject, we will severally weigh his words, and impartially comment upon them :

i. *Benedictines.*] When Westminster Church was turned into an abbey, and John Feckenham made abbot thereof, installed therein on the 21st November, 1557; but this was done without any cost to the crown, only by altering the property of the place from a late-made cathedral to an abbey, and turning the prebendaries into sixteen black monks, which

ⁿ De Schis. Ang. lib. ii. pag. 309 = 262.

were all at the present could be found having that order and willing to wear that habit upon them.

ii. *Carthusians*.] These were fixed at Sheen, nigh Richmond, in Surrey, over against Sion.

iii. *Brigitteans*.] At Sion, in Middlesex. This indeed, with the former, cut two good collops out of the crown land, though far short this second endowment of what formerly they possessed. It was some difficulty to stock it with such who had been veiled before, it being now thirty years since their dissolution, in which time most of the elder nuns were in their graves, and the younger in the arms of their husbands, as afterwards embracing a married life. However with much ado, joining some new ones with the old, they made up a competent number.

iv. *Dominicans*.] These were seated in Smithfield, in London. The best was, they being mendicants, (little stock would serve to set up beggars,) their restoring could not be very expensive to the queen, besides the site of an house for their dwelling, and some other necessary accommodations.

v. *Observants*.] These were friars, like the former, being Franciscans reformed, and therefore not over costly their restitution. Their house was at Greenwich, founded by king Henry the Seventh, plucked down by king Henry the Eighth, (as largely before,) one of the first of all other convents; because the friars therein were so obstinate against the king, and such sticklers for the legality of queen Katherine's marriage: in gratitude whereunto, and honour of her own extraction, queen Mary reseated them in their habitations.

vi. *And other orders*.] Sanders, for the more credit of the matter, politicly winds up all these indefinite

words, though in the remaining orders were not so many as to make up a number; of which the most eminent were the hospitallers of St. John's of Jerusalem, in Clerkenwell, a place in a pitiful plight when now they were first restored; for the bell-tower of the church was undermined and blown up with gunpowder, that the stones thereof might build Somerset House in the Strand. Now where the steeple was shattered, the church must needs be shaken; as here the body and side aisles thereof were by that fatal blow finally confounded^o, only part of the choir remaining, with some side chapels, which cardinal Pole caused to be closed up on the west end and repaired; and this served the hospitallers for their devotions the short time they continued therein. The queen made sir Thomas Tresham lord-prior of this order, who, the thirtieth of November, 1557, received the order of the cross at Westminster, and was solemnly inducted into his place. He was of an ancient family and large estate, and had done the queen knight's service, proclaiming her in the highest contest with queen Jane. If the dimension of his body may be guessed by his finger, and his finger by his ring, (which I have seen in the possession of his kinsman, William Tresham, esq., of Newton in Northamptonshire,) he was a little giant, and far greater than his portraiture on his monument (almost demolished) in Rushton Church, in the same county. But Alexander's soldiers were not in proportion so big as their shields left in India; and possible that ring of state, serving for a seal, was rather borne about him than worn on his finger.

^o Stow's Survey of London, p. 483.

vii. *Re-edified by devout persons.*] It is out of doubt that papists contributed many precious utensils unto these orders, as also that they were bountiful in repairing their decayed houses to fit them for their habitation; but, by Sanders his leave, no visible refunding of land doth appear; which if he had known of, no doubt he would have told posterity, as tending, according to his principles, so much to the credit of those persons. I say again, though queens' examples carry a kind of *mandamus* in them, yet herein her best subjects and servants were so unmannerly as to suffer her grace to go alone by herself in this act, without any attendants, as to the restitution of any entire religious house to its former order: no, not Anthony Browne, viscount Montacute, (though formerly solemnly employed in an embassy to the pope, to reconcile the church of England to Rome,) would part with his rich abbey of Battle in Sussex, or poor priory of Barnewell nigh Cambridge, &c., but kept all his pluralities in that nature, though otherwise we believe him most bountiful to those of his own religion.

viii. *The catholic princes.*] Meaning Philip and Mary; and surely, though we cannot insist on the particulars, that king's inclinations are sufficiently known, zealous for the promoting of his own religion.

However, it is almost incredible what a qualm on this occasion came over the hearts of the stoutest abbey-land-mongers in England, fearing in process of time a reverting of them to their former use; the rather because cardinal Pole, in that act in this queen's reign to secure abbey-lands to their owners, (without the passing whereof, to pacify so many

persons concerned, papistry could not have been restored in that parliament,) did not, as some think, absolve their consciences from restitution, but only made a palliate cure; the church but suspending that power which in due time she might put in execution.

A general
jealousy of
abbey-
holders.

3. This made many suspect that such edifices of abbeys which still were extant, entire, looked lovingly on their ancient owners, in hope to be restored unto them: in prevention whereof, such as possessed them for the present plucked out their eyes, by levelling them to the ground, and shaving from them, as much as they could, all abbey characters; disguising them as much as might be in a lay habit, matching and mingling them with lands in another tenure, because on this very motion abbey lands sunk two years' purchase in the common valuation.

Nimia non
cautela non
nocet.

4. Nor must I forget one passage in Derbyshire, (a certain information whereof I have received from that skilful antiquary and my respected kinsman, Samuel Roper, of Lincoln's Inn,) how one Thacker, being possessed of Repingdon Abbey in Derbyshire, alarumed with this news that queen Mary had set up these abbeys again, and fearing how large a reach such a precedent might have, upon a Sunday (belike the better day the better deed) called together the carpenters and masons of that county, and plucked down in one day (church-work is a cripple in going up, but rides post in coming down) a most beautiful church belonging thereunto, adding, he "would destroy the nest, for fear the birds should build therein again."

5. And now, when a papist have done commend-

ing queen Mary, a protestant may begin. I say, her setting up the hospital of the Savoy was a better work than any instanced in by Sanders for the relief of poor people: first, because poor, *qua* poor, may be said to be *jure divino*: *The rich and poor meet together, and the Lord maketh them both*^p, not only as creator of their persons, but assigner of their conditions. Besides, the poor is a continual order in the church by the words of our Saviour, *The poor ye have always with you*^q; but more properly hereof in the reign of queen Mary.

The best
work of
queen
Mary.

QUEEN ELIZABETH DEMOLISHETH THE NEW-ERECTED CONVENTS.

Queen Elizabeth, coming to the crown, was not over-busy at the first, but for some months permitted all things to remain *in statu quo prius*; insomuch that, in the first parliament of her summoning, she sent her writs to the aforesaid lord-prior Tresham and abbot Feckenham, to make their appearance with the rest of her barons in her great council: whither they repaired, and wherein they took their places accordingly.

Violent
alterations
dangerous.

2. Sir Thomas (as lord prior) above, but the abbot beneath, all the temporal lords^r, being the lag of the house, and placed under Oliver lord St. John of Bletnetsho, lately made the second baron of queen Elizabeth her creation; but they had hardly set down on their seats before they were raised up and dissolved, with all the rest of the late-restored orders.

^p Prov. xxii. 2.

^q John xii. 8.

^r See a list of them, sitting, in sir Thos. Cotton's Library.

A quære to
the learned
in law.

3. I have not met, to my best remembrance, with any statute enacted in the reign of queen Mary, whereby she was legally empowered for the re-erection of these convents, done, it seems, by her prerogative, by connivance, not concurrence of the parliament; nor can I find, in the first year of queen Elizabeth, any particular statute wherein (as in the reign of king Henry the Eighth) these orders are *nominatim* suppressed; this probably being supposed needless, as I conceive, (with submission to the learned in that profession,) their houses having no legal settlement; or else, when the general statutes against superstition were laid like the axe to the root of the tree, these orders, as under branches, fell of themselves by virtue of the queen's commission for the same.

An imper-
fect list bet-
ter than
none.

4. I intended, by way of a farewell corollary, to present the reader with a list of the lord-priors of St. John's, from Jordanus Brisset, their first founder; but their records being all burnt in that fire which was kindled by Straw in his commotion, it is impossible to complete the catalogue: at and since which disaster, such as we can recover are not contiguous in times, and distanced with many years betwixt them, though perhaps not unuseful to be inserted.

i. Sir Robert Hales, lord-treasurer of England, slain in the tumult of Tyler, anno 1380, in the fourth of king Richard the Second; at which time,

ii. Next him, sir John Longstrother, (I say next, *proximus at longo qui proximus intervallo*,) siding with the house of Lancaster: he was taken prisoner in Tewkesbury battle, anno 1471, and by king Edward the Fourth put to death in cold blood, con-

trary to the promise of a prince who had assured his life unto him.

iii. Sir Thomas Dockwray is the next, not of all, but in our discovery: a person of much desert, expending himself wholly for the credit and profit of his priory, as who re-edified the church out of its ruin, finishing it anno 1504, as appeareth by the inscription over the gate-house yet remaining.

iv. Sir William Weston succeeds, (of whom before,) dissolved this list on the very day of the dissolution of this priory.

v. Sir Thomas Tresham was the first and last of queen Mary's re-erection. There goeth a tradition that queen Elizabeth, in consideration of his good service done to herself in her sister queen Mary, whom he proclaimed, and their titles being shut out of doors together, both were let in again at once, though to take place successively, allowed him to be called lord-prior during his life, which was not long, and the matter not much, deriving no power or profit unto him.

Here I purposely omit sir Richard Shelley, which family I find of remark for worship and antiquity at Michel Grove in Sussex. He bare a great enmity to queen Elizabeth, especially after she had flatly denied Philip king of Spain, (whither Shelley was fled,) to consent to his abiding there, and to his quiet receiving his rents out of England. However, the Spanish king employed him in an honourable embassy unto Maximilian, king of the Romans^s, wearing the high title of prior of the order of St. John's in England^t; a prior without a posterior,

^s Camd. Eliz. anno 1563.

^t Idem in anno 1560, p. 46.

having none under him to obey his power, nor after him to succeed in his place. We behold him only as the wry-stroke given in by us out of courtesy, when the game was up before.

Cecil the
present
owner of
this priory.

5. The site of the priory of St. John's was lately the possession of William earl of Exeter, whose countess, Elizabeth Drury, was very forward to repair the ruined choir thereof. Doctor Joseph Hall preached at the solemn reconciling thereof, on St. Stephen's Day, 1623, taking for his text, Hag. ii. 9, *The glory of the latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lord of Hosts*^u. At this day, though coarctated, having the side aisles excluded, (yet so that their upper part is admitted, affording conveniencies for attention,) it is one of the best private chapels in England, discreetly embracing the mean of decency betwixt the extremes of slovenly profaneness and gaudy superstition, and belongeth at this present to the truly noble Thomas earl of Elgin.

^u [Printed in his Works, V. 160, ed. 1837.]

SECT. VII.

TO

THOMAS DOCKWRAY,

OF BEDFORDSHIRE, ESQ.^a

I find Sir Thomas Dockwray one of the last lord priors of our English Hospitallers. To say you are descended from him would fix a stain on your extraction, seeing none might marry who were of his order.

But this I will say and justify, that you both are descended from the same ancestor, as by authentic records doth most plainly appear.

Besides, some conformity may be seen in your commendable inclinations. He was all for building of a fair church^b, according to the devotion of those days^c. Your bountiful

^a [Arms. Sable, a chevron engrailed argent between three plates, each charged with a pale, gules. There are two pedigrees, at the least, of this family, in the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum; but I cannot satisfactorily identify this person. His father, if I am not mistaken, was Ralph, second son of Thomas Dowcra, of Fulborne in the county of Cambridge; he is called of Hinton, Cambridge, in 1634. The fa-

mily occupied various manors in Herefordshire.]

^b Stow's Survey, p. 483.

^c [The bell-tower of this church (St. John's of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell) was undermined and blown up with gunpowder, that the stones might be taken and used in the building of Somerset House in the Strand. It was a building of remarkable beauty. Stow's Survey, by Strype, vol. ii. p. 63. See this Hist. 484, 489.]

hand hath been a great sharer in advancing of this Church History.

Now, although his stately structure of the strongest stone had the hard hap to be blown up almost as soon as it was ended^d, this of yours (a frailer fabric, as but of paper walls) may, by God's blessing, have the happiness of a longer continuance.

OF ENGLISH NUNNERIES BEYOND THE SEAS.

Why no pensions paid to outed votaries by queen Elizabeth.



THUS were all monks, friars, and nuns totally routed by the coming in of queen Elizabeth. I find not that any pensions were allowed to those votaries who at this time were outed their con-

vents, though large annuities were assigned to such who were ejected their monasteries, colleges, or free chantries, in the reigns of king Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth: whereof this may seem the reason, because now, *caveat ingressor*, he or she might beware who entered an abbey, be it at their own peril, seeing they formerly had so fair a warning; though indeed some of them, who had no friends to help them, were left in no very good condition, and died in much want and distress.

Detained pensions paid to old friars and nuns.

