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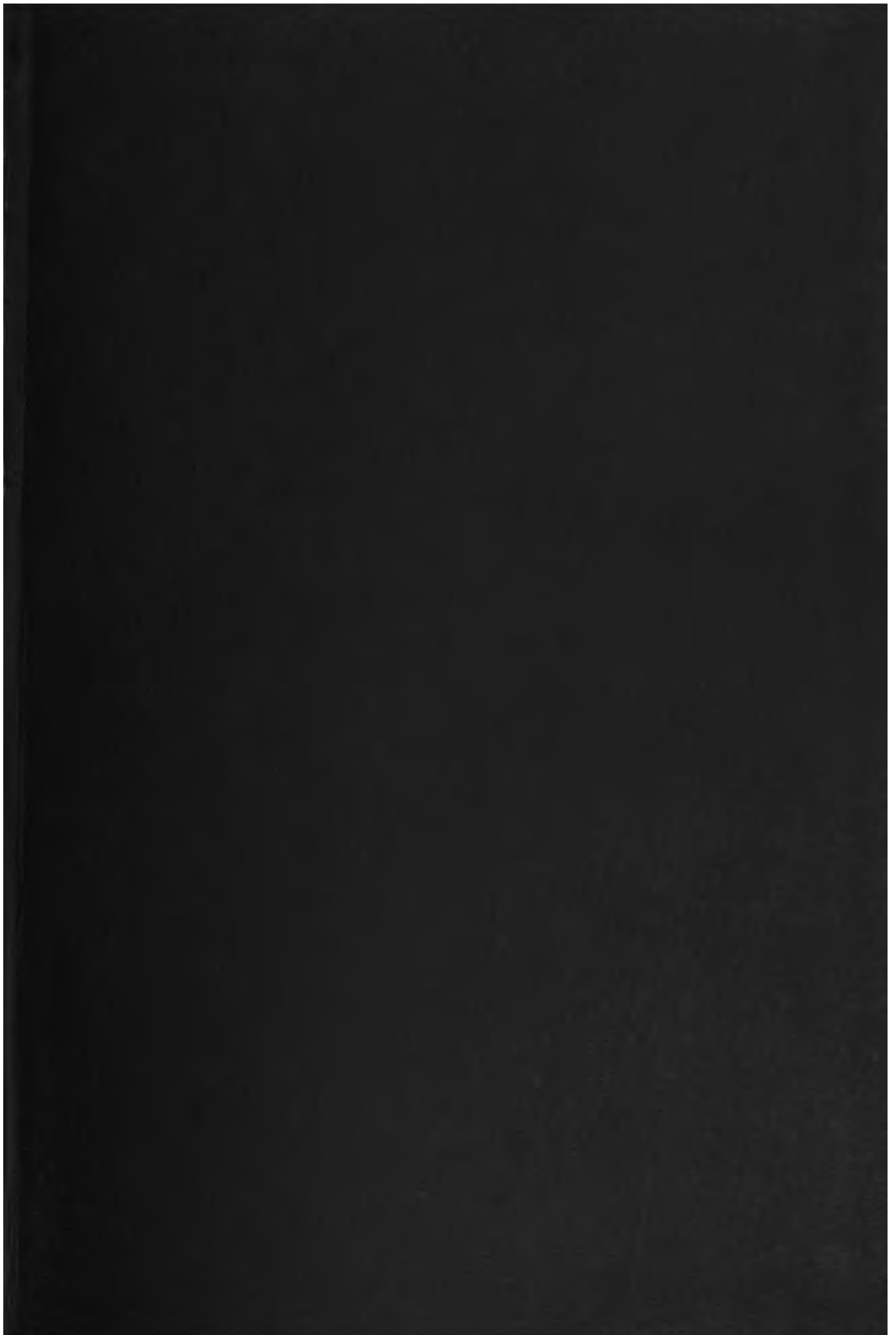
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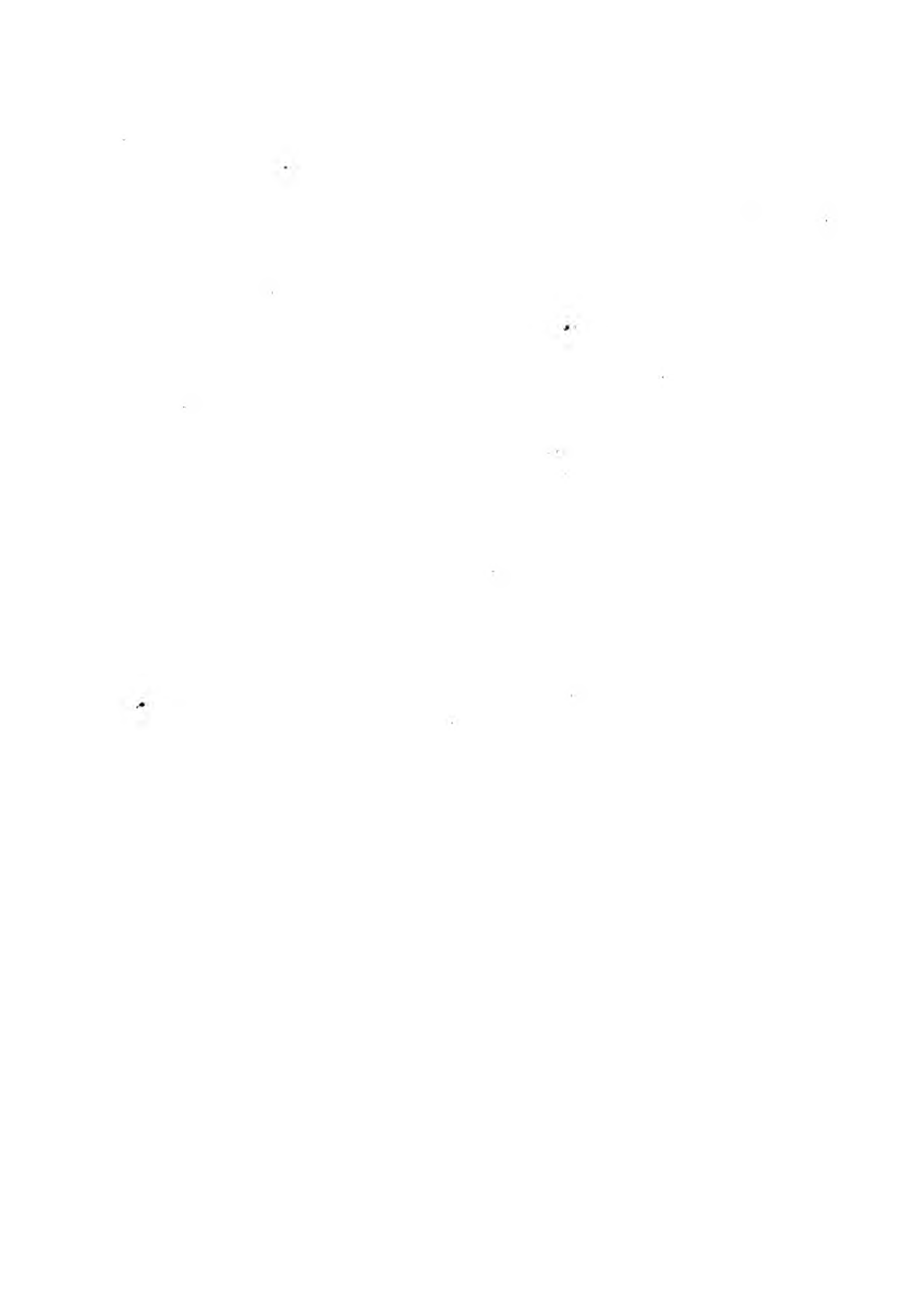
IN BRITISH  
CHURCH HISTORY



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MEN OF MARK  
IN  
BRITISH CHURCH HISTORY.

**MURRAY AND GIBB, EDINBURGH,  
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MEN OF MARK IN BRITISH CHURCH HISTORY.

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210. m. 508.



MEN OF MARK

IN

BRITISH CHURCH HISTORY.

BY

WILLIAM MARSHALL, D.D.,  
COUPAR-ANGUS,

AUTHOR OF

'THE PRINCIPLES OF THE WESTMINSTER STANDARDS PERSECUTING,' ETC.

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## P R E F A C E.



SKETCHES of Men of Mark, such as are commemorated in this volume, frequently appear in the popular literature of our day. The press has also of late been prolific of disquisitions on the Times of such men, many of them having previously served the requirements of the lecture-room. But these, however good in themselves, and however well fitted to serve the purposes immediately intended by them, have not met wants which many must have felt in perusing them. The sketches have generally been slight and meagre in the biographical information conveyed by them ; and the disquisitions have generally assumed an acquaintance with the history of the periods brought under review which the mass of readers do not possess. Something which should be

really brief Memoirs of the Lives of the Men, and glimpses of their Times, which might be interesting and satisfying to the reader, though he is not quite familiar with the history of these, seemed to be still a desideratum. This it has been the aim of the author of the following pages to supply : with what measure of success he has made the attempt, it is for the public to judge.



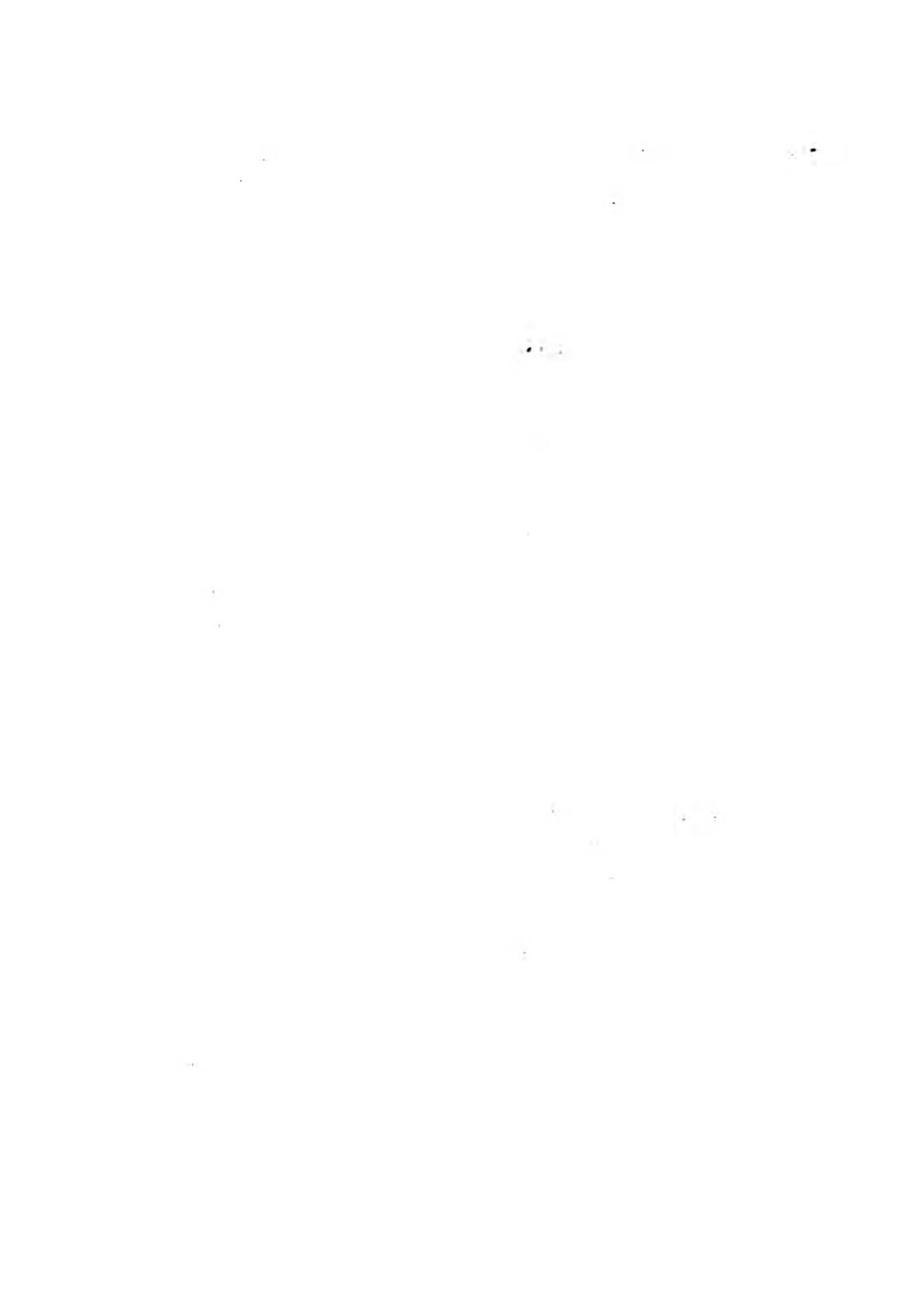


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## MEN OF MARK

IN BRITISH CHURCH HISTORY.

—◆—  
THOMAS A BECKET.

**T**HOMAS A BECKET has been pronounced the most celebrated Roman Catholic prelate in the English annals. His life is a deeply interesting study, both in itself and in the glimpses of his times which it opens to us.

Becket was born in London in 1119, in the reign of Henry I. His father, who was of Saxon descent, was Gilbert Becket, a city merchant of moderate means, but who, from his good reputation, had risen to serve for some time the office of Sheriff of London. Of his mother there are two accounts: the one is, that she was of the same race as her husband, and was born in the same condition of life. The other savours of the romantic, and is to this effect: that she was a Saracen lady; that

Gilbert Becket having gone to the Holy Land in one of the crusades, and having been taken a captive, came into possession of the lady's father, an Emir in Palestine; that the lady fell in love with him; that when he escaped from his servitude, and returned to his native country, she followed him, knowing no words of the language of the Western world except 'London' and 'Gilbert;' that by the use of these she at last found him in Cheapside; that her heroic affection won his heart; and that, after consulting with some bishops, he had her baptized by the name of Matilda, and married her. The former account, though the more prosaic of the two, is probably the authentic one. The latter is akin to another story, which bears that, as Becket's life ended with miracle, so it began with it. The story is, that his mother, before his birth, had a dream prophetic of his rising to be Archbishop of Canterbury; and that, at his birth, a person present received a supernatural impression, which broke forth into an exclamation confirmatory of the mother's dream!

Thomas was the only child of his parents. They destined him for the Church; and to perfect the education which he received in England, they sent him to Paris, whence he returned not only a proficient in the literature and science of the age, but an adept in all those military exercises and

polite accomplishments which were held to qualify for the rank of the knight or the cavalier. After being a short time in the office of the Sheriff of London, he made the acquaintance and friendship of a great Norman baron in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, with whom he indulged in racing, hunting, and hawking, though these amusements were forbidden to the down-trodden Saxons. But his chief patron was Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, discerning Becket's transcendent endowments and high acquirements, and charmed specially with his graceful and winning address, gave him deacon's orders, with the livings of St. Mary le Strand and Othford in Kent, and prebends in the Cathedrals of London and Lincoln. The impersonation from his youth of boundless ambition, he descried preferment thus opening to him ; but to fit him for rising to its high places he wanted one acquisition,—the knowledge, namely, of civil and canon law. But he prevailed on Theobald to send him first to Bologna, and then to Auxerre in Burgundy, to the two most famous schools of law which were then in existence.

His next promotion was to the archdeaconry of Canterbury, an honourable and well-salaried office ; and, appreciating his business talents, his patron forthwith employed him in two most delicate and important negotiations with the Court of

Rome. The first was, to recover for the see of Canterbury the legatine power which properly belonged to the Primacy, but which it had lost. The second was, to obtain from the Pope (Eugenius III.) a bull prohibiting any bishop to officiate at the coronation of Eustace, the son of Stephen, who was known to be aspiring to the throne; thus helping to secure the succession to Henry (Plantagenet), the son of the reigning sovereign. Becket was successful in both negotiations, became an immense favourite with Henry II., and was the constant companion of the dissipated monarch, not only in military exercises and in the sports of the field, but 'in all sorts of court festivities, and it is to be feared in revels.' He was made Provost of Beverley, Dean of Hastings, and Constable of the Tower; was put in possession of the honours of Eye and Beckham, large baronies that had been forfeited to the Crown, with three hundred and forty knights' fees; and to all the other gifts showered on him, Henry added the Chancellorship of England. The nation rejoiced in his advancement, more especially the Saxon portion of it, who, since the days of William the Conqueror, had been treated as aliens and slaves in their own country; and his high office he, upon the whole, magnified by the diligence, sagacity, and integrity which he brought to the discharge of its duties.