2. But now, in the beginning of this queen's reign, a complaint did arise, that "pensions were detained from many ejected out of abbeys in her father and brother his reign, who being poor, old, and impotent, and repairing to the queen's officers for their pensions, were, instead of money, paid with ill language and affronts." Her majesty, possessed with the truth hereof, took strict order both that

^d Stow's Survey of London, p. 483.

their arrears for the time past should be satisfied, and their annuities for the time to come effectually discharged, which much advanced her honour in pecuniary matters.

3. Hence grew the proverb, (crossed in the days of her successors,) "As sure as exchequer-pay." For all who, in this queen's reign, had sums due unto them from the treasury, had no other trouble than to tell them there, and take them thence. Thus it came to pass, that by her maintaining of the exchequer, the exchequer maintained her; having money at most, credit at all times, on the reputation of so good a paymistress: insomuch that she was not only able to lay down her stake, but also to vie ready silver with the king of Spain, when he, notwithstanding both his Indies, was fain to go on bare board.

4. As for popish (religious) persons flying out of England at the coming in of this queen, our pen shall follow them as fast as it can with convenient speed. We begin with the nuns, partly because the courtesy of England alloweth the first place to the feeblest sex, but chiefly because they seem still to continue an entire body, and successively an immortal corporation; being, with the Carthusians, the only stump that remaineth of the huge tree which once overspread and shadowed our whole nation.

5. May the reader be pleased to remember, that king Henry the Fifth founded one abbey of nuns at Sion in Middlesex, peopling it with Brigetine nuns and friars, and another at Sheen in Surrey, over against it; so ordering it, that all the day long alternately, when the devotions of the one ended, the other should begin, that nothing should interrupt

Chequer-pay the best of payments.

The only stump of an old tree.

The progress of nuns from Sion to Lisbon.

their prayers, though the Thames did divide their persons^e. Both those convents, dissolved by king Henry the Eighth, were, as aforesaid, restored by queen Mary, and re-dissolved by queen Elizabeth. The Sion nuns (though Clementia Thresham, a principal amongst them, could not go with them for sickness—dying soon after, and buried at Rushton in Northamptonshire) conveyed their persons and most portable treasure beyond the seas to Zurichzee in Zealand, thence to Mechlin in Brabant, thence to Rouen in Normandy, but found no certain place of abode till they came to Lisbon in Portugal.

The revenue and wealth of the Lisbon nuns.

6. For here they had a daily pension of five crowns from the king of Spain, and wheat more than sufficient whilst Lisbon was his; and I doubt not but the present king of Portugal performeth the same. They have vineyards, olive-fields, corn-grounds, and houses, to the value of four hundred milreas a year^f; which was the portion of a Portuguese (sole heir to her wealthy father) who, becoming a religious sister in this convent, conveyed her inheritance unto it. So that, by their boxes in Indian and Brazilian ships,

^e [The substance of this and the four following paragraphs is taken from a pamphlet entitled "The Anatomy of the English Nunnery at Lisbon," by Thomas Robinson, first published in 1622, reprinted about twenty years afterwards, and inserted by Morgan in his *Phoenix Britannicus*. The author, it seems, studied at Cambridge; but, going abroad and falling in with father Seth, otherwise Joseph Foster, an English friar, in Lisbon, confessor to the Eng-

lish Brigetine nuns there, he was persuaded to assume the habit, and was employed by his superior, among other occupations, in copying the register of their house. After some time he ran away, and, returning to England, gave an account of this nunnery in the tract above mentioned, which is very coarse, and not very satisfactory either as to honesty or good faith.]

^f Every milrea is twelve shillings sixpence sterling.

sale of masses, and other perquisites, they are said yearly to lay up six hundred pounds.

7. Indeed, they began with a good bank; and hereon hangs a story worth reporting. When doctor Lopez, a Jew-Portugal, undertook to poison queen Elizabeth, he would not (to shew himself a Jew indeed) do his work till in some sort secured of his wages. The sum promised him was deposited with these nuns [£], whilst as yet they lived at Rouen in Normandy. But Lopez his design failing, the same halter which bereaved him of life endowed these nuns with a livelihood; for the king of Spain, either out of scrupulosity not to resume the same into his treasury as the price of blood, or out of liberality, conferred those monies on the nuns, which since they have well housewived and increased.

8. We need not repeat what we have formerly said of the Brigetine nuns (first founded by Briget, queen of Swedeland) having friars permitted to live under the same roof, though disjoined with walls, for their better consolation. Some thirty years since father Joseph Foster was their confessor, having two other priests and a lay brother to assist him, whose names I am less careful to insert, because they change them as often as snakes their skins, both what they took at the font and fetched from their fathers, truly called by what they are not known, and commonly known by what they are not truly called. Elizabeth Preston about this time was abbess, who being outed as in disgrace with father Foster, Barbara Wiseman succeeded in her place.

[£] Thos. Robinson [Anatomy of the English Nuns at Lisbon], p. 9.

The Anatomy of the Nuns of Lisbon.

9. Such as desire further satisfaction herein may consult the Anatomy of the English Nunnery at Lisbon, made by Thomas Robinson, published by authority, and lately reprinted. I confess it may seem cruelty to cut up the living, and the best of mortals would wince to purpose if dissected alive; but very much of truth is believed in his discovery, telling us of a grate betwixt those friars and nuns, sometimes so churlish as to divide them, sometimes so charitable as consenting to be drawn up, and so to admit them to a mutual society; so that if the friar calleth, the nun cometh incontinently at his command. I have heard since that their convent of late hath casually been burned down, which, if so, I doubt not but they are able to rebuild it, as gaining more by water (the gratuities of merchants) than they have lost by fire.

BRUXELLS NUNNERY.

Bruxells Nunnery.

They are of the order of St. Benedict, and yet solely under the inspection of the Jesuits; which seems improper, seeing it would sound like truer construction that Benedictine nuns should be subject to Benedictine monks. The truth is, that at the first founding hereof the Jesuitical activity got the start of the Benedictine dulness, and these men of lasting metal (as good at length as at hand) keep the advantage which once they have gotten. Indeed, no nuns come hither but such as are transported by the Jesuits' special recommendation, and therefore it is but equal they should dress and prune the vines of their own planting. I assure you the place is too costly for my daughter to be entered

there, seeing they receive none into their abbey and habit unless she have a thousand pound or two for her portion ^h.

2. The abbey is very rich, having purchased whole manors and lordships in Brabant, with many thousands of pounds at use in the Lombards and elsewhere, all which the English Jesuits do dispose of. Father Gardiner and father Waldegrave, *alias* Flowerⁱ, were, anno 1630, their overseers; being some sixty English damosels under their abbess, then the sister of the (aunt to the present) earl of Northumberland. ^{Their great wealth}

CAMBRAY NUNNERY.

Don Carlos de Colonna, governor of the city and country of Cambray for the king of Spain, and sometimes ambassador for England, was so allured with the beauty or affected with the piety of our English women, that (as it is generally reported) he gave them a cloister within this city, where now they live and have an English congregation, erected according to the order of St. Benedict. Lately they had no lands purchased, though possibly since they may be endowed ^k. ^{Cambray Nunnery.}

GRAVELINES NUNNERY.

The family of the Gages, at Furlie in Sussex, were their principal benefactors, (whereof John Gage, ^{Gravelines Nunnery.}

^h Lewis Owen his Running Register, p. 102. [The same is stated by Robinson, who observes that such as had no portion were sent to Gravelin, those who had little property to Lis-

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bon, but the wealthy nuns were removed to Brussels. Anatomy, &c., p. 339, ed. Morgan.]

ⁱ English-Spanish Pilgrim, p. 72.

^k [Lewis Owen, *ib.* p. 104.]

κ κ

privy counsellor, as I take it, to queen Mary, deserted the land and his own large estate at the beginning of queen Elizabeth,) as appears by certain tablets to be seen in their church¹. Yet are they the poorest of all foreign convents, being the discalceated nuns of the order of St. Clare. *Size cinque* are sent to Bruxells, persons nobly born or richly dowried; *quatur tray* to Lisbon or Cambray, receiving those of a middle rank; whilst *duce ace*, yea, *ames ace*, are sent to Gravelines, the alms-basket of other convents. *Cum nemini obtrudi potest, itur ad*, &c. Such who come over with empty hands must be nuns at Gravelines with naked feet.

Nuns of Louvain, why omitted.

2. Here I purposely omit the nuns of Louvain in Brabant, because not speaking pure English, and scarcely *medietatem linguæ*, being a hodge-podge of Dutch and English, and the former at this day most numerous^m. Yea, oftentimes the two nations here strive for superiority; and though nature inclineth me in this contention to favour my countrywomen, yet I conceive it better to leave them alone to agree with themselves, and proceed to the Jesuitesses.

JESUITESSES.

Jesuitesses. These began at Luke or Liege about thirty years sinceⁿ, Mistress Mary Ward and Mistress Twitty being the first beginners of them. They are not confined, as other nuns, to a cloister, but have liberty to go abroad where they please, to convert

¹ [Gee's New Shreds, &c. p. p. 365, and Lewis Owen, p. 115. Lewis Owen, p. 103.] ⁿ 105. They are sometimes
^m [Lewis Owen, ib. p. 104.] confounded with the order of
ⁿ [A. D. 1630. See Rivius, St. Ursula.]

people to the Catholic faith. They wear a huke like other women, and differ but little in their habit from common persons. The aforesaid two virgins, or rather viragins, travelled to Rome with three the most beautiful of their society^o, endeavouring to procure from his holiness an establishment of their order; but no confirmation, only a toleration, would be granted thereof. Since I have read, that anno 1629 Mistress Mary Ward went to Vienna, where she prevailed so far with the empress, that she procured a monastery to be erected for those of her order, as formerly they had two houses at Liege^p. Since, I have heard nothing of them, which rendereth it suspicious that their order is suppressed, because otherwise such turbulent spirits would be known by their own violence, it being all one with a storm not to be and not to bluster; for, although this may seem the speediest way to make their order to propagate when Jesuita shall become *hic et hæc* of the common gender, yet conscientious Catholics conceived these lady errants so much to deviate from feminine (not to say virgin) modesty, (what is but going in men being accounted gadding in maids,) that they zealously decried their practice, probably to the present blasting thereof.

THE FOREIGN CONVENTS OF ENGLISH MONKS
AND FRIARS^q.

We will not so far distrust the reader's memory as to repeat our premised distinction betwixt monks

Jesuits gaping for the Benedictines' lands in England.

^o Mistress Vaux, Fortescue.
^p English-Spanish Pilgrim, p. 31.

^q [The substance of this paragraph is taken from Owen's Running Register, p. 84.]

and friars; only know that the papists themselves report, that towards the end of queen Elizabeth there was but one English monk (Mauro by name) living in the whole world^r: a thing not incredible to such who consider monks generally grown men before admitted into their order, and that more than sixty years were passed from the dissolution of abbeys to the end of queen Elizabeth. Hereupon several Catholics of the anti-Jesuitical faction, (as doctors Gifford, Bagshaw, Stephens, Smith,) fearing the Jesuits, on father Mauro's death, would, for want of lawful successors to the old English Benedictine monks, enter upon all the abbey lands they had here, solicited many English students then living in their colleges and seminaries to become monks of the order of St. Bennet, persuading them that hereby they should entitle themselves to a large patrimony of land now likely to fall unto them.

Defeated by
father Ro-
berts and
others.

2. Here am I put to a double wonder: first, whereon this papistical confidence was grounded of the speedy restitution of abbey land at queen Elizabeth her death, finding no visible probability for the same; secondly, I admire how Jesuits could pretend (in default of Benedictine issue) themselves heirs to these lapsed or vacant lands, seeing other orders, far more ancient, might lay a better claim thereto; except they conceive such English abbey lands held in borough-English, wherein the youngest, according

^r [Feckenham and Sigebert Bulkley were the last of the order; and when the former died, many years elapsed before any attempt seems to have been made to continue the succession of the Benedictines in England.

The friar whom Fuller mentions in the text, called in the Latin language Maurus, that is, Moore or Maur, is frequently mentioned in the letters and papers published by Reyner in his *Antiq. Benedict. App. I.*]

to the custom of some manors, is to inherit; and so by the same advantage this last and newest of all orders possessed themselves thereof.

3. However, to prevent them, at the instance of the aforesaid secular priests, many English students got into foreign convents of Benedictines, and took on them the habit of St. Bennet. John Roberts, first a lawyer's clerk in London, then a student in the English college at Valladolid, first led the dance, running away to a neighbouring convent of Spanish Benedictines. More of the flock followed this bell-wether thick and threefold, leaving the college of the Jesuits in despite of all the care and caution of their father prefects. Father Augustine (if that is his true and not assumed name) was the second monk of note at this time; a name very active, I am sure, in propagating superstition in England; and Roberts and Augustine, the two revivers of the new Benedictines^s. These obtained leave of pope Pius Quintus and the king of Spain to build them a convent at Douay; and though Roberts, coming over into England to procure the catholics' contribution thereunto, had the hard hap to meet with Tyburn in his way, yet the design proceeded, and was perfected.