‘Tall in stature,’ Lord Campbell writes, ‘with a placid, handsome, and commanding countenance, his figure pleased the eye ; while his subtle reasonings, his polished elocution, and facetious gaiety won the heart. His loftiness of mind, that was proud and ceremonious with rank and power, softened into affability, gentleness, and liberality towards his inferiors and dependants. Popularity being his passion, he studied to be attractive, and he knew that the condescensions of greatness have still greater influence than its power. He was the first to give the office of Chancellor the pre-eminence and splendour which have since belonged to it.’

The magnificence of the state which he maintained as Chancellor has been often described, but any description can hardly convey an adequate idea of it. The furniture of his house vied with that of an Eastern palace in sumptuousness and splendour ; his table was daily crowded, many of the guests being the highest in the land, the King himself not seldom one of them ; and it groaned under the luxuries with which it was replenished, and the gorgeous vessels of silver and gold in which they were set forth. The chief nobility thought it an honour to be allowed to send their sons to be his servants, and to be educated by him and trained for the order of

knighthood ; and the monarch himself entrusted him with the education of Prince Henry, his eldest son, and the heir of his crown. His presents were frequent and munificent, being often gold and silver plate, most costly changes of raiment, palfreys, and war-horses. When he accompanied Henry to Toulouse, in his war with Louis about that duchy, he marched at the head of seven hundred knights, whom he had enlisted at his own expense. When he went with him in the subsequent wars to the frontiers of Normandy, he maintained for forty days twelve hundred knights and four thousand of their train. When Henry sent him to France to negotiate a marriage between his infant son and the daughter of the French king, his secretary and biographer, Fitzstephen, takes pages to tell how 'he prepared to exhaust and pour out the opulence of English luxury, that among all persons and in all things the sovereign might be honoured in his representative, and the representative in himself.' There was no end of his waggons and sumpter-horses, his hounds and hawks, his huntsmen and falconers. On entering a town, two hundred and fifty boys singing national songs formed the van of the procession ; next came his hounds, led in couples ; and next eight waggons, each with five large horses, and five drivers in new frocks. Each waggon was

covered with skins, and had a guard of two men and a fierce mastiff. Two of the waggons were loaded with ale for the people; in one were the vessels and furniture of Becket's chapel; in another were those of his bed-chamber; in another, his kitchen apparatus; in another, his plate and wardrobe; and the remaining two were for the use of his household servants. Twelve sumpter-horses followed the waggons, a monkey riding on each, and a groom behind on his knees. Then came the esquires, carrying shields, and leading their knights' war-horses; then other esquires, falconers, officers of the household, knights, and priests; and last of all the great man himself, with his intimate friends.

The French, as he passed through their towns and villages, ran out, and eagerly inquired, 'Whose family can this be?' and being answered, 'Behold the Chancellor of the King of England, going on a mission to the King of France!' they exclaimed, 'How wonderful must be the King of England himself, whose Chancellor travels in such a state!'

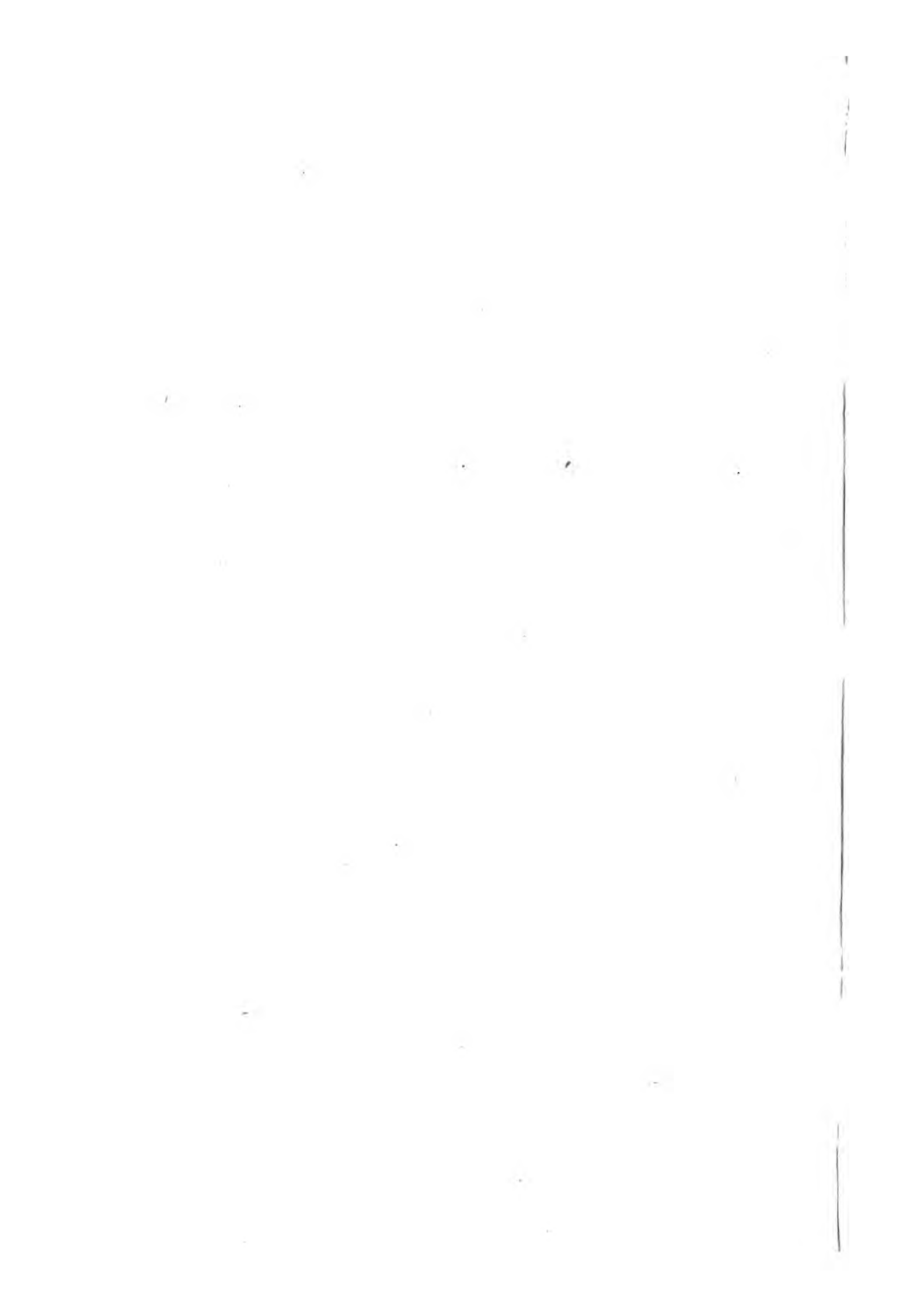
Fitzstephen tells a very interesting story of the King and Chancellor at this time:—'One cold, wintry day they were riding together through the streets of London, when they observed an old beggar-man coming towards them, wearing a worn-out, tattered garment. Said the King to the



Chancellor, "Do you see that man?" *Chancellor*—"I see him." *King*—"How poor, how wretched, how naked he is! Would it not be great charity to give him a thick, warm cloak?" *Chancellor*—"Great indeed; and you, as king, ought to have a disposition and an eye for such things." Meanwhile the beggar comes up; the King stops, and the Chancellor along with him. The King, in a mild tone, addresses the beggar, and asks him if he would like to have a good cloak? The beggar, not knowing who they were, thought it was all a joke. *The King to the Chancellor*—"You, indeed, shall have the grace of this great charity;" and putting his hands on a very fine new cloak of scarlet and ermine which the Chancellor then wore, he struggled to pull it off, while the Chancellor did his best to retain it. A great scuffle and tumult arising, the rich men and knights who formed their train, in astonishment hastened to find out what sudden cause of contest had sprung up, but could gain no information; both the contending parties were eagerly engaged with their hands, and seemed as if about to tumble to the ground. After a certain resistance, the Chancellor allowed the King to be victorious, to pull off his cloak, and to give it to the beggar. The King then told the whole story to his attendants, who were all convulsed with laughter. The old beggar-man walked off with the



MEN OF MARK IN BRITISH CHURCH HISTORY.