DOUAY CONVENT IN ARTOIS^t.

For the lord abbot of St. Vedastus (*Anglice*, St. Douay Forsters) in Arras, a wealthy man, and great favourer^{convent.}

^s [The reader will find a complete account of the restoration of the Benedictine order in Reyner's *Antiq. Benedict.* p. 247, and App. I., and in Wood's *Life of Augustine Baker*, (the person to whom Fuller refers in the text,) *Athenæ*, II. 5. Reyner compiled his work from Baker's papers.]

^t [Founded by the exertions of father Roberts, who is mentioned above. Owen's *Running Register*, pp. 90, 94.]

of the English, yea, generally good to all poor people, built them a cloister, and fine church adjoining, on his own proper cost; to whom, and his successors, the English monks are bound to pay yearly, on the first of February, a wax candle weighing threescore pound, by way of homage and acknowledgment of their founder.

ST. MALO'S CONVENT IN BRETAGNE ^u.

St. Malo's
convent.

Doctor Gifford, dean of the collegiate church of St. Peter's in Ritsell, *alias* Insula, in Flanders, erected a small congregation of English monks at St. Malo's in France, whereof he himself became prior. Here he remained some years, till at last, resigning it to another monk, he removed unto Paris Convent.

PARIS CONVENT,

Paris con-
vent.

Which the aforesaid doctor (but now advanced and augmented with the honour and profit of the archbishopric of Rheims) built and endowed on his own expenses, conferring thereon whatsoever he can get from his archbishopric, on the profits whereof the duke of Guise was suspected too heavily to quarter.

The Car-
thusians'
convent at
Mechlin.

2. Pass we now from our English monks to the friars, and begin with the Carthusians: these, being outed of Sheen in Surrey at the coming in of queen Elizabeth, wafted themselves over the seas with so much wealth as bought them a cloister, with lands to maintain it, at Mechlin. These take themselves to be the most visible church of English friars, as continuing an uninterrupted succession, and so puffed

^u [Lewis Owen, p. 95.]

up with hopes of regaining their old lands, that when prince Charles went to Spain they sent two of their friars into England to take possession both of Charter House and Sheen. Say not one of those places had been fair at first, seeing to save double pains and charges they did well to claim them both together, as likely to possess them both together, as no doubt they had done long ago, had not the rightful owners then and ever since detained the same.

DOUAY v.

Some report this erected by count Gondomar ; Douay. others, more probably, by the charity of English catholics for recollect friars of the order of St. Francis. They have a strong fancy that Christ Church in London shall one day be theirs, at the next return of times. The best is, being to go barefoot by the rules of their order, they are well provided to wait for dead men's shoes. Here I omit the little cloister of Benedictine monks in the dukedom of Lorraine, near Pont-à-Mouson, as also some other nunneries and friaries since erected at Paris and elsewhere ; for surely these orders have spawned much since our late civil wars, Protestant confusions multiplying popish foundations.

2. Yet I cannot believe what one reports of two ^{Two con-}convents in London ^w, set up about the year 1640 ; ^{vents re-}ported in ^{London.} one at the lord Gage's, near Queen Street ; the other at Westminster : for, finding no person who is properly termed the lord Gage, I suspect all the rest. And though I confess catholics then arrived

v [See an interesting account Hist. II. 158, ed. Tierney.]
of this college, in Dodd's Ch. w Mr. Prynne.

at such boldness as rather to dare than dread any discovery, yet it seemeth improbable any should abide there, save only to wait conveniency of transportation. And so much for English convents beyond the seas, which discourse let none censure as alien, and not pertaining to the history of England; for I would willingly be condemned for a needless excursion on the condition that they belonged not at all unto us, who daily fetch over too much money hence, and do mutually bring back too much mischief hither.

TO WHOM THE SITES OF MITRED ABBEYS WERE GRANTED, AND BY WHOM THEY ARE POSSESSED AT THIS DAY.

A possible design preferred, impossible declined.

It were a work almost impossible for our pen to pursue the lands of each religious house, from the time that they parted from the crown to the present owners thereof. Yea, such a task, when ended, were endless, of no other use than the satisfaction of curiosity. As, therefore, the best anatomists cannot hunt out the deviations of every petty vein, (embracing several courses in sundry bodies,) but abundantly acquit their skill and industry if truly discovering the trunk-veins, (observing the same channels in all people,) kephalical, basilical, &c., so we conceive our duty discharged to any rational expectation, if instancing only (out of the original records) in the sites of the mitred abbeys, marking their fluctuation since passed from the crown into the possession of several subjects.

2. Here I intended to present the reader with the particulars of all those owners through whose hands these mitred abbeys have passed, from those to

whom king Henry granted them, to those who at this day are possessed thereof; a thing with very much difficulty (such the frequencys of the exchange) collectable out of the several fines paid at their alienation; but having tired out mine own modesty, though not my good friend Mr. John Witt's officious industry, in being beholden to him above my possibility of requital for perusing so many records, I desisted from so difficult a design.

Abbey.	Granted by	Unto	In consideration	Tenure and Rent	After aliened to	Present Owner
Tavistock, in Devon.	King Henry the Eighth, in the 31st of his reign, July 4. (x)	John lord Russel, Anne his wife, and their heirs, &c.	Of his faithful service and counsel.	<i>In capite</i> , by knight's service, of [<i>cum aliis</i>] one knight's fee, paying 36 <i>l.</i>	None, but still possessed by their heirs.	William Russell, earl of Bedford.
Middleton, in Dorsetshire.	King Henry the Eighth, in the 31st of his reign, 23d of February. (y)	John Tregonwell, knight, doctor of law.	Of a pension of 40 <i>l.</i> per annum surrendered, 1000 <i>l.</i> paid down, and his good service.	<i>In capite</i> , by knight's service, of the tenth part of a knight's fee, paying 12 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i>	None, but still possessed by his heirs.	John Tregonwell, esq.
Malmesbury, in Wiltshire.	King Henry the Eighth, in the 31st of his reign. (z)	William Stampe, gentleman.	Of the payment of 1516 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> ob.	<i>In capite</i> , by the tenth part of a knight's fee, paying 8 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>s.</i> ob.		Thomas Joy, esq.
Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire.	King Henry the Eighth, in the 31st of his reign, 4th of March. (a)	Richard Williams, <i>alias</i> Cromwell, esq.	Of his good service, and the payment of 4663 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>	<i>In capite</i> , by the tenth part of a knight's fee, paying 29 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i>	None, possessed by his heir.	Sir Oliver Cromwell, the most aged gent. and knight in England.
Selby, in Yorkshire.	King Henry the Eighth, in the 32d of his reign, 28th of August. (b)	Ralph Sadleir, of Hackney, knight.	Of 736 <i>l.</i> paid.	<i>In capite</i> , by the tenth part of a knight's fee, paying 3 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>		Charles Walmesley, esq.
Tewkesbury, in Gloucestershire.	King Henry the Eighth, in the 36th of his reign. (c)	Thomas Stroud, Walter Earle, and James Paget.	Of 2283 <i>l.</i> 19 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>	<i>In capite</i> , by the twentieth part of a knight's fee, paying 1 <i>l.</i> 18 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>		

x 1 parte rotulo 29, (formerly Osborn's) Remembrancer's Office.

y 1 par. rot. 95.

z 7 par. rot. 147.

a 2 par. rot. 293.

b 1 par. rot. 140.

c 2 par. rot. 26.

Abbey.	Granted by	Unto	In consideration	Tenure and Rent.	After aliened to	Present Owner.
Hyde, juxta Winton.	King Henry the Eighth, in the 37th of his reign, 11th of January. (d)	Richard Bethel, gent., after a lease of the lord Wriothesly was expired.	Of 110l. 17s. 1d.	In free socage of the king's manor of Rumsey, paying 6l. 13s. 4d. to the vicar of St. Barthol. Wint.		
St. John's, Colchester.	King Edward the Sixth, in the 1st of his reign, June 22. (e)	John Dudley, earl of Warwick.	Of his service in Scotland and France, whereby he had much impaired his own estate.	<i>In capite</i> , [cum aliis] by service, of one knight's fee, paying 16s. 11d. ob.		Sir John Lucas, lord Lucas.
Cirencester, in Gloucestershire.	King Edward the Sixth, in the 1st of his reign, 19th of August. (f)	Thomas lord Seymour, high admiral.	Of his service and kindred, being the king's uncle.	<i>In capite</i> , with land in 15 shires, by the service, of one knight's fee, paying 1l. 1s. 8d.		Sir William Masters.
Bardney, in Lincolnshire.	King Edward the Sixth, in the 2d of his reign. (g)	Thomas Heneage, Katherine his wife, and their heirs.	Of an exchange for the manor of Overton.	In knight's service		Francis lord Willoughby, of Parham.
Glaston, in Somerset.	King Edward the Sixth, in the 4th year of his reign, 4th of June. (h)	Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset.	Of his petition, and the advice of the counsel, to support his dignity.	<i>In capite</i> , by the 40th part of a knight's fee, <i>sine redditu</i> .		
Reading, in Berkshire.	King Edward the Sixth, in the 4th year of his reign, 4th of June. (i)	Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset.	Of his petition, and the advice of the counsel, to support his dignity.	<i>In capite</i> , by the 40th part of a knight's fee, <i>sine redditu</i> .		Francis Knolles, esq.
Crowland, in Lincolnshire.	King Edward the Sixth, in the 4th year of his reign, December 1. (j)	Edward Fines, knight, lord Clinton and Say, high admiral of England.	Of the exchange of other lands with the crown.	To be held in socage, as of the king's manor of Louth, by fealty only.		Till lately in the crown.
Winchcombe, in Gloucestershire.	King Edward the Sixth, in the 5th year of his reign, June 24. (j)	William Parr, marquis of Northampton.	Of his faithfulness and valour against the rebels in Norfolk.	In free socage, to be held as of the manor of East Greenwich, <i>sine redditu</i> .		George Bridges, lord Chandos.

d 7 par. rot. 44.

e 4 par. rot. 13.

f 1 par. rot.

g 3 par. rot. 95.

h 3 par. rot. 17 ; and again,

4 par. rot. 77.

i Ibidem.

j [Ibidem ?]

Abbey.	Granted by	Unto	In consideration	Tenure and Rent.	After aliened to	Present Owner.
St. Edmund's Bury, in Suffolk.	Queen Elizabeth, in the second year of her reign, Feb. 14. (k)	John Eyre, esq.	Of the payment of four hundred pounds.	In free socage, to be held as of the queen's manor of East Greenwich, <i>sine redditu</i> .		
St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire.	Queen Elizabeth, in the sixth of her reign, May 6. (l)	Christopher Smith, esq. Thomas Broughton, gent.	Of the payment (for it and other lands in the grant) of 1703 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	In free and common socage, <i>sine redditu</i> .		

Hitherto we have proceeded on the most authentic authority, out of records; and although we are confident of the truth of such as follow, yet, wanting the like assurance in the dates, tenures, and considerations, we thought fit to rank them by themselves.

2. Battle Abbey, in Sussex, was bestowed by king Henry the Eighth on sir Anthony Browne, knight of the garter and master of his majesty's horse, enjoyed by his heir-male in a direct line at this day.

3. Thorney Abbey, in Cambridgeshire, was conferred by king Henry the Eighth on John lord Russell, and is possessed by his *abnepos*, William earl of Bedford, in a lineal descent.

4. St. Mary's Priory, in Coventry, was given by king Henry the Eighth to — Hales, esq., clerk of the hanaper; at this day in possession of one of his name and lineage.

5. Evesham Abbey, in Worcestershire, I find not to whom first granted; but by a long lease it was in the possession of one Mr. Andrews, father and son, whose grandchild, living now at Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire, hath better thrived by God's blessing

^k 2 par. rot. 13.

^l 4 par. rot. 52.

on his own industry than his father and grandfather did with Evesham Abbey; the sale of the stones whereof he imputeth a cause of their ill success. Lately it was sir William Curteen's, and I know not to whom his son sold it.

Bennet in the Holme changed with the bishop of Norwich.

6. The abbey of St. Bennet's in the Holme, in Norfolk, was never sold, but only changed in the two and thirtieth of king Henry the Eighth, with the bishop of Norwich, as appeareth by the printed statute, which affirmeth, "That the lands settled by the king on the bishopric were of a greater yearly value than the lordships and manors given to his grace:" which might be so, seeing all profit consists not in annual revenue, but much in casualties of fines; indeed, generally coronets did gain, but mitres lose, in their exchanges with the crown.

St. Mary's in York, how disposed.

7. St. Mary's in York (with Selby, the only mitred abbey beyond Trent) was kept in the crown to be the king's palace, when repairing into those parts; since called the Manor, where the lord president of the council in the north held his residence. At this day it is in the hands of the states, as excepted by name in the act for the sale of kings' lands, and one was allowed a fee for the careful keeping thereof.

8. My inquiry cannot attain to whom St. Mary's in Shrewsbury was passed. As for Augustine's in Canterbury, I conceive it never aliened from the crown, reading in my worthy friend^m "that the remaining ruins thereof are made subject to public uses." And thus we have a perfect account of all the mitred English abbeys; the reader well remem-

^m William Somner, in his *Antiq. of Canterbury*, p. 60.

bering what we have formerly written at large of St. John's of Jerusalem and Waltham, as also of Gloucester, Peterborough, and Westminster, advanced into cathedrals; save that the last was afterwards altered into a collegiate church.

9. We may observe that the greatest abbeys, Country abbeys largest in profit. founded in cities, were of the least profit, because so strait-laced with streets and houses round about them that they could not grow to any extraordinary bulk for ground continued thereunto; so that the sites were but sites; as in St. Alban's, St. Edmund's Bury, Hyde, &c.; whereas monasteries in country towns, let loose at more liberty to dilate themselves, had generally a large manor and ample demesnes annexed unto them.

10. Wise men have informed me, that had succeeding princes followed king Henry's pattern, Present gain future loss. generally granting abbeys only *in capite*, that such lands (though passed gratis from the crown under small rents) would notwithstanding in some part have returned thither again, as affording respite of homage, reliefs, wardships, fines for alienation for a constant revenue; whereas being afterwards granted in free socage, whilst the tenure only advanced the present sale, the crown was deprived of much emolument, and more obligation.

11. Richard Williams, *alias* Cromwell, esq. (to A solemn tilting pro-claimed. whom Ramsey Abbey was partly given, partly sold) was one of the five who, in the thirty-second year of Henry the Eighth, made the bold challenge at jousts to all comers that would, in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain. Here it was expected that some of our Knights Hospitallers (whose house, by act of parliament, was dissolved but a month before) should

appear valiantly in their vindication, if conceiving any injustice offered unto them; but they kept themselves close, probably not so much for fear of all the challengers as of one of the spectators, viz. king Henry himself, as sure, if conquerors, of the king's anger and others' envy; if worsted, of their own disgrace. Besides, by the laws of their order, they were not to tilt against Christians, but only to spend their spears against pagans and infidels. Lastly, the challenge seemed only confined to foreigners.

The noble
achievements
of
Richard
Cromwell.

12. This Richard Williams, *alias* Cromwell, came into the place an esquire, but departed a knight, dubbed by the king for his valour, clearly carrying away the credit; overthrowing Mr. Palmer in the field at jousts one day, and the next serving Mr. Culpepper at barriers in the same mannerⁿ. Hereupon there goeth a tradition in the family, that king Henry, highly pleased with his prowess, "Formerly," said he, "thou wast my Dick, but hereafter shalt be "my Diamond;" and thereat let fall his diamond ring unto him: in avowance whereof these Cromwells have ever since given for their crest a lion holding a diamond ring in his fore-paw.

Censure on
abbey lands.

13. Some conceive these abbey lands more unsuccessful than any other, and infectious to the third generation; yea, papists would persuade us, that as Bucephalus cast all his riders till backed by Alexander, his lord and master, so these skittish lands will dismount all that bestride them, until forsooth they be (as they hope) restored to their proper owners; and this they impute to the curse of their founders, denounced to such who should alienate them from

ⁿ Stow, in the reign of Hen. VIII. p. 580.

their first institution. Others maintain that no certainty can be concluded from such casualties, but that all things come to pass alike to all: as die abbey lands, so die other lands, when in the hands of a riotous person. Thus lands as well as goods and chattels are movables, though not from their centre, yet from their owner; yea, our draught lately presented doth prove that many mitred abbeys have survived the dangerous climacterical of the third generation.

14. For mine own part, my tongue is so far from bespeaking such lands with any ill success, that I wish to all lawfully possessed of them (either by the bounty of their prince, their own or ancestors' fair purchase) that peaceably and prosperously they may enjoy them: *et nati natorum, ut qui nascuntur ab ipsis*. However, it will not be amiss to insert the observation of a most worthy antiquary in the county wherein he was born and best experienced, who reporteth that in Norfolk there were an hundred houses of gentlemen, before the dissolution of abbeys, possessed of fair estates, of whom so many as gained accession by abbey lands are at this time extinct or much impaired; bemoaning his own family under the latter notion, as diminished by such an addition.

15. Hear also what his son saith to the same purpose^o: “King Henry exchanged abbey lands, “and by this means, like the dust flung up by “Moses, they presently disperse all the kingdom “over, and at once become curses both upon the

Sir Henry Spelman's observations on abbey lands.

His son's on the same.

^o Clement Spelman, in his Preface to his father's book, *De non temerandis Ecclesiis*.

“ families and estates of the owners ; they often
 “ viciously spending on their private occasions what
 “ was piously intended for public devotion ; inso-
 “ much that, within twenty years next after the dis-
 “ solution, moe of our nobility and their children
 “ have been attainted, and died under the sword of
 “ justice, than did from the Conquest to the Disso-
 “ lution, being almost five hundred years ; so as, if
 “ thou examine the list of the barons in the parlia-
 “ ment of the twenty-seventh of Henry the Eighth,
 “ thou shalt find very few of them whose sons do at
 “ this day inherit their fathers’ titles and estates,
 “ and of these few many to whom the king’s favour
 “ hath restored what the rigorous law of attainder
 “ took, both dignity, lands, and posterity. And
 “ doubtless the commons have drunk deep in this
 “ cup of deadly wine ; but they, being more nume-
 “ rous and less eminent, are not so obvious to obser-
 “ vation.”

A papist’s
 observa-
 tion.

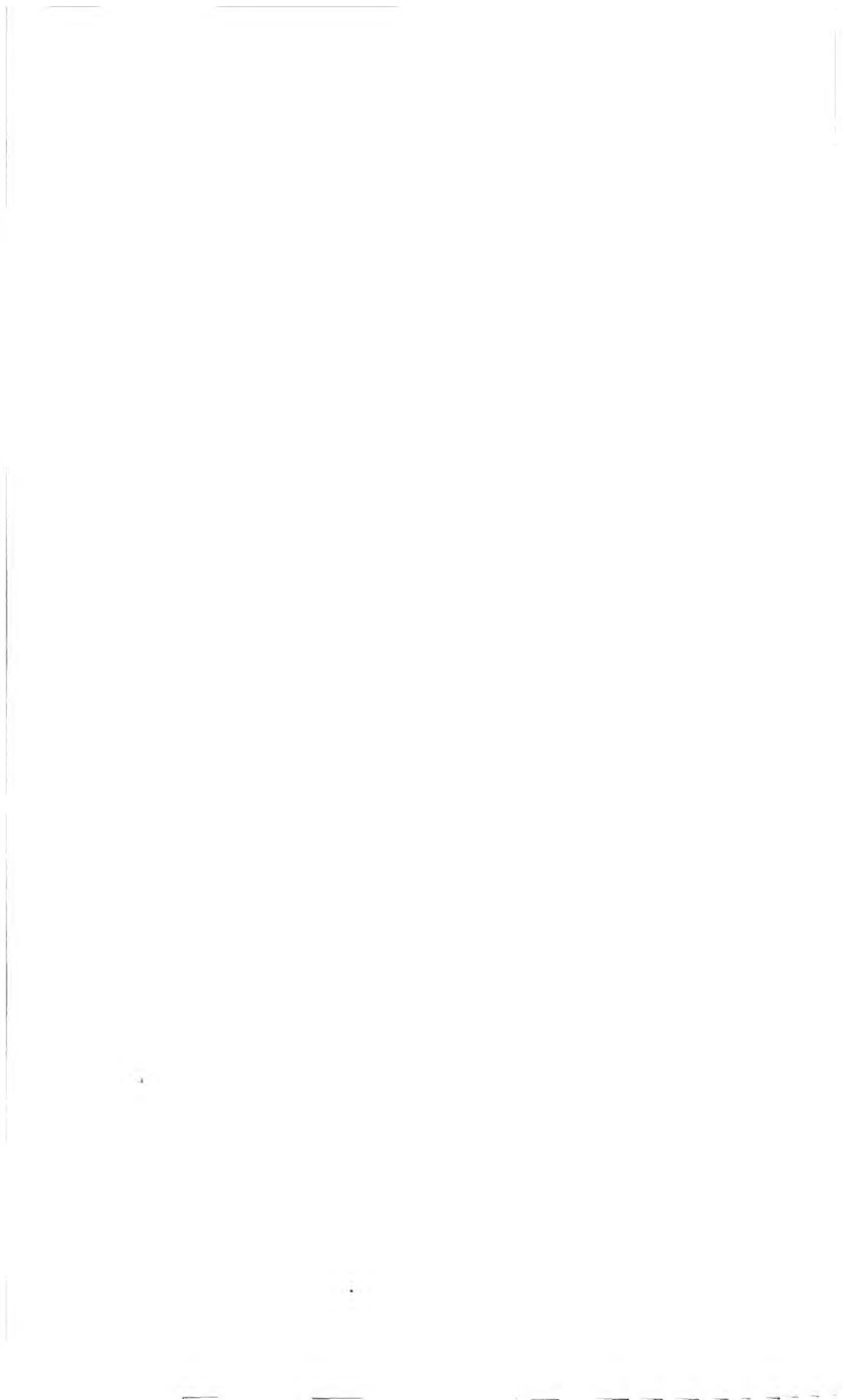
16. As for the report of Reynerus^p, the reader may believe the less thereof for his known engagement to Rome, thus expressing himself: “ At the
 “ dissolution, Henry the Eighth divided part of the
 “ church spoils among two hundred and sixty gen-
 “ tlemen of families in one part of England ; and at
 “ the same time, Thomas duke of Norfolk rewards
 “ the service of twenty of his gentlemen with the
 “ grant of forty pounds a year out of his own inhe-
 “ ritance ; and while not sixty of the king’s donees
 “ had sons owning their fathers’ estates, every one of
 “ the dukes hath a son of his own loins, flourishing
 “ in his father’s inheritance ; and I could have set

^p *Apostolatus Benedict. in Ang., fol. 227, 228.*

“down their several names, had conveniency required it.”

17. But it is high time for me to put a period to this subject, lest, as the abbeyes were complained of to grow so great that they engrossed the third part of the land, so my discourse of them, infected with the same fault, will be condemned by the reader for the tedious prolixity thereof; the rather, because this old and trite subject is now grown out of fashion, men in our age having got a new object to fix their eyes and observation thereon, taking notice how such church lands do thrive, which since have been derived into the hands of new possessors.





THE HISTORY
OF
WALTHAM-ABBAY,
IN ESSEX.

FOUNDED BY KING HAROLD.

*Patria est ubicumque est bene ;
Bene vixit, qui bene latuit.*

BY THOMAS FULLER,
THE CURATE THEREOF.

[1655.]



TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

JAMES HAY,

EARL OF CARLISLE, VISCOUNT DONCASTER, BARON OF
SAWLEY AND WALTHAM. ^a

I HAVE formerly in this History presumed to trouble your Honour, and now adventure the second time. Indeed this treatise containeth the description of your large demesnes, and larger royalty and command. Should I therefore present it to any other save yourself, it would be held as a stray indeed, wandering out of the right way it should go in; and so (without any thanks to me) would fall to your lordship, as due unto you by the custom of your manor.

Your Honour's most obliged

Servant and Chaplain,

THOMAS FULLER.

^a [See Church History, vol. ii. 311, and Pisgah Sight, p. 273.]



APPENDIX.

THE HISTORY

OF

WALTHAM-ABBAY.

PROVIDENCE, by the hand of my worthy The au-
thor's de-
sign. friends, having planted me for the present at Waltham-abbey, I conceive, that in our general work of abbeys, I owe some particular description to that place of my abode;^a hoping my endeavours herein may prove exemplary to others (who dwell in the sight of remarkable monasteries) to do the like, and rescue the observables of their habitations from the teeth of time and oblivion.

Waltham is so called from the Saxon *ham*, which Waltham
why so
named. is a town (whence the diminutive *hamlet*) and *weald*, or *wealt*, that is, *woody*, (whence the *weald* of Kent,) it being anciently overgrown with trees and timber. Thus *Kiriath-jearim*, or *the city of the woods*,

^a [See the Life prefixed to vol. i.]

in Palestine; *Dendros*, an island in Peloponnesus; *Sylviacum*, an ancient city in Belgia, got their names from the like woody situation. Some will have it called *Waltham*, quasi *Wealthy-ham*: I wish they could make their words good, in respect of the persons living therein, though in regard of the soil itself, indeed it is rich and plentiful.

The situa-
tion thereof.

The town is seated on the east side of the river Lea, which not only parteth Hertfordshire from Essex, but also seven times parteth from itself, whose septemfluos stream in coming to the town is crossed again with so many bridges. On the one side, the town itself hath large and fruitful meadows, (whose intrinsic value is much raised by the vicinity of London,) the grass whereof when first gotten an head is so sweet and luscious to cattle, that they diet them at the first entering therein to half an hour a day, lest otherwise they over-eat themselves, which some kine yearly do, and quickly die for it, notwithstanding all their keepers' care to the contrary. On the other side a spacious forest spreads itself, where, fourteen years since, one might have seen whole herds of red and fallow deer. But these late licentious years have been such a Nimrod, such an hunter, that all at this present are destroyed, though I could wish this were the worst effect which our woful wars have produced.