Chancellor's valuable cloak, enriched beyond his hopes, rejoicing, and giving thanks to God.'

While Henry and Becket thus seemed intimate and cordial friends, a sensitive mutual jealousy was fast springing up between the mitre and the crown.

That great question, older than the twelfth century, and not yet settled in the nineteenth, was taking shape and was being moved, namely, Which is the greater, the mitre or the crown, the ecclesiastical power or the civil, the Church or the State? Which of them is supreme? Which of them, a difference emerging between them, ought to prevail and rule? In all cases involving this question, or supposed to bear upon it, Becket had hitherto taken Henry's side. When the prelates and abbots of the Norman race—most zealous and valiant soldiers as long as they could enrich themselves with the plunder of the Saxons—refused, on the pretence that 'Holy Church forbade them to shed blood,' to serve in the field or to pay the tax substituted for personal service, the Chancellor overruled their scruples, and compelled them to pay, the heads of the Church violently inveighing against him; Foliot, Bishop of London, declaring that he had plunged a sword into the bosom of his mother, the Church, and even Archbishop Theobald, his former patron, threatening to excommunicate him. Becket despised their censures and menaces, and maintained

the right of the King to personal service, or to the tax in lieu of it, for all lands held by the Church. When some bishops one day, at a clerical meeting, talked loudly of their being independent of the royal authority, Becket confronted them, and showed the groundlessness of their boast. All this ingratiated him more than ever with Henry, and ensured him of the only further preferment which he could receive, or which man could give him.

Becket had a presentiment that this preferment, with its perils, awaited him. After a dangerous illness which he had in France, at Gervas, near Rouen, he was sitting one day playing at chess, dressed in a cloak with sleeves like a young courtier, when the following incident occurred which Fitzstephen relates:—‘Aschatinius, Prior of Leicester, coming from the King’s Court, then in Gascony, entered to pay him a visit, and addressing him with familiarity on account of their long intimacy, said: “How is it that you wear a cloak with sleeves? This dress is fitter for those who go a-hawking; but you are an ecclesiastical character,—one in *individuality*, but many in *dignity*,—Archdeacon of Canterbury, Dean of Hastings, Provost of Beverley, canon here and prebendary there—nay, the proxy of the Archbishop, and (as the report goes at Court) Archbishop soon to be.” To this

speech the Chancellor made answer among other things: "Truly, I know three poor priests in England, any one of whom I would rather wish to be promoted to the Primacy than myself; for if by any chance I were appointed, knowing my lord the King previously so well, I should be driven either to lose his favour, or (which Heaven forbend!) to sacrifice the service of God." Nevertheless this afterwards fell out as he foretold.'

Theobald died in 1161, and Henry immediately declared that Becket should succeed him as Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England. There was, he felt, urgent and growing need to defend the prerogatives of the Crown against the encroachments of the Church; and his Chancellor, he thought, was above all others the man to rely on for a zealous, vigorous, and triumphant defence of them. The clergy, jealous of the rights and immunities of the Church, could not trust them in his hand, raised the cry of 'the Church in danger,' and declaimed that it was 'indecent that a man who was rather a soldier than a priest, and who had devoted himself to hunting and falconry, instead of the study of the Holy Scriptures, should be placed in the chair of St. Augustine.' The King's mother, Matilda, was also strongly opposed to the appointment, and warned her son that he would find Becket, when independent of him, not

a tool, or even a servant, but a rival and an enemy. But all this opposition only made Henry the more resolute to effect his purpose; and he did effect it on the 3d June 1162. The Prior and monks of Canterbury, with the suffragan bishops, assembled at Westminster on that day, and, after many prayers and masses, elected Becket to the vacant see. They all concurred in the election except Foliot, who remarked, when the ceremony was over, 'that the King had worked a miracle, in having to-day turned a layman into an archbishop, and a soldier into a saint.' There had been no such miracle before; and there has been none to match it since, except in the case of Loyola, metamorphosed in like manner from a soldier into a saint.

On his elevation to the archiepiscopal dignity, Becket underwent a sudden and marvellous transformation. He immediately resigned the Chancellorship, sending the Great Seal to Henry with this short message: 'I desire that you will provide yourself with another Chancellor, as I find myself hardly sufficient for the duties of one office, and much less of two.' The only part of his old style which he retained, to strike and dazzle the vulgar, was the pomp and lustre of his retinue and attendants. 'In his own person,' says Hume, 'he affected the greatest austerity and most rigid mortification, which he was sensible would have

an equal or a greater tendency to the same end (affecting the "vulgar"). He wore sackcloth next his skin, which, by his affected care to conceal it, was necessarily the more remarked by all the world: he changed it so seldom, that it was filled with dirt and vermin. His usual diet was bread, his drink water, which he even rendered further unpalatable by the mixture of unsavoury herbs; he tore his back with the frequent discipline which he inflicted on it; he daily on his knees washed, in imitation of Christ, the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards dismissed with presents; he gained the affection of the monks by his frequent charities to the convents and hospitals. Every one who made profession of sanctity was admitted to his conversation, and returned full of panegyrics on the humility as well as on the piety and mortification of the holy prelate. He seemed to be perpetually employed in reciting prayers or pious lectures, or in perusing religious discourses; and all men of penetration plainly saw that he was meditating some great design, and that the ambition and ostentation of his character had turned itself towards a new and more dangerous object.'

The 'object,' as Henry saw when it was too late, was the exaltation of the tiara over the crown. To establish the supremacy of the Church, and the subjection of the State to it, was henceforth the



absorbing aim of his life. In pursuing it, he demanded the restitution of the barony of Tunbridge and of other properties, though they had been alienated from his see from before the Conquest, contending that no power on earth, and no length of possession, could ever make a lay title to them valid. He trampled on the well-known and established law that tenants of the Crown should not be excommunicated without the King's knowledge and consent, insolently maintaining that it did not belong to the King to inform him whom he should absolve and whom he should excommunicate. A priest in Worcester having debauched a gentleman's daughter, and murdered her father to secure himself against his resentment, Henry insisted that the villain should be tried by the civil magistrate. The Primate pleaded that the priesthood was not amenable to the magistrate, and refused to deliver him up.

This resolute attempt of the ecclesiastical power to encroach on the civil led Henry to convene all the prelates at Westminster, and to put this question to them, 'Whether they were willing to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom?' Their reply, which Becket had framed, was, 'We are willing, *saving our order*.' Highly indignant at the saving clause, the significance of which he perfectly understood, Henry stripped Becket of the

government of Eye and Berkhamstead, and of all the appointments which he held at the pleasure of the Crown, and threatened that he would seize on the temporalities of all the bishops. The Pope's legate, dreading an unseasonable rupture with so powerful a prince, advised Becket to submit for the present; and, withdrawing the saving clause in their answer, the clergy promised absolutely to 'observe the laws and customs of the kingdom.'

To define what those 'laws and customs' were, the King summoned a council of the nobility and prelates at Clarendon; and the conclusions to which the council came, taking their name from the place of meeting, are called 'The Constitutions of Clarendon.' They were decidedly for Henry, and against Becket. They settled, among many other things, that clerks accused of any crime should be tried in the King's courts; that suits concerning advowsons and presentations should be determined according to the common law; and that on no pretext whatever were questions of property and contract to be brought to the ecclesiastical tribunals. The fine theory of the independence of the Church and the State, and the supremacy of each in its own province, received no countenance from this council. On the contrary, it expressly enacted that the appeal in all spiritual causes should be carried from the archdeacon to the bishop, from

the bishop to the Primate, and *from the Primate to the King*, without whose consent it should go no further.

It was with the utmost reluctance that Becket signed these Constitutions. At first he positively refused to sign them, though urged by the Earls of Cornwall and Leicester, the barons of chief authority in the kingdom, and though he stood alone among the prelates, all of whom were too much 'cowards and timeservers,' as he called them, to oppose the wishes of the King. At length, at a private meeting of the prelates, his obstinacy was conquered. Richard de Hastings, Grand Prior of the Templars, threw himself at his feet, and entreated him with many tears, as he regarded his own safety and that of the Church, to yield. Becket cried out, 'It is my master's pleasure that I should forswear myself, which I resolve to do, and to repent afterwards as I may;' and then, marching at their head to the King, he took an oath, 'with good faith, and without fraud or reserve,' as he himself phrased it, 'to observe the Constitutions.'

When the Constitutions were sent up to Rome, Alexander III. peremptorily refused to ratify them—nay, he condemned them in the strongest terms, and abrogated, annulled, and rejected them, absolved all who had taken an oath to submit to them, and threatened with excommunication all

who should presume to enforce them ; and Becket, affecting the deepest remorse for having rashly acquiesced in such impious concessions, prevailed on his Holiness to absolve him from the offence, refusing, till he did so, to exercise any of his archiepiscopal functions. He also redoubled his austerities on his own body as a penance for his weakness ; and, encouraged by the support of the Pope, he resolved to fight out the battle on which he had entered, for what he deemed the rights and immunities of the Church.

Henry, equally resolved to fight out the battle, called a council to meet at Northampton, and peremptorily summoned Becket to attend. The Council, quite subservient to royalty, found him guilty of whatever Henry charged him with, up to high treason itself, and also held all the ruinous money claims made upon him to be good. These were £500, being commutation for his forfeited goods and chattels ; £300, being rents which he had received as warden of Eye and Berkhamstead ; £500, alleged to have been advanced to him when he was Chancellor, and lay before Toulouse ; and 400,000 marks, alleged to have been received by him from vacant bishoprics and abbeys during his Chancellorship. His pleas in answer to these very extraordinary claims, however relevant and conclusive, were all dismissed. The policy of the trial

was transparent. 'The object,' as Lord Campbell says, 'was to force his resignation, and Foliot strongly (not disinterestedly) advised him to yield ; but he would now sooner submit to martyrdom.'

The decisive day was October 18, 1164 ; and on the morning of it Becket celebrated the mass of St. Stephen, the first martyr, the office beginning with 'Princes sat and spake against me.' After mass he proceeded to Court, arrayed in his pontifical robes, and with his archiepiscopal cross in his right hand. The King's indignation knew no bounds. As Becket entered into his presence, he rose and withdrew into an inner apartment, the barons and bishops following him. The Bishop of Exeter, trembling at Henry's excessive exasperation, soon returned, threw himself on his knees, and besought the Primate to have pity on himself and his brethren ; for the King had vowed to slay the first of them who should dare to offer any excuse for his conduct. 'Thou fearest?' replied Becket ; 'flee, then ! thou canst not understand the things that are of God !' Thereafter the rest of the bishops appeared in a body, and Hilary of Chichester thus addressed him in their name : 'Thou wast our Primate, but now we disavow thee, because, after having promised faith to the King, our common lord, and sworn to maintain his royal customs, thou hast endeavoured to destroy them,

and hast broken thine oath. We proclaim thee, then, a traitor, and tell thee we will no longer obey a perjured archbishop, but place ourselves and our cause under the protection of our lord the Pope, and summon thee to answer before him.' 'I hear,' was all his reply.

The bishops having taken their seats on the opposite side of the hall, and solemn silence prevailing, the Earl of Leicester, at the head of the barons, desired Becket to listen to his sentence. 'My sentence!' he immediately interrupted. 'Son and Earl, hear me first. Thou knowest with how much faith I served the King,—with how much reluctance, and only to please him, I accepted my present charge, and in what manner I was declared free from all secular claims whatsoever. Touching the things which happened before my consecration, I ought not to answer, nor will I answer. You, moreover, are all my children in God, and neither law nor reason permits you to sit in judgment upon your father. I forbid you, therefore, to judge me; I decline your tribunal, and refer my quarrel to the decision of the Pope. To him I appeal; and now, under the holy protection of the Catholic Church and the Apostolic See, I depart in peace.' As he was withdrawing, some of the sycophants of the Court, lifting up straw and rushes from the floor, threw them at him; and one, whose

voice he recognised, called out to him, 'Traitor!' Turning round, with the spirit of the old knight sparkling in his eyes and beaming in every feature of his face, he rejoined, 'Were it not that my order forbids me, that coward should repent of his insolence.' He then mounted his horse, amid the acclamations of the inferior clergy and the common people, and rode in triumph to his lodgings, the crowd attending him shouting, 'Blessed be God, who hath delivered His servant from the hands of his enemies!'

Becket now asked permission to go beyond seas; and when told that he would have his answer tomorrow, dreading the worst that could happen, he stole out of Northampton at the dead hour of night, disguised as a simple monk, and calling himself Brother Dearman, and hastened to the coast, resting and hiding by day, and journeying by night; and embarking in a small boat, after much fatigue and many perils he landed at Gravelines, in Flanders, on the fifteenth day after he left Northampton.

He continued on the Continent for upwards of half a dozen years, during which there was no truce between him and Henry. He soon visited Louis, King of France, who was Henry's mortal enemy, and from him he had a most cordial reception. He next proceeded to Sens, the residence

at that time of Pope Alexander, who esteemed and honoured him highly for what he had suffered as well as done for the Church. He gave him a residence in the splendid convent of Pontigny; and there, wearing the habit of a Cistercian monk, he had for years a quiet and secure asylum,—living sumptuously, and receiving visitors with great magnificence, ample funds being supplied by the generosity of friends and admirers. Henry was enraged at these favours shown to an exile and a traitor, as he regarded him. He issued orders, prohibiting, under the severest penalties, all appeals to the Pope or to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and declared it treason to bring into the kingdom any mandate from the Court of Rome. He confiscated all Becket's property in England; banished his relatives and servants and dependants, to the number of four hundred; proposed an alliance with the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Pope Alexander's enemy; and showed himself inclined to recognise the Antipope, Pascal III., as Peter's true successor. He likewise drove Becket from Pontigny, threatening that, if he was allowed to continue in it, he would confiscate the possessions of all the Cistercian abbeys in England. Becket, on the other hand, issued a sentence of excommunication against all the King's ministry, and threatened the same sentence against Henry him-



self, if he did not immediately repent and atone for his past conduct.

If England generally took the side of Henry in this contest, the Continent still more generally took the side of Becket, lauding him as at once a hero and a martyr. At the coronation of his son, Prince Henry, the King filled up the measure of his iniquity, and brought the strife to a crisis. In his own lifetime he associated the Prince with himself in the kingdom; and the Archbishop of York, assisted by the Bishops of London and Salisbury, crowned him. This they did in derogation of the rights of the see of Canterbury, and contrary to a Papal bull, expressly enjoining that no English prelate except the Primate should officiate at that solemnity. Such direct and flagrant rebellion could not be endured. There was reason to dread that a Papal interdict would speedily avenge it. Henry dreaded this, and was anxious to avert it by bringing matters to an accommodation with Becket; and to this the latter was not indisposed. With the view of settling, if possible, the terms of a compromise between them, the kings of France and England met at Montmirail, and Becket was admitted to the conference. The terms proposed Henry was ready to accept, with this salvo, 'saving the honour of his kingdom;' and Becket was ready to accept them with the corresponding salvo, 'sav-

ing the honour of God and the Church.' 'Do you know,' said Henry to Louis, 'what would happen if I were to admit this reservation? That man would interpret everything displeasing to himself as contrary to the honour of God, and would so invade all my rights; but to show that I do not withstand God's honour, I will here offer him a concession;—what the greatest and holiest of his predecessors did unto the least of mine, that let him do unto me, and I am contented therewith.' Becket insisted on his salvo, and the conference broke up with strong prejudice against him for his unbending pride.

Several other conferences followed, in one of which the salvos on both sides were withdrawn.

But a new difficulty arose. Henry would not seal the agreement with the customary 'kiss of peace,' and so peace could not be made. He alleged that he was prevented by an oath, hastily sworn, that he should never kiss Becket.