Excused
from bad
air.

The air of the town is condemned by many for over-moist and aguish, caused by the depressed situation thereof. In confutation of which censure, we produce the many aged persons in our town, (above threescore and ten, since my coming hither, above threescore and ten years of age,) so that it seems we are sufficiently healthful, if sufficiently thankful for the same. Sure I am, what is wanting

in good air in the town is supplied in the parish, A.D. 1060.
18 Edward
Confessor. wherein as many pleasant hills and prospects are as any place in England doth afford.

Tovy^b, a man of great wealth and authority, as First found-
ed by Tovy. being the king's staller, (that is standard-bearer,) first founded this town, for the great delight which he took in the game, the place having plenty of deer. He planted only threescore and six indwellers therein.

Athelstan, his son, proved a prodigal, and quickly Falls back
to the
crown. spent all his father's goods and great estate, so that by some transactions the place returned to the crown^c.

Edward the Confessor bestowed Waltham, with Bestowed
on earl
Harold. the lands thereabouts, on Harold his brother-in-law, who presently built and endowed therein a monastery, whereof nothing at this day is extant save the west end, or body of the church.

A structure of Gothish building, rather large than neat, firm than fair. Very dark, (the design of those The model
of the
modern
church. days to raise devotion,) save that it was helped again with artificial lights; and is observed by artists to stand the most exactly east and west of any in England. The great pillars thereof are wreathed with indentings, which vacuities if formerly filled up with brass (as some confidently report) ^d added much to the beauty of the building. But it matters not so much their taking away the brass from the pillars, had they but left the lead on the roof, which is but meanly tiled at this day. In a word, the best

^b [Probably the same person as Thoni le Preude or le Proude. See *De Inventione S. Crucis Walthomensis, &c.* p. 229. ed. Michel.]

^c [*De Invent. &c. ib.* 227.]

^d [And rightly as it seems. See *De Invent. ib.* p. 232, where a complete description of the church will be found.]

A.D. 1060. commendation of the church is, that on Lord's-
 18 Edward days generally it is filled with a great and attentive
 Confessor. congregation.

Mortality
 triumphant.

To the south-side of the church is joined a chapel, formerly our Lady's, now a school-house, and under it an arched charnel-house, the fairest that ever I saw. Here a pious fancy could make a feast to itself on those dry bones with the meditation of mortality: where it is hard, yea, impossible to discern the skulls of a rich from a poor, wise from a simple, noble from a mean person. Thus all counters are alike when put up together in the box or bag; though, in casting of account, of far different valuation.

A dean and
 canons
 founded at
 Waltham.

King Harold dedicated the monastery to the honour of an holy cross, found far westward, and brought hither (as they write) by miracle^e; whence the town hath the addition of *Waltham-Holy-Cross*; but the church we find in after-ages also dedicated to St. Laurence. His foundation was for a *dean*, and eleven secular black canons. Let none challenge the words of impropriety, seeing a *dean*, in Latin *decanus*, hath his name from *δέκα ten*, over which number he is properly to be preposed. For nothing more common than to wean words from their infant and original sense, and by custom to extend them to a larger signification, as *dean* afterwards plainly denoted a superior over others, whether fewer than ten, as the six prebendaries of Rochester; or moe, as the three and thirty of Salisbury. The dean and eleven canons were plentifully provided for, each canon having a manor, and the dean six for his maintenance.

For in the charter of confirmation made by king Edward the Confessor, besides North-land in Waltham,

^e [See Vita Haroldi, ib. p. 157.]

(now called, as I take it, North-field,) wherewith the monastery was first endowed, these following lordships, with all their appurtenances, are reckoned up:

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---|
| 1. Passefield. | 7. Wodeford. | 13. Wormeley. | <small>A.D. 1062.
20 Edward
Confessor.</small>
<hr/> <small>Seventeen
manors
confirmed
to them by
the Con-
fessor.</small> |
| 2. Walde. | 8. Lambehide. | 14. Nithelswelle. | |
| 3. Upminster. | 9. Nesingan. | 15. Hitche. | |
| 4. Walthfare. | 10. Brickindon. | 16. Lukendon. | |
| 5. Suppedene ^f . | 11. Melnhoo. | 17. West-Wealtham. | |
| 6. Alwertowne. | 12. Arlichsea. | | |

All these the king granted unto them *cum sacha et socha, tol et team*, &c. free from all gelts and payments, in a most full and ample manner; witness himself, Edith his queen, *Stigand archiepiscopus Dorobornensis*, count Harold, and many other bishops and lords subscribing the same charter.

Afterward Harold usurpeth the crown, but enjoyed it not a full year, killed in battle-fight by king William the Conqueror. Where either of their swords (if victorious) might have done the deed, though otherwise both their titles twisted together could not make half a good claim to the crown. Githa, mother of Harold, and two religious men of this abbey, Osegod and Ailric, with their prayers and tears, hardly prevailed with the Conqueror (at first denying him burial whose ambition had caused the death of so many) to have Harold's corpse (with his two brethren, Gerth and Leoswin, losing their lives in the same battle) to be entombed in Waltham church, of his foundation^g. He was buried where now is the earl of Carlisle his leaden fountain in his garden, then probably the end of

^f [Leland writes this name also De Inventione S. Crucis, Tippedene, and spells the others p. 230. ib.]
with some variations from the text. Collectanea, i. 101. See ^g [De Invent. ib. p. 245.]

A. D. 1067. the quire, or rather some eastern chapel beyond it.
^r William
 Conqueror. His tomb of plain, but rich gray marble, with what seemeth a cross-floree (but much descanted on with art) upon the same, supported with pillarets, one pedestal whereof I have in my house. As for his reported epitaph, I purposely omit it, not so much because barbarous, (scarce any better in that age,) but because not attested to my apprehension with sufficient authority^h.

Deforming
 reformers.

A picture of king Harold in glass was lately to be seen in the north window of the church, till ten years since some barbarous hand beat it down under the notion of superstition. Surely had such ignorant persons been employed in the days of Hezekiah to purge the temple from the former idolatry; under the pretence thereof they would have rended off the lily-work from the pillars, and the lions, oxen, and cherubims from the bases of brass. However, there is still a place called Harold's-park in our parish by him so denominated. Let not therefore the village of Haroldon, the north side of Ouse near Bedford, (properly Harewood, or Harelswood, on vulgar groundless tradition,) contest with Waltham for this king's interment.

*The re-foundation of Waltham-abbey by Henry
 the Second.*

Waltham
 canons in
 sad con-
 dition.

One will easily believe, that at the death of king Harold, Waltham-abbey, founded by him, was in a swoon, and the canons therein much disheartened. However they had one help, which was this; that Edward the Confessor was the confirmer of their

^h [In his Worthies Fuller Waltham Cross, which he gives a curious account of a supposed was that of king tomb found and opened at Harold. i. 497.]

foundation, whose memory was not only fresh and fair in all men's minds, (bearing a veneration to his supposed sanctity,) but also king William the Conqueror had the best of his bad titles by bequest of the crown from this confessor. So that in some sense Waltham-abbey might humbly crave kindred of king William, both deriving their best being from one and the same person.

A. D. 1067.
1 William
Conqueror.

Know, reader, that whatever hereafter I allege touching the lands and liberties of Waltham (if not otherwise attested by some author in the margin) is by me faithfully transcribed out of Waltham leger-book, now in the possession of the right honourable James earl of Carlisle. This book was collected by Robert Fuller, the last abbot of Waltham; who, though he could not keep his abbey from dissolution, did preserve the antiquities thereof from oblivion. The book (as appears by many inscriptions in the initial text-letters) was made by himself, having as happy a hand in fair and fast writing, as some of his surname since have been defective therein.

The in-
dustry of
Rob. Fuller
last abbot of
Waltham.

Not long after the conquest, Waltham-abbey found good benefactors, and considerable additions to their maintenance. For Maud, the first queen to king Henry the first, bestowed on them the mill at Waltham, which she had by exchange for Trinity-church in London, which I take to be part of the Trinity-priory, now called the duke's-place.

A. D. 1102.
3 Henry
I.
Queen
Maud gives
Waltham
monks a
mill.

Adelisia, second wife to king Henry the first, being possessed of Waltham as part of her revenue, gave all the tithes thereof, as well of her demesnes, as all tenants therein, to the canons of Waltham. Meantime how poorly was the priest of the place provided for! Yea, a glutton monastery in former

A. D. 1130.
31 Henry
I.
Queen
Adelisia
the tithes.

A.D. 1156. ² Henry II. ages makes an hungry ministry in our days. An abbey and a parsonage unimproprate in the same place, are as inconsistent together, as good woods and an iron mill. Had not Waltham church lately met with a noble founder, the minister thereof must have kept moe fasting days than ever were put in the Roman calendar.

A.D. 1135. ¹ Stephen. King Stephen his bounty. King Stephen, though he came a wrong way to the crown, yet did all right to the monastery of Waltham, (as who generally sought the good will of the clergy to strengthen himself,) and confirmed all their lands, profits, and privileges unto them.

A.D. 1156. ² Henry II. King Henry the second utterly dissolved the foundation of dean and eleven canons at Waltham. The debauchedness of their lives is rendered in his charter as the occasion thereof, *Cum in ea canonici clericique minus religiose et æqualiter vivissent, ita quod infamia conversationis illorum multos scandalisasset.* Whether these were really or only reputed vicious, God knows, seeing all those must be guilty whom power is pleased to pronounce soⁱ. Sure it is, king Henry outed this dean and canons, and placed an abbot and regular Augustinians in their room, increasing their number to twenty-four. And because (to use the king's own words) it was fit that Christ his spouse should have a new dowry, he not only confirmed to this monastery the primitive patrimony, mentioned in the Confessor's charter,

ⁱ [Giraldus Cambrensis inveighs bitterly against king Henry for this act; in one place calling it a miserable subterfuge, and in another stating that these canons led a holy and regular life, "ab antiquo singulariter et sancte

"Deo servientes." De Instruct. Princ. ii. 7. Mat. Paris. p. 133. in an. 1177. It must be confessed however that other authors side with the king. See Rad. de Diceto in Twysden, p. 598.]

cum peciis terræ, with many pieces of land, and tenements, which their benefactors since bestowed upon them; but also conferred the rich manors of Sewardstone and Eppings on this monastery.

The whole charter of king Henry is too long to transcribe, but some passages therein must not be omitted. First, the king had the consent of pope Alexander for the suppression of the canons; the rather moved thereunto, *quia prædictis canonicis sufficienter provisum fuit*, because the aforesaid expelled canons had sufficient provision made for them. For, grant them never so scandalous, this was to add scandal to scandal, to thrust them out of house and home without any means or maintenance. Secondly, this charter presents us with the ancient liberties of Waltham-church, that, *semper fuit regalis capella ex primitiva sui fundatione, nulli archiepiscopo vel episcopo, sed tantum ecclesiæ Romanæ et regiæ dispositioni subjecta*. And though since the reformation the church hath been subjected to the archbishop's jurisdiction, (as succeeding to the royal power,) and sometimes (with grumbling and reluctancy) to the episcopal power, yet it never as yet owned an archdeacon, or appeared at his visitation.

The mentioning of the consent of pope Alexander to the suppression of Waltham dean and canons, and substituting Augustinians in their room, mindeth me of a spacious place in this town, at the entrance of the abbey, built about with houses, called Rome-land (as Peter-pence were termed Rome-scot) at this day. It is generally believed, that the rents thereof peculiarly belonged to the church of Rome. Thus the pope would not be so bad a carver, as to

A. D. 1156.
2 Henry II.

Augustinians substituted in their room.

Rome-land in Waltham.

cut all away to others, and reserve no corner to himself^j.

A. D. 1189.
Richard
I.

Fitz-
Aucher
settled at
Copt-Hall.

King Richard the first (though generally not too loving to the clergy) amply confirmed his father's foundation, and gave lands to Richard Fitz-Aucher in this parish, to hold them in fee and hereditarily of the church of Waltham-Holy-Cross. This Fitz-Aucher fixed himself at Copt-Hall, a stately house in the parish. Whether so called contractedly, *quasi Cobbing-hall*, from Cobbing, a rivulet running not far off, or from two ancient and essential turrets of that house, which are coped and covered with lead; or from (in my mind most probable) an high and sharp hill (thus Copeland so called in Cumberland) whereon the house is founded^k.

Hugh Nevil
a bountiful
benefactor.

In or about this king's reign, Hugh Nevil, with the consent of Joan his wife and John his son, bestowed the manor of Thorndon on the monastery of Waltham, of whom largely before^l.