The last conference took place on the 22d of July 1170, in a spacious and delightful meadow near Fereitville, on the borders of Touraine. It began auspiciously. Henry was first on the ground, and when Becket appeared he galloped to meet him, and saluted him respectfully, adding, 'As for the men who have betrayed both you and me, I will make them such return as the deserts of

traitors require.' Becket lighted from his horse, and threw himself at his sovereign's feet. Henry raised him up, and holding his stirrup, insisted that he should remount, saying, 'In short, my Lord Archbishop, let us renew our ancient affection for each other.' The covenant of peace was forthwith settled between them. The articles of it were: That the King should restore to the Archbishop the possession of the see of Canterbury, taking him into his grace and favour, and in mercy make amends to that Church for the injury it had sustained at the late coronation of his son; in return for which the King was promised love, honour, and every service which an archbishop could render in the Lord to his earthly sovereign; that the Archbishop should return to England to resume the exercise of his sacred functions, and that the King should furnish him with a sum of money to discharge his debts and defray the expense of his journey.

The 'kiss of peace' was still declined on French soil; 'but,' said Henry, taking a somewhat laxer view of his rash oath, 'in my own country I will kiss his face, hands, and feet a hundred times; but now let it be postponed. To salute him in England will be thought an act of favour and affection; it would look like compulsion here.'

The reconciliation was sincere on neither side.

So flagrantly did Henry immediately violate the terms of it, that Becket was obliged to borrow money for his journey homeward. And he returned to England with his heart as much set on taking revenge on his persecutor as on rendering him the 'promised love, honour, and every service,' etc. Landing at Sandwich, his march to Canterbury was like a triumphant procession, and he was received there with all enthusiasm and honour. After this he made a progress to London, which was one continuous ovation,—the populace acclaiming him the more cordially and loudly in consequence of the illusion which had taken possession of their minds, that the King and he had quarrelled because he had taken the side of the Saxon race. Of all this Henry heard in Normandy, where he was then residing. The Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London and Salisbury were with him; and they had fallen under the ban of the Church for officiating at the coronation of Prince Henry. Becket himself had excommunicated them, in the exercise of the legatine powers with which the Pope had invested him. They went to Normandy to demand redress of the King. 'We implore it,' said they, 'both for the sake of royalty and the clergy—for your own repose as well as ours. There is a man who sets England on fire; he marches with troops of horse and armed foot, prowling round the for-

tresses, and trying to get himself received within them.' Henry's fury rose to the highest pitch. 'How!' cried he, 'a fellow that hath eaten my bread, a beggar that first came to my Court on a lame horse, dares insult his king and the royal family, and tread upon the whole kingdom, and not one of the cowards I nourish at my table—not one will deliver me from this turbulent priest.'

Four courtiers, Reginald Fitzurse, William Tracy, Hugh de Morville, and Richard Brito, took note of his words, resolved, and bound themselves with an oath, to give their sovereign the riddance which he so passionately desired, and forthwith embarked for England for this purpose.

On arriving at Canterbury they proceeded to the archiepiscopal palace. Becket had a presentiment of his fate, but in the presence of his assassins maintained unruffled calmness and undaunted intrepidity. As they reproached and threatened him, and gnashed their teeth at him, 'In vain you menace me,' said he; 'if all the swords in England were brandishing over my head, your terrors could not move me. Foot to foot, you would find me fighting the battle of the Lord.' Leaving the apartment in the palace, they rushed to the forecourt, where the band of their accomplices was stationed. Becket went into St. Benedict's, where the monks were singing vespers. His murderers

followed him, and despatched him before the altar. As Lord Campbell has depicted the scene :—

‘As it was now dusk, the Archbishop might have retreated and concealed himself, for a time at least, among the crypts and secret passages of the building, with which he was well acquainted ; but, undismayed, he turned to meet the assassins, followed by his cross-bearer, the only one of his attendants who had not fled. A voice was heard—“Where is the traitor?” Silence for a moment prevailed ; but when Fitzurse demanded, “Where is the Archbishop?” he replied, “Here I am ; the Archbishop, but no traitor ! Reginald, I have granted thee many favours ; what is thy object now ? If you seek my life, let that suffice ; and I command you, in the name of God, not to touch one of my people.”

‘Being again told that he must instantly absolve the prelates (who had officiated at the coronation of Prince Henry), he answered, “Till they make satisfaction I will not absolve them.” “Then die,” said Tracy. The blow, aimed at his head, only slightly wounded him, as it was warded off by the faithful cross-bearer, whose arm was broken by its force. The Archbishop, feeling the blood trickle down his face, joined hands and bowed his head, saying, “In the name of Christ, and for the defence of His Church, I am ready to die.” To mitigate

the sacrilege, they wished to remove him from the church before they despatched him; but he declared he should there meet his fate, and, retaining the same posture, desired them to execute their intentions or their orders; and uttering his last words, he said, "I humbly commend my spirit to God, who gave it." He had hardly finished this prayer when a second stroke quickly threw him on his knees, and a third laid him prostrate on the floor at the foot of the altar. There he received many blows from each of the conspirators, and his brains were strewed upon the pavement.

'Thus perished, in the fifty-third year of his age, the man who, of all English Chancellors since the foundation of the monarchy, was of the loftiest ambition, of the greatest firmness of purpose, and the most capable of making every sacrifice to a sense of duty or for the acquisition of renown.'

The assassination of Becket outraged humanity, shocked the piety and the superstition of the age, and enlisted all the power and policy of Rome to fight to a decisive issue the battle in which he had fallen. His assassins, under the combined influence of remorse and terror, durst not return to the Court at Normandy, but slunk away to Knaresborough, in Yorkshire, where they were universally abhorred and shunned, scarcely one so much as eating and drinking with them. With the curse of murder

clinging to them, they betook themselves to Rome; and Pope Alexander III. admitted them to penance, and sent them to Jerusalem, to spend the residue of their days in the austerities which Holy Mother Church enjoins on such absolved offenders. They did so, and at their death were buried outside the door of the church in Jerusalem belonging to the Templars.

It is difficult for us to realize the sensation which Becket's tragical end produced. 'When the fearful news spread through Canterbury and the neighbouring country, the excitement was prodigious; and the then inevitable inference was drawn that Becket was a martyr, and miracles would be wrought at his tomb. For some time, however, the superior orders rejected this faith, and made efforts to suppress the veneration of the common people. An edict was published, prohibiting all men from preaching in the churches or reporting in the public places that Becket was a martyr. His old foe, the Archbishop of York, ascended the pulpit to announce his death as the infliction of divine vengeance, saying that he had perished in his guilt and pride like Pharaoh. Other ecclesiastics preached that the body of the traitor ought not to be allowed to rest in consecrated ground, but ought to be thrown into a ditch, or hung on a gibbet. An attempt was even made to seize the



body, but the monks, who received timely warning, concealed it, and hastily buried it in the subterranean vaults of the Cathedral. But it was soon found that the public voice, echoed, for its own purposes, by the Court of France, was too loud to be drowned in this manner. Louis, whom Henry had so often humbled, wrote to the Pope, imploring him to draw the sword of St. Peter against that horrible persecutor of God, who surpassed Nero in cruelty, Julian in apostasy, and Judas in treachery. He chose to believe, and the French bishops believed with him, that Henry had ordered the murder.'

The murder of the Primate caused Henry profound and bitter affliction. So, at least, he affected. He shut himself up in darkness and solitude, and for three days refused all sustenance. His courtiers broke in on him, consoled him as they best could, and occupied him with the consideration of precautionary measures against the consequences justly dreaded from so horrid an occurrence. The chief point was to convince the Pope that Henry had no participation in the crime. With this view a deputation was sent to Rome to protest his innocence, to declare his sorrow for the heinous deed committed in his dominions, and to promise in his name every submission which his Holiness might require. The deputation was successful. Instead of the whole kingdom being laid under

interdict, only in the church at Canterbury was divine service discontinued for about a year. The rage of the clergy being happily directed from the King, they employed themselves in exalting Becket. By and by he was canonized; and Henry, returning from Normandy to England, went to Canterbury, and there did penance, in token of his grief for the Primate's murder. When he came within sight of the city where the saint was buried, he alighted from his horse, walked barefooted in the garb of a pilgrim till he came to his tomb; and there Henry II., the proud King of England, and the possessor of as many provinces on the Continent as composed above a third of the whole French monarchy, after he had prostrated himself and prayed for a considerable time, submitted to be scourged by the monks, and passed all that day and night without any refreshment, kneeling on the bare stones.

His passionate words in Normandy to the three excommunicated prelates having suggested the idea of the assassination, he subjected himself to some voluntary penances for those words. He consented to maintain for a year two hundred knights for the defence of the Holy Land; and even to serve himself, should the Pope so require, for three years against the infidels—either the Moors in Spain or the Saracens in Palestine, as his Holiness might decide. He further engaged to restore to

the friends of the Primate all the lands and possessions belonging to them; and to allow appeals to be made to the Pope in good faith and without fraud, only reserving to himself the right of obliging appellants whom he suspected to give security that they would do nothing abroad to the injury of him or of his kingdom.

Fifty years afterwards Becket's body was deposited in a rich shrine. Visitors from all parts of Christendom brought to it the most costly gifts and offerings, and miracles without number were wrought at it. Every fiftieth year a jubilee was kept for fifteen days in honour of the saint, and plenary indulgences were granted to pilgrims to his tomb, who were registered at one time as amounting to the enormous multitude of 100,000. Compared with the worship of St. Thomas of Canterbury, all other worship was at a discount in the city. As has been said, it 'had quite effaced the adoration of the Deity, nay, even of the Virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered in one year only £3, 2s. 6d.; at the Virgin's, £63, 5s. 6d.; but at St. Thomas', £832, 12s. 3d. And next year the disproportion was still greater; for at God's altar not a penny was offered, the Virgin's obtained only £4, 1s. 8d., while St. Thomas got for his share £954, 6s. 3d;—a large sum, if the value of money in those times be considered, and a corre-

spondingly strong proof of the hold which superstition then possessed over men's minds. Even Louis VII. of France made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and bestowed on the shrine a jewel which was esteemed the richest in Christendom.'

We only add, that when Henry VIII. broke with the Court of Rome, and made himself Pope in England, in spite at all Roman pontiffs and their saints, he had Becket tried. His Attorney-General was instructed to file a *quo warranto* information against him for usurping the office of a saint. He was formally cited to appear in court to answer the charge. He did not appear; and but for the consideration and clemency of the King, judgment of *ouster* would have passed against him by default. But Henry would give him justice in full measure and running over, scorning to take any advantage of legal forms. At the public expense he appointed counsel for the absent Becket. The cause was called, the Attorney-General and the counsel were fully heard, and then sentence was solemnly pronounced. It was, that 'Thomas, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, had been guilty of contumacy, treason, and rebellion; that his bones should be publicly burnt, to admonish the living of their duty by the punishment of the dead; and that the offerings made at his shrine should be forfeited to the Crown.' A proclamation followed, stating

that, 'forasmuch as it now clearly appeared that Thomas Becket had been killed in a riot excited by his own obstinacy and intemperate language, and had been afterwards canonized by the Bishop of Rome as the champion of his usurped authority, the King's Majesty thought it expedient to declare to his loving subjects that he was no saint, but rather a rebel and traitor to his prince, and therefore strictly charged and commanded that he should not be esteemed or called a saint; that all images and pictures of him should be destroyed, the festivals in his honour be abolished, and his name and remembrance be erased out of all books, under pain of His Majesty's indignation, and imprisonment at His Grace's pleasure.'

Becket's tomb, we may add, paid Henry handsomely for the trouble of pillaging it. It was covered with plates of gold, and adorned with gems of large size and exquisite lustre. 'The spoil of this monument,' says Godwin, 'wherein nothing was meaner than gold, filled two chests so full, that each required eight strong men to bear them away. Among the jewels was a stone of especial lustre, called the Royal of France, which had been offered by Louis VII. in the year 1179, with a massy cup of gold. This stone Henry highly prized, and afterwards continually wore in a ring on his finger.'



## W Y C L I F F E.



**JOHN** DE WYCLIFFE, often and aptly called 'The Morning Star of the Reformation,' was born in 1324, in the parish and village of Wycliffe, near the junction of the Greta and the Tees, and a few miles north of Richmond in Yorkshire. His family are supposed to have been lords of the manor and patrons of the rectory of Wycliffe from the era of the Norman Conquest; and the property continued in their possession till 1606, when it passed by marriage into the family of the Tonstals.

Nothing is known of Wycliffe in his boyhood. He would get, we may be sure, the best education within reach—not improbably in the school of the Abbey of Egglestone, which was but a short distance from his home. That school was then in the height of its prosperity, and was just such

an institution as young men intended for the Church were likely to be put to.

When sixteen years of age, Wycliffe entered, as a commoner, Queen's College, Oxford, founded by Philippa, Queen of Edward III., and from whom it took its name. He continued in Queen's only a single year, when he passed to Merton, the College of the University which was then in highest repute. It was founded by Walter de Merton, Chancellor of England in the reign of Henry III.; the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1274 chose one of its Fellows for the office of Warden; and from that time it rapidly rose in celebrity, and gave a tutor to Edward III., and three Primates to England, viz. Bradwardine, Mephan, and Islep.

At Merton, Wycliffe soon and greatly distinguished himself, pursuing his studies with intense ardour, and becoming a Fellow in a few years. When initiated into logic and rhetoric, he turned his attention to other branches of knowledge—to canon, civil, and municipal law, in which he attained high proficiency; to philosophy, in which his contemporary and bitter enemy, Knyghton, was constrained to admit that 'in philosophy and scholastic discipline he is incomparable;' and to biblical and theological science, with which he acquired an acquaintance 'which had not been equalled,' says one, 'for many centuries; and his veneration for

the sacred writings procured him the honourable appellation of the Evangelic Doctor.' Altogether, he was a prodigy of learning, according to the learning of the age.

The first publication ascribed to Wycliffe was a small tract, entitled *The Last Age of the Church*, occasioned by the most frightful and fatal pestilence that ever visited England. It broke out in Tartary in 1345, crept slowly westward along the shores of the Mediterranean, wasted Greece and Italy, crossed the Alps, and desolated almost every corner of Europe. In London alone, 100,000 perished of it. The burials in the Charterhouse-yard, from Candlemas to Easter 1350, were upwards of 200 daily. Little more than a half of the population of the country survived it. It even seized on the brute creation; and the land was filled with putrid carcasses, and the air poisoned with the exhalations proceeding from them. *The Last Age of the Church* construed the plague-visit to be the scourge with which an angry God punished England for its sins; specially for its Church corruptions and abuses, prominent among which were the simony of the priests, and the tyrannous encroachments and exactions of the Papal power. From the terrible severity of the scourge, coupled with mystical interpretations of some Scripture prophecies, supported by some dreams of Abbot



Joachim and some sibylline verses, the conclusion of the writer was, that the condition of the world had become irremediable and unendurable, and that its dissolution was at hand. It is right to state, however, that the authorship of the tract, though it was long fathered on Wycliffe, is very doubtful, so that it cannot be justly referred to as evidence of any of his opinions.

It was years after this when Wycliffe openly proclaimed against the Begging Friars—the mendicant orders of the Church of Rome—that war which ended only with his life. More than a century before, those orders had been instituted to check and correct the corruptions of the parochial or secular clergy, and to set them an example of all priestly excellence, specially of devotion to the interests of the Church ; and prior to the Reformation, they were, what the Jesuits have been since, the life and soul of the Papacy. For a brief period they promised to serve the laudable end of their institution ; but they speedily and wofully degenerated. Good Bishop Grosseteste, who had at first a favourable opinion of them, lived to pronounce them ‘the heaviest curse that had ever fallen upon Christianity.’ ‘In less than an age,’ says Wharton, ‘the cheat of their imposture became manifest to all men. They . . . infinitely surpassed the wickedness of which they themselves

had (perhaps unjustly) accused the secular clergy, and long before the Reformation became the most infamous part of the Church of Rome.'

The friars affected great humility; but they might have sat for the picture of pride, arrogance, and insolence. They affected primitive simplicity, self-denial, and mortification; but jolly Friar Tuck in *Ivanhoe* was a fair average specimen of them:

'The Friar has walked out, and where'er he is gone,  
The land and its fatness is marked for his own;  
He can roam where he lists, he can stop when he tires,  
For every man's house is the barefooted friar's.