King Henry the third, to spare court-keeping, came often and lay long at abbeys, so that Waltham (the nearest mitred abbey to London) had much of his company. Being a religious prince, great were his desires, but withal necessitous, small his deeds in endowing churches^m. However, what he wanted in giving himself, he supplied in confirming the gifts

^j [The most complete account of this entire transaction will be found in Brompton, p. 1118.]

^k [Yet the etymology suggested in the Worthies is more plausible: "Copt-Hall, in records Coppice-Hall, from the woods thereabout." i. 495.]

^l [In his Ch. Hist. p. 218.]

^m [In his reign, however, the church was dedicated with great solemnity, on the day after the feast of St. Michael; by Wm. de Ragele, bishop of Norwich and canon of St. Paul's, immediately after the dedication of St. Paul's, London. Mat. Par. p. 595. inan. 1242.]

of others. And finding it the cheapest way of ^{A.D. 1246.} ^{30 Henry} ^{III.} benefaction to give liberties than lands, he bestowed on Waltham a weekly market and a fair (so called *à feriando*, from people's playing there) to last seven days; which now is divided into two, but of shorter continuance, the one on the third day of May, the invention, the other on the fourteenth of September, the exaltation of the cross.

We now have a market on Tuesday, but cannot ^{Waltham} ^{market.} boast of much trading therein. Indeed there is plenty of flesh, but little corn brought thither: and bread is the staff, as of a man so of a market. Nor let us impute the thinness of chapmen in summer to husbandmen's having no leisure, as busied in tillage, hay, or harvest: or in winter to their having no pleasure to repair thither in so deep and dirty ways, seeing the plain truth is, no underwood can thrive near the droppings of so great an oak, the vicinity of London. The golden market in Leadenhall, makes leaden markets in all the towns thereabouts.

In the first year that Simon was made abbot, ^{Broils be-} ^{twixt the} ^{abbot and} ^{the towns-} ^{men about} ^{commons.} (which by exactest proportion we collect to be about the thirtieth year of king Henry the Third), the men of Waltham came into the marsh, which the abbot and his convent formerly enjoyed as several to themselves, killed four mares, worth forty shillings sterling at least, and drove away all the restⁿ. The abbot was politicly pleased, for the present, not to take notice thereof. The next year some men of Waltham went to the abbot, the Thursday before

ⁿ MS. of Edward Stacy, written (as appears by character) 140 years since, fol. 42.

A.D. 1246
31 Henry
III.

Easter, in the name of the whole village, and demanded of him to remove his mares and colts out of the marsh. This the abbot refused to do, adding withal, that if his bailiffs had placed his cattle otherwise than they ought, they might do well to have it amended, yet so as to defer the matter till Tuesday after Easter.

The sturdi-
ness of the
townsmen.

On that Tuesday, Richard, brother to the king, duke of Cornwall, came to Waltham, at what time both the men and women of the town repaired to the gate of the abbey to receive the abbot's final answer. He told them that he could not speak with them for the present, as providing himself for a long journey into Lincolnshire, there to visit the *justices itinerant*; but by his prior and other canons, he desired them to be patient till his return, when he would mend what was to be mended. Not satisfied therewith, and neither respecting the spiritual holiness of the abbot, nor temporal greatness of the duke, railed at and reviled him. Then into the pasture they go, and in driving out the abbot's mares and colts, drowned three worth twenty shillings, spoiled ten mow, to the value of ten marks, and beat their keepers who resisted them, even to the shedding of blood.

The most
guilty first
accuse.

But, after the abbot returned from Lincolnshire, the townsmen, fearing they should be trounced for their riot, desired a love-day, submitted themselves unto him, and proffered to pay him damage. But next day, when the performance of these promises was expected, away went the Waltham-men, with their wives and children, to the king to London, enraging him, as much as in them lay, against the abbot, accusing him that he would disinherit them

of their right, bring up new customs, take away A.D. 1248. their pastures, and (to use their own words) eat 33 Henry III. them up to the bones; and that he had wounded and abused some of them, who stood defending their own rights. Which false report was believed of many, to the great disgrace of the convent of Waltham.

The abbot would not put up so great a wrong, but The abbot comes off conqueror. having episcopal power in himself, proceeded to the excommunication of the rebellious Walthamites. But the townsmen went another way to work, namely, to defend their right by the common laws of the realm. Whereupon Stephen Fitz-Bennet, Simon of the Wood, William Theyden, and Ralph of the Bridge, in the name of all the rest, implead the abbot for appropriating their commons to himself. But in fine (after many cross pleadings here too long to relate) the abbot so acquitted himself, that he made both his own right and the townsmen's riot to appear: who at last at the king's-bench were glad to confess that they had done evil, and were amerced twenty marks to the abbot, which he not only remitted unto them, but also on their submission assoiled them from the excommunication.

The brawls betwixt the abbot and townsmen of The suit betwixt the abbot of Waltham and the lord of Cheshunt. Waltham were no sooner ended, but far fiercer began betwixt the said abbot and the lord of Cheshunt on the like occasion. This Cheshunt is a large parish in Hertfordshire, confining on the west of Waltham, so called, saith^o Norden, *quasi castanetum*, of chestnut-trees, though now, I believe,

^o In his short survey of Hertfordshire.

A. D. 1248. one hardly appears in the whole lordship. In this
 33 Henry III. suit,

Plaintiff.—Peter duke of Savoy, the king's dear uncle, (first founder, I take it, of the Savoy in London,) on whom the king conferred many lordships, and Cheshunt amongst the rest.

Judges.—Ralph Fitz-Nicolas, John of Lexington, Paulin Peyner seneschal, Henry of Bath, Jeremy of Caxton, Henry de Bretton.

Defendant —Simon the abbot, and the convent of Waltham.

Solicitor.—Adam de Alverton.

The Case.—The plaintiff endeavoured to prove, that the stream of Ley, (called the King's-stream,) dividing Hertfordshire from Essex, ran through the town of Waltham, all the land west thereof belonging to the manor of Cheshunt. This was denied by the defendant, maintaining that Small-Ley-stream, running wellnigh half a mile west of Waltham, parted the counties; all the interjacent meadows pertained to Waltham.

Alike not
the same.

Perusing the names of these the king's justices at Westminster, who would not suspect but that this Henry of Bath was bishop of that see, considering how many clergymen in that age were employed in places of judicature. But the suspicion is causeless, finding none of that name in the episcopal catalogue. Others in like manner may apprehend that Bretton, here mentioned, was that learned lawyer (afterwards bishop of Hereford) who wrote the book *De Juribus Anglicanis*, and who flourished in the latter end of the reign of this king Henry the Third. But his

p See Godwin in his Bishops of Hereford, [p. 486.]

name being John, not Henry, discovereth him a different person.

A. D. 1248.
33 Henry
III.

Not long after, this suit was fully determined, and Peter duke of Savoy remised and quit-claimed from him and his heirs, to the said abbot and his successors, the right and claim he had to ask in the same meadows and marshes of the said abbot. This is called in the instrument *finalis concordia*, though it proved neither final nor a concord. For soon after this palliate cure it broke out again, and the matter was in variance and undetermined betwixt Robert the last abbot and the lord of Cheshunt, when the abbey was dissolved.

Many accessions (besides those common prolongers of all suits, namely the heat of men's anger, and the bellows of instruments, gaining by law) did concur to lengthen this cause.

1. The considerableness and concernment of the thing controverted, being a large and rich portion of ground.

2. The difficulty of the cause, about the channels of that river, which, Proteus-like, in several ages hath appeared in sundry forms, disguised by derivations on different occasions.

3. The greatness of the clients; Cheshunt lordship being always in the hand of some potent person, and the corporation of Waltham convent able to wage law with him.

Hence hath this suit been as longlived as any in England, (not excepting that in ⁴Gloucestershire, betwixt the posterity of viscount Lisle and the lord Berkeley;) seeing very lately (if not at this day) there were some suits about our bounds; Waltham

⁴ Camden in Gloucestershire.

A.D. 1248. meadows being very rich in grass and hay, but too
 33 Henry fruitful in contentions.
 III.

For mine own part, that wound which I cannot heal I will not widen : and seeing I may say with the poet,

Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites,

No power of mine so far extends,
 As for to make both parties friends,

I will not turn, of an impartial historian, an engaged person, who as a neighbour wish well to Cheshunt, as a parishioner better to Waltham, as a Christian, best to both. And therefore so much for matter of fact in our records and leger-books, leaving all matters of right for others to decide.

Meantime, whilst the abbot and monks of Waltham were vexed with the men of Cheshunt, they found more favour (if public fame belies them not) from some loving women in that parish, I mean the holy sisters in Cheshunt nunnery, whose house (whenever founded) I find some ten years since thus confirmed by royal authority :

Cheshunt
 nunnery
 founded.

Henricus Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hyberniæ, Dux Normaniæ, Aquitaniæ, et Comes Andegaviæ &c. Cestrehunt Moniales totam terram Dom. teneant cum pertinentiis suisquæ Canonici de Cathete &c. quos amoveri fecimus. Datum apud West. xj. Aug. Anno Regni nostri xxiiij^o.

But this subject begins to swell beyond the bounds intended unto it ; lest therefore what we intended but a tract should swell to a tome, we will here descend to matters of later date.

Copt-hall
 passed
 to king
 Hen. VIII.

Only be it premised, that some years before the dissolution, Robert, the last abbot of Waltham, passed over the fair seat of Copt-hall unto king

Henry the eighth. Thus as the castor, when pursued by the hunter, to make his escape is reported to bite off his own stones, (as the main treasure sought after,) and so saves his life by losing a limb : so this abbot politicly parted with that stately mansion, in hope thereby to preserve the rest of his revenues. However, all would not do, (so impossible it is to save what is designed to ruin,) and few years after, the abbey, with the large lands thereof, was seized on by the king, and for some months he alone stood possessed thereof.

The extraction, charter, death and issue of sir Anthony Denny, on whom king Henry the Eighth bestowed Waltham-abbey.

At the dissolution, king Henry bestowed the site of this abbey, with many large and rich lands belonging thereunto, on sir Anthony Denny, for the term of thirty-one years^r. Let us a little inquire into his extraction or descent.

A lease of Waltham-abbey given to sir Anthony Denny.

I find the name very ancient at ^s Chesterton in Huntingdonshire, where the heir general was long since married to the worshipful and ancient family of the Bevils. It seems, a branch of the male line afterwards fixed in Hertfordshire; whereof John Denny, esquire, valiantly served Henry the fifth in France, where he was slain, and buried with Thomas his second son in St. Dionys his chapel; their interment in so noble a place speaking their worthy performances. In the reign of queen Mary, a friar shewed their tombs to sir Matthew Carew, together with their coats and differences. Henry, eldest son of this John Denny, begat William Denny of Ches-

John Denny the greatsoldier in France.

^r [Valued at 900*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.* per annum.] ^s Speed, or rather sir Rob. Cotton in Huntingdonshire.

hunt in Hertfordshire, which William was high sheriff of the county in the year 1480, leaving Edmund Denny to inherit his estate.

Edmund
Denny
baron of the
exchequer.

Edmund Denny was one of the barons of the exchequer, in credit and favour with king Edward the fourth and Henry the seventh. He married Mary, the daughter and heir of Robert Troutbeck, esq., on whom he begat Thomas Denny, from whom the Dennies in Norfolk are descended.

Anthony
Denny his
high com-
mendations.

Anthony Denny, second son to baron Denny, was knighted by king Henry the eighth, made gentleman of his bedchamber, privy councillor, and one of his executors. I cannot say he was bred any great scholar, but find him a Mecænas, and grand favourer of learned men. For when the school of 'Sedbergh in the north, belonging to St. John's in Cambridge, was run to ruin, the lands thereof being sold and embezzled, sir Anthony procured the reparation of the school, and restitution of their means, firmly settling them to prevent further alienation. Hear what character "Mr. Ascham gives of him; *Religio, doctrina, respublica, omnes curas tuas sic occupant, ut extra has tres res nullum tempus consumas*; "Religion, learning, commonwealth, so employ all thy cares, that besides these three things you spend no other time." Let then the enemies (if any) of his memory abate of this character to what proportion they please, (pretending it but the orator's rhetorical hyperbole,) the very remainder thereof, which their malice must leave, will be sufficient to speak sir Anthony a worthy and meriting gentleman.

His epitaph
made by
the lord
Howard.

I find an excellent epitaph made on him by one the learnedest of noblemen, the noblest of learned

^t Ascham, Commend. Epist. fol. 210. [I. 31.]

^u Idem, fol. 208. [I. 29.]

men in his age, viz. Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, and eldest son to the duke of Norfolk, worthy the reader his perusal.

Upon the death of sir Anthony Denny ^x.

Death and the king did, as it were, contend
Which of them two bare Denny greatest love :
The king, to shew his love 'gan far extend,
Did him advance his betters far above.

Near place, much wealth, great honour eke him gave,
To make it known what power great princes have.

But when death came with his triumphant gift,
From worldly cark he quit his wearied ghost,
Free from the corpse, and straight to heaven it lift.
Now deem that can who did for Denny most :
The king gave wealth, but fading and unsure ;
Death brought him bliss that ever shall endure.

Know reader, that this lord made this epitaph by a poetical prolepsis ; otherwise, at the reading thereof who would not conceive that the author survived the subject of his poem ? Whereas indeed this lord died (beheaded 1546) in the reign of king Henry the eighth, whom sir Anthony outlived, being one of the executors of his will. Nor was it the worst piece of service he performed to his master, when (all other courtiers declining the employment) he truly acquainted him with his dying condition, to dispose of his soul for another world.

Sir Anthony died about the second of Edward the sixth, dame Joan his wife surviving him. Daughter she was to sir Philip Campernoun of Modbury in Devonshire ; a lady of great beauty and parts, a favourer of the reformed religion when the times

His issue
by dame
Joan his
wife.

^x Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 852.

were most dangerous. She sent eight shillings by her man, in a violet coat, to Anne Ayscough^y when imprisoned in the counter; a small sum, yet a great gift, so hazardous it was to help any in her condition. This lady Joan bought the reversion in fee of Waltham from king Edward the sixth, paying three thousand and hundred pounds for the same, purchasing therewith large privileges in Waltham forest, as by the letters patents doth appear. She bare two sons to sir Anthony, Henry Denny, esquire, of whom hereafter: the second sir Edward, who, by God's blessing, queen Elizabeth's bounty, and his own valour, achieved a fair estate in the county of Kerry in Ireland, which at this day is (if any thing in that woful war-wasted country can be) enjoyed by his great grandchild, Arthur Denny, esq. of Tralee.

The condition of Waltham church from the dissolution of the abbey until the death of king Henry the Eighth.

Having the perusal of the churchwarden's accounts, wherein their ancient expenses and receipts are exactly taken, fairly written, and carefully kept, I shall select thence some memorable *items*, to acquaint us with the general devotion of those days.

Know then, there were six ordinary obits which the churchwardens did annually discharge, viz. for

Thomas Smith, and Joan his wife, on the sixteenth of January.

Thomas Friend, Joan and Joan his wives, on the sixteenth of February.

Robert Preest, and Joan his wife, on the tenth of April.

^y Fox, Acts and Monuments, fol. 1239. [See vol. ii. p. 577-8.]

Thomas Towers, and Katharine his wife, the sixth and twentieth of April.

John Breges, and Agnes his wife, the one and thirtieth of May.

Thomas Turner, and Christian his wife, the twentieth day of December.

The charge of an obit was two shillings and twopence; and if any be curious to have the particulars thereof, it was thus expended. To the parish priest fourpence; to our Lady's priest threepence; to the charnel-priest threepence; to the two clerks fourpence; to the children (these I conceive choristers) threepence; to the sexton twopence; to the bellman twopence; for two tapers twopence; for oblation twopence. Oh the reasonable rates of Waltham! two shillings twopence for an obit, the price whereof in St. Paul's in London was forty shillings. For (forsooth) the higher the church, the holier the service, the dearer the price, though he had given too much that had given but thanks for such vanities.

To defray the expenses of these obits, the parties prayed for, or their executors, left lands, houses or stock, to the churchwardens. Thomas Smith bequeathed a tenement in the corn-market, and others gave lands in Upshire, called Pater-noster-hills; others ground elsewhere, besides a stock of eighteen cows, which the wardens let out yearly to farm for eighteen shillings, making up their yearly accounts at the feast of Michael the archangel, out of which we have excerpted the following remarkable particulars:

Anno 1542, the 34th of Henry the Eighth.

Imprimis, For watching the sepulchre, a groat.] This constantly returns in every yearly account,

though what meant thereby I know not; I could suspect some ceremony on Easter eve, (in imitation of the soldiers watching Christ's grave,) but am loath to charge that age with more superstition than it was clearly guilty of.

Item, Paid to the ringers at the coming of the king's grace, sixpence.] Yet Waltham bells told no tales every time king Henry came hither, having a small house in Rome-land, to which he is said oft privately to retire for his pleasure.

Item, Paid unto two men of law for their counsel about the church leases, six shillings eightpence.

Item, Paid the attorney for his fee, twentypence.

Item, Paid for ringing at the prince his coming, a penny.

Anno 1543, the 35th of Henry the Eighth.

Imprimis, Received of the executors of sir Robert Fuller, given by the said sir Robert to the church, ten pounds.

How is this man degraded from the right honourable the lord abbot of Waltham (the last in that place) to become a poor sir Robert, the title of the meanest priest in that age! Yet such his charity in his poverty, that, besides this legacy, he bequeathed to the church a chalice^z silver and gilt, which they afterwards sold for seven pounds.

Anno 1545, the 36th of Henry the Eighth.

Imprimis, Received of Adam Tanner the overplus of the money which was gathered for the purchase of the bells, two pound four shillings and eleven-

^z The churchwardens' account, anno 1556.

pence.] It seems the king's officers sold, and the parish then purchased, the five bells, being great and tuneable, (who, as they gave bountifully, so I presume they bought reasonably,) and the surplusage of the money was delivered.

Item, Received of Richard Tanner for eight stoles, three shillings.] A stole was a vestment which the priest used. Surely these were much worn, and very rags of popery, as sold for four pence halfpenny apiece. It seems the churchwardens were not so charitable to give away, nor so superstitious to burn, but so thrifty as to make profit by sale of these decayed vestments.

Item, Paid for mending the handbell, twopence.] This was not fixed as the rest in any place of church or steeple, but (being a diminutive of the saint's-bell) was carried in the sexton's hands at the circumges-tation of the sacrament, the visitation of the sick, and such like occasions.

Item, Paid to Philip Wright, carpenter, for making a frame in the belfry, eighteen shillings fourpence.] The bells being bought by the parishioners were taken down out of the decayed steeple, and we shall afterwards see what became thereof. Meantime a timberframe was made (which the aged of the last generation easily remembered) in the southeast end of the churchyard, where now two yew trees stand, and a shift made for some years to hang the bells thereon.

Anno 1546, the 38th of Henry the Eighth.

Item, For clasps to hold up the banners in the body of the church, eightpence.] By these I understand, not pennons with arms hanging over the graves of interred gentlemen, but rather some

superstitious streamers, usually carried about in procession.

Item, Paid to John Boston for mending the organs, twentypence.

*The state of Waltham church during the reign
of king Edward the Sixth.*

Old things are passed away, behold all things now are become new. Superstition by degrees being banished out of the church, we hear no more of prayers and masses for the dead. Every obit now had its own obit, and fully expired, the lands formerly given thereunto being employed to more charitable uses. But let us select some particulars of the churchwardens' accounts in this king's days.

Anno 1549, the 3rd of Edward the Sixth.

Imprimis, Sold the silver plate which was on the desk in the chancel, weighing five ounces, for twenty-five shillings.] Guess the gallantry of our church by this, (presuming all the rest in proportionable equipage,) when the desk whereon the priest read was inlaid with plate of silver.

Item, Sold a rod of iron which the curtain run upon before the rood, ninepence.] The rood was an image of Christ on the cross, made generally of wood, and erected in a loft for that purpose, just over the passage out of the church into the chancel. And wot you what spiritual mystery was couched in this position thereof? The church (forsooth) typified the church militant, the chancel represents the church triumphant; and all who will pass out of the former into the latter must go under the rood-loft; that is, carry the cross, and be acquainted with

affliction. I add this the rather, because Harpsfield, that great scholar, (who might be presumed knowing in his own art of superstition,) confesseth himself ignorant of the reason of the rood-situation^a.

Item, Sold so much wax as amounted to twenty-six shillings.] So thrifty the wardens, that they bought not candles and tapers ready made, but bought the wax at the best hand, and payed poor people for the making of them. Now they sold their magazine of wax as useless. Under the reformation, more light and fewer candles.

Item, Paid for half of the book called Paraphrase, five shillings.] By the seventh injunction of king Edward, each parish was to procure the Paraphrase of Erasmus, namely, the first part thereof on the Gospels, and the same to be set up in some convenient place in the church.

Item, Spent in the visitation at Chelmsford amongst the wardens and other honest men, fourteen shillings fourpence.] A round sum, I assure you, in those days. This was the first visitation (kept by Nicholas Ridley newly bishop of London) whereat Waltham wardens ever appeared out of their own town, whose abbot formerly had episcopal jurisdiction.

Anno 1551, the 5th of Edward the Sixth.

Imprimis, Received for a knell of a servant to the lady Mary her grace, tenpence.] Copt-hall in this parish being then in the crown, the lady (afterwards queen) Mary, came thither sometimes to take the air probably, during whose residence there this her servant died.

^a Fox, Acts and Mon. in the examination of Tho. Hawks, pag. 1590. [III. 263.]

Item, Lost forty-six shillings by reason of the fall of money by proclamation.] King Henry much debased the English coin, to his own gain and the land's loss, (if sovereigns may be said to get by the damage of their subjects,) yet all would not do to pay his debts. His son Edward endeavoured to reduce the coin to its true standard, decrying bad money by his proclamation to the intrinsic value thereof. But, prevented by death, he effected not this difficult design, (adultery in men, and adulterateness in money, both hardly reclaimed,) which was afterwards completed by the care of queen Elizabeth.

Item, Received for two hundred seventy-one ounces of plate, sold at several times for the best advantage, sixty seven pounds fourteen shillings and ninepence.] Now was the brotherhood in the church dissolved, consisting as formerly of three priests, three choristers, and two sextons; and the rich plate belonging to them was sold for the good of the parish. It may seem strange the king's commissioners deputed for that purpose seized not on it, from whose hands Waltham found some favour, (befriended by the lord Rich their countryman,) the rather because of their intentions to build their decayed steeple.

Church alterations in the reign of queen Mary.

New lady new laws. Now strange the metamorphosis in Waltham. Condemn not this our cosmography, or description of a country town, as too low and narrow a subject, seeing in some sort the history of Waltham church is the church history of England, all parishes in that age being infected alike with superstition. Nor intend I hereby to renew the memory of idolatry, but to

revive our gratitude to God for the abolishing thereof, whose numerous trinkets here ensue.

Anno 1554, Mariæ primo.

Imprimis, For a cross with a foot, copper and gilt, twenty-five shillings.

Item, For a cross-staff, copper and gilt, nine shillings and fourpence.

Item, For a pax, copper and gilt, five shillings.] *Greet one another*, saith St. Paul, *with an holy kiss*^b, on which words of the apostle the pax had its original. This ceremony, performed in the primitive times and Eastern countries, was afterwards (to prevent wantonness, and to make the more expedition) commuted into a new custom, viz. a piece of wood, or metal, (with Christ's picture thereon,) was made, and solemnly tendered to all people to kiss. This was called the *pax*, or peace, to shew the unity and amity of all there assembled, who, though not immediately, by the proxy of the pax kissed one another.

Item, For a pair of censers, copper and gilt, nine shillings and eightpence.] These were pots in the which frankincense was burned, perfuming the church during divine service.

Item, For a stock of brass for the holy water, seven shillings.] Which by the canon must be of marble or metal, and in no case of brick^c, lest the sacred liquor be sucked up by the sponginess thereof.

Item, For a chrismatory of pewter, three shillings fourpence.] This was a vessel in which the con-

^b 1 Cor. xvi. 20.

^c Durantus de Ritibus Eccles. num. 6 p. 173. [i. 21.]

secrated oil, used in baptism, confirmation, and extreme unction, was deposited.

Item, For a yard of silver sarcenet for a cloth for the sacrament, seven shillings eightpence.] Here some silkman or mercer must satisfy us what this was. The price seems too low for sarcenet inwoven with silver, and too high for plain sarcenet of a silver colour.

Item, For a pix of pewter, two shillings.] This was a box wherein the host, or consecrated wafer, was put and preserved.

Item, For Mary and John that stand in the rood-loft, twenty-six shillings eightpence.] *Christ on the cross saw his mother, and the disciple whom he loved, standing by*^d. In apish imitation whereof the rood (when perfectly made with all the appurtenances thereof) was attended with these two images.

Item, For washing eleven aubes and as many head cloths, sixpence.] An aube, or albe, was a priest's garment of white linen down to their feet, girded about his middle. The thin matter denoted simplicity; colour, purity; length, (deep divinity!) perseverance; and the cincture thereof signified the person wearing it prompt and prepared for God's service^e. Their head cloths were like our sergeants' coifs, but close, and not turned up.

Item, For watching the sepulchre, eightpence.] Thus the price of that service, but a groat in king Henry's days, was doubled. However, though popery was restored to its kind, yet was it not re-estimated in its former degree, in the short reign of queen Mary, for we find no mention of the former six obits anniversarily performed, the lands for whose

^d John xix. 26, &c.

^e Durantus de Ritibus Eccles. num. 9. p. 316. [ii. 9. § 9.]

maintenance were alienated in the reign of king Edward, and the vicar of the parish not so charitable as to celebrate these obits gratis, without any reward for the same.

Item, For a processioner, and a manual, twenty-pence.

Item, For a corporas cloth, twelvecence.] This was a linen cloth laid over or under the consecrated host.

Item, To the apparitor for the bishop's Book of Articles at the visitation, sixpence.] This bishop was bloody Bonner, that corpulent tyrant, full (as one said) of guts and empty of bowels, who visited his diocese before it was sick, and made it sick with his visitation. His articles were in number thirty-seven, and John Bale^f wrote a book against them. The bishop's chief care herein was the setting up of complete roods, commonly called (but when without his ear-reach) Bonner's block-Almighty. If any refused to provide such blocks for him, let them expect he would procure fagots for them.

Anno 1556, Mariæ tertio.

Imprimis, For coals to undermine a piece of the steeple which stood after the first fall, two shillings.] This steeple formerly stood in the middle (now east end) of the church; and being ruined past possibility of repair, fell down of itself, only a remaining part was blown up by underminers. How quickly can a few destroy what required the age and industry of many in long time to raise and advance!

It soundeth not a little to the praise of this parish, that neither burthensome nor beholden to the

^f Fox, Acts and Mon. p. 1474. [iii. 37.]

vicinage for a collection, they rebuilt the steeple at the west end of the church on their own proper cost, enabled thereunto, partly by their stock in the church box, arising from the sale (as is aforesaid) of the goods of the brotherhood, and partly by the voluntary contribution of the parishioners. This tower-steeple is eighty-six feet high from the foundation to the battlements, each foot whereof (besides the materials preprovided) costing thirty-three shillings fourpence the building^g. Three years passed from the founding to the finishing thereof, (every year's work discernible by the discolouration of the stones,) and the parish was forced, for the perfecting of the building, to sell their bells, hanging before in a wooden frame in the churchyard; so that Waltham, which formerly had steepleless bells, now had for some years a bell-less steeple.

The condition of the church from the beginning of queen Elizabeth to this day.

In eleven full years, viz. from the last of king Henry the Eighth, anno 1547, till the first of queen Elizabeth 1558, this church found four changes in religion; papist, and protestant; papist, and protestant again. The last turn will appear by the wardens' following accounts.

Anno 1558, Elizabethæ primo.

Imprimis, For the taking down of the rood-loft, three shillings twopence.] If then there living and able, I hope I should have lent an helping hand to

^g The thirty-three foot on the top (difficulty and danger of climbing made it the dear-er) cost forty shillings a foot, as appeareth by the church-wardens' accounts, anno 1563.

so good a work, as now I bestow my prayers that the like may never in England be set up again.

Item, Received for a suit of vestments, being of blue velvet, and another suit of damask, and an altar-cloth, four pound.

Item, For three corporases, whereof two white silk, and one blue velvet, two pound thirteen shillings fourpence.

Item, For two suits of vestments and an altar-cloth three pound.] Now was the superstitious wardrobe dispersed, and that (no doubt) sold for shillings which cost pounds. They were beheld as the garments spotted with sin, and therefore the less pity to part with them. But see what followeth.

Anno 1562, Elizabethæ quinto.

Item, For a cloth of buckram for the communion table, and the making, four shillings.] Having sold so much, could they not afford a better carpet? Is there no mean betwixt painting a face, and not washing it? He must have a fixt aim and strong hand who hits decency, and misseth gaudiness and sluttery. But there is a generation of people who overdo in the spirit of opposition; such conceive that a tressel is good enough for God's table, and such a table covering for itself.

Item, For lattices for the church windows, fifteen shillings.] Fain would I for the credit of our church by lattices understand casements, if the word would bear it. Yet surely it was not for covetousness wholly to spare glazing, but thrift to preserve the glass, that these lattices did fence them on the outside.

Item, Paid for a bay nag given to Mr. Henry Denny for the abbey wall, three pound seventeen

shillings.] This nag was rather a thankful acknowledgment of Mr. Denny his propriety, than a just valuation of what the parish received from him, for it followeth,

Item, To labourers which did undermine the said wall, forty-five shillings ninepence.] What then may the materials of that wall be presumed worth in themselves? I conceive this was a building which ranged east beyond the old steeple, the demolishing whereof brought much profit to the parish, whose wardens for some years drave a great trade in the sale of lead, stone and timber, all devoured in the roofing, flooring, and finishing of their steeple.

Anno 1563, Elizabethæ sexto.

Imprimis, For an old house in the old market-place, thirteen pound six shillings eightpence.] This tenement low-rented yielded annually nine shillings. Now the parish sold it and another house in West-street outright, letting leases also of their other church lands for twenty-one years, such bargains make a feast for the present age and a famine for posterity.

Item, For the old timber in the little vestry of St. George's chapel, fifteen shillings.] In vain have I inquired for the situation hereof, long since demolished, and no wonder if St. George his chapel cannot be found, when St. George himself is affirmed by some as one never existent in *rerum natura*^h.

Item, Received of Mr. Denny for one cope of cloth of gold, three pound six shillings eightpence.

^h Philippus Melancthon in Apologia, Confessionis Augustanæ Articulo 21.

Item, For two altar-cloths of velvet and silk, two pound.] It seemeth the parish did not part with all their gallantry at once, but made several stakes thereof, and parcelled them out as their necessities did require.

Item, Received of Mr. Tamworth twenty loads of timber ready hewed, which he gave to the parish.] This gentleman by his bounty to the public seems better known to God than to me, having neither heard nor read of any of his name living in or near to Waltham.

Item, For taking down the stairs in the abbey, seven shillings eightpence.] This was part of the nag-purchase, whereby we collect that a large structure was by this bargain conveyed to the parish.

Item, For taking down the lead from the charnel-house and covering the steeple, eighteen shillings.] The steeple was conceived above the charnel-house, as in height so in honour. Wherefore now the lead taken from it was translated to the covering of the steepleⁱ. Call this removing of this metal from one part of the church to another, only the borrowing of St. Peter to lend to St. Paul.

Item, For the archdeacon's man coming for a record of all the inhabitants of the parish, fourpence.] I know not on what canon this was founded. It may be her majesty in those dangerous times desired (not out of pride, but necessary policy) to know the number of her subjects, and might enjoin the archdeacons in their respective visitations to make this inquiry.

ⁱ Which is now but tiled.

High time
to knock off.

But day begins to dawn, and the light of our age to appear, matters coming within the memory of many alive. We will therefore break off, Waltham since affording no peculiar observables. Only will add that sir Edward (grandchild to sir Anthony) Denny, was created by king James baron of Waltham, and since made by king Charles earl of Norwich^k. A noble person, who settled on the curate of Waltham (to whom before a bare stipend of eight pound did belong) one hundred pound per annum, with some other considerable accommodations, tying good land for the true performance thereof.

James earl
of Carlisle
present
owner of
Waltham.

The abbey is now the inheritance of (this earl's grandchild by Honora his daughter) James Hay earl of Carlisle, who married Margaret, daughter to Francis earl of Bedford, by whom as yet he hath no issue, for the continuance of whose happiness my prayers shall never be wanting.

Nicholas
the most
eminent
abbot of
Waltham.

The reader may justly expect from me a catalogue of all the abbots of this monastery. But to do it falsely, I dare not; lamely, I would not; perfectly I cannot; and therefore must crave to be excused. Only let me observe, that Nicholas abbot of Waltham was most triumphant in power of any in his place; he flourished in the reign of king Richard the second, and was one of the fourteen commissioners chosen by parliament to examine the miscarriages in that king's reign since the death of his grandfather^l.

John de
Waltham.

Amongst the natives of Waltham for statesmen, John de Waltham bears away the bell. He was

^k Camden's Brit. in Essex.

^l Hen. de Knighton de Eventibus Angl. lib. v. p. 2685.

keeper of the privy seal in the reign of king Richard the second, being the third in number, chosen amongst the fourteen commissioners aforesaid, empowered to examine all misdemeanours of state. And now was not Waltham highly honoured with more than a single share, when amongst those fourteen two were her gremials, the forenamed Nicholas living in Waltham, and this John having his name thence, because birth therein ^m?

But amongst scholars in our town, Roger Wal-^{Roger Wal-}tham must not be forgotten, canon of St. Paul's in ^{tham a}London, and a great favourite to Fulk Basset, bishop ^{learned} thereof. He wrote many learned books, whereof ^{writer.}two especially (one called ⁿ *Compendium Morale*, the other *Imagines Oratorum*) commend his parts and pains to posterity.

Pass we from those who were born to eminent ^{Hugh Nevil}persons buried therein. Here we first meet with ^{buried in} Hugh Nevil, a minion of king Richard the first; he ^{Waltham.}was interred in Waltham church, saith my author, *in nobili sarcophago marmoreo et insculpto*, in a noble coffin of marble engraved^o. If a coffin be called *sarcophagus* (from consuming the corpse), surely sacrilege may be named *sarcophago-phagus*, which at this day hath devoured that coffin, and all belonging thereunto.

We spoil all, if we forget Robert Passellew, ^{And also} who was *dominus fac totum* in the middle, and *fac* ^{Robert} *nihil* towards the end of the reign of Henry the ^{Passellew.}third. Some parasites extolled him by allusion to his name Pass-le-eau, (that is, passing the pure

^m Hen. Knighton ut prius, p. 2685.

ⁿ Bale de Script. Brit. cent. IV. pag. 302.

^o Mat. Paris in anno 1222. page 315.

water) the wits of those days thus descanting upon him :

A heap of
difficulties
cast toge-
ther.

*Est aqua lenis, et est aqua dulcis, et est aqua clara,
Tu præcellis aquam, nam leni lenior es tu,
Dulci dulcior es tu, clara clarior es tu,
Mente quidem lenis, re dulcis, sanguine clarus* P.

But such who flattered him the fastest whilst in favour, mocked him the most in misery, and at last he died in his own house in Waltham, and was buried in the abbey church therein^q.

And now because we have so often cited Matthew Paris, I never met with more difficulties in six lines than what I find in him; which, because nearly relating to this present subject, I thought fit to exemplify.

Matthew Paris in anno 1242, p. 595.

Eodemque anno, videlicet in crastino Sti Michaelis dedicata est ecclesia conventualis canonicorum de Waltham ab episcopo Norwicensi Willielmo, solemniter valde, assistentibus aliis plurimis episcopis, prælatis, et magnatibus venerabilibus, statim post dedicationem ecclesiæ sancti Pauli Londinensis, ut peregrinantes hinc inde indistanter remearent.

And in the same year, namely the morrow after St. Michael's day, the conventual church of the canons at Waltham was dedicated by William bishop of Norwich very solemnly, many other bishops, prelates, and venerable peers assisting him: presently after the dedication of St. Paul's in London, that pilgrims and travellers up and down might indistantly return.

It is clear our church of Waltham abbey is intended herein, England affording no other conventual church^r.

^p Collection of Camden's MSS. in sir Tho. Cotton's library.

^q Matt. Paris anno 1252. [p. 840.]

^r See Speed his catalogue of religious houses.

This being granted, how comes Waltham church ^{Queries on queries.} (built by Harold two hundred years before) now to be first dedicated, that age accounting it as faulty and fatal to defer the consecration of churches as the christening of children? 2. What made the bishop of Norwich to meddle therewith, an office more proper for the bishop of London to perform, Waltham being (though not under) in his jurisdiction? 3. What is meant by the barbarous word *indistanter*, and what benefit accrued to travellers thereby? I will not so much as conjecture, as unwilling to draw my bow where I despair to hit the mark, but leave all to the judgment of others. But I grow tedious, and will therefore conclude.

Anno 1641, king Charles came the last time to ^{K. Charles his last coming to Waltham.} Waltham, and went (as he was wont where any thing remarkable) to see the church, the earl of Carlisle attending him; his majesty told him that he divided his cathedral churches, as he did his royal ships, into three ranks, accounting St. Paul's in London, York, Lincoln, Winchester, &c., of the first form; Chichester, Lichfield, &c. of the second; the Welsh cathedrals of the third, with which Waltham church may be well compared, especially if the roof thereof was taken lower and leaded.

The earl moved his majesty, that seeing this ^{Conditionally granteth the repairing of the church.} ancient church (founded by king Harold his predecessor) was fallen into such decay that the repair was too heavy for the parish, he would be pleased to grant a moderate toll of cattle coming over the bridge, (with their great drifts doing much damage to the highways,) and therewith both the town might be paved and the church repaired. The king graciously granted it, provided it were done with the

privity and consent of a great prelate, (not so safe to be named as easy to be guessed,) with whom he consulted in all church matters.

But it mis-
carrieth.

But when the foresaid prelate was informed that the earl had applied to his majesty before addresses to himself, he dashed the design, so that poor Waltham church must still be contented with her weak walls and worse roof, till Providence procure her some better benefactors. As for the arms of Waltham abbey, being loath to set them alone, I have joined them in the following draught with the arms of the other mitred abbeys, as far as my industry could recover them.

SOLI DEO GLORIA.