'He's expected at noon, and no wight till he comes  
May profane the great chair and the porridge of plums;  
For the best of the fare, and the seat by the fire,  
Is the undenied right of the barefooted friar.

'He's expected at night, and the pastry's made hot,  
They broach the brown ale, and they fill the black pot;  
And the goodwife would wish her goodman in the mire,  
Ere he lacked a soft pillow, the barefooted friar.

'Long flourish the sandal, the cowl, and the cope,  
The dread of the devil and trust of the Pope!  
For to gather life's roses, unscathed by the briar,  
Is granted alone to the barefooted friar.'

The friars affected great sanctity; but age after age, the chief employ of all the power of satire which Christendom possessed was to hold up their scandalous lives to public execration.

They affected contempt of the unrighteous mammon—their institution had a vow of poverty for its very foundation ; but the Papacy owed to them much of the enormous wealth which was every way so baneful to it, and which at last proved an irresistible temptation to the cupidity of its spoilers. Even in Wycliffe's day the wealth of the Popish Church was truly enormous.

It is calculated, that 'in 1337 the gross incomes of the ecclesiastics of England amounted to 730,000 marks,' then equal in value to a sum of our present money so large as almost to exceed belief. This income included the tithes, as well as the rents of all the manors and estates of the parochial clergy and the religious orders. All the great landed properties of the country were then held as military fiefs under the Crown. It appears from a public return that the whole number of such fiefs was 53,000, and of these 28,000 were held by ecclesiastics, bringing out the striking fact that the clergy were in possession at that time of more than half of the landed property of the kingdom. In addition to its fixed revenue, there was constantly flowing into the treasury of the Church the ordinary oblations at the offertory, and those presented at the shrines of the saints. There were, besides, the fees for one or other of those manifold religious services which were connected with almost every

great incident of life ; there were the gifts of the dying, and the costly masses for the dead. A box which stood under the great cross of the Cathedral of St. Paul's yielded about £9000 per annum. One year the offerings at the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket amounted to the almost incredible sum of £14,310. To die in those days without leaving anything for pious purposes was regarded as a robbery of the Church, which she punished by taking the administration of the affairs of those who died intestate into her own hands. There were celebrated in the course of a year, within St. Paul's Cathedral, 111 funeral services, or anniversary services for the dead, the payments for which realized upwards of £40,000. In a will made in the reign of Richard III., Lord Hastings bequeathed property to the value of above £10,000 to the conventual establishments, on condition that, as soon as notice of death was given, "a thousand priests shall say a thousand Placebos and Diriges, with a thousand masses for my soul, if reasonably possible ;" and on condition, also, that a perpetual yearly service shall be sustained "for the souls of me and my wife, myn ancestors, and all Christian souls," to be performed "solemnly, with note, Placebo, and Dirige, and on the morrow mass of requiem, with note." Dr. Milman is inclined to believe that, taken altogether, the revenue springing from such sources as

those now indicated must have been as large as those derived from the permanent endowments.'

It unspeakably aggravated the evil, that this wealth was to a large extent the product of a systematic traffic in the souls of men. For the sake of filthy lucre, the friars made merchandise of souls. They deceived them to their undoing, and they made them pay for the deception practised on them. They sold them indulgences, pardons, masses to deliver them from purgatory, etc. etc. ; and they confirmed them in their delusions by lying legends and lying miracles. The latter were the staple of their preaching and work throughout the country. As one specimen of these, when St. Anthony of Padua was preaching in Lisbon, his native city, the lover of a young lady there was murdered by two of her brothers, and buried in a neighbouring garden, which belonged to the aged father of Anthony. The body was found, the old man charged with the murder, and convicted. Sentence of death was passed on him, and he was about to be led out to execution, when, borne through the air from Padua to Lisbon by an angel, Anthony himself appeared, ordered the dead body to be produced, and obliged it to tell the whole tale of the murder ! As another specimen, a certain heretic, Bovadilla by name, doubted the Real Presence in the sacrifice of the mass, and nothing

but a miracle would remove his doubts. St. Anthony, in carrying about the host in procession, encountered the mule of Bovadilla. In a moment, at the command of the saint, the mule fell on its knees. Bovadilla stood amazed. First he tried to rouse the animal, and then he tempted it aside by holding out to it a sieve full of oats. But no ; the mule, rebuking its master's want of faith, remained kneeling till the host had passed.

A third like tale, illustrative of the friars' gospel, is yet more wonderful, and we shall give it in Dr. Hanna's well-told version of it: 'In 1306 a woman of Paris pledged her best gown with a Jew. When Easter-day drew near, she naturally enough wished to be as fine as her neighbours. As she had not money enough to redeem the dress, she earnestly entreated the Jew to lend it to her till the Monday, promising to pay double interest for the loan. He would do it only on one condition: that, keeping it unswallowed in her mouth, she brought to him the host, the wafer which she should receive from the priest. She refused at first to do so horrible a thing. But the Jew was inexorable, and her vanity prevailed. She got the gown and brought the wafer. Eagerly seizing it, the Jew exclaimed, "Art thou the God of the Christians? Art thou he whom their mad credulity believes to have been born of the Virgin? If thou art he whom my

fathers crucified, I will make trial of thy divinity ;” and so saying, he flung the wafer into a basin of boiling water. Immediately a beautiful boy appeared. The Jew, instead of being converted, seized a fork, and tried to force him beneath the water ; but however well his strokes were aimed, they fell always upon the water, and the beautiful child appeared at the other side untouched. The Jew ran round and round the vessel, renewing the attempt. His children heard the noise, ran in to see, and then, frightened at what they saw, ran out into the street to tell the wonder. The people eagerly came in and watched the conflict. The rumour ran through the city. The Bishop of Paris and his clergy hastened to the scene, released the host out of the hands of the Jew, and carried it in procession to the Church of St. John de Grania, where, says the undoubting relater, it is kept even to this day.’

It was not living saints alone who did such wonders ; the relics of departed saints were as potent to perform them, and they were part of the travelling gear of the friars. Before their day, those relics were kept in shrines, to which the faithful must resort ; but the friars hawked them over the country, bringing them to everybody’s door, so that, for a consideration, all might have the benefit of them quite conveniently. ‘Above all, the friars

had in hand the primary indulgences of the Pope. As successor of St. Peter in the Primacy, the Pope claimed to be the sole custodier and sole dispenser of that infinite stock of merit, made up of the works of supererogation of all the saints, with the merits of the Redeemer Himself superadded. While an ordinary priest could grant absolution for the particular sin or sins confessed, it was the Pope alone who, out of that vast magazine of merit, could dispense the plenary absolution which covered all transgressions, shielding from the punishment due to them both here and hereafter. The Pope could transfer to whom he pleased the privilege of distributing the indulgences thus granted in his name, and he chose to bestow it on his faithful friends and allies, the friars.'

All this imposture and delusion filled the soul of Wycliffe with detestation and loathing, and with great power he exposed and denounced it—now by argument, and then by invective; now in terms of burning indignation, and then in terms of pungent, blasting sarcasm. In 1360 he published his *Objections to the Friars*; in which, as has been justly remarked, the 'errors and vices of the Mendicants had never been so generally or so forcibly assailed; and while those who preceded aimed only at the removal of particular abuses, he perceived that the institution itself was unnecessary



and pernicious.' He thus made the friars, who were numerous and powerful, his deadly enemies ; but the number of his friends also meanwhile increased.

In 1361, when he had been twenty-one years at Oxford, the Society of Balliol College presented Wycliffe to the rectory of Fillingham, in Lincolnshire, a living which he afterwards exchanged for Lutgershall, in Bucks ; and the same year he was made Master of Balliol College. After he had held the mastership for four years, Islep, Archbishop of Canterbury, appointed him Warden of Canterbury Hall. On Islep's death, which happened soon, Langham, his successor, who had been Abbot of Westminster, and still retained the spirit of a monk, removed the new Warden, and put Woodhall, who had been a restless and intriguing monk, in the office. Wycliffe appealed to the Pope, who, after years of delay, gave sentence against him ; decreeing, at the same time, in direct opposition to the original charter of the foundation, that none but monks had any right to remain perpetually in Canterbury Hall ; and for a bribe of two hundred marks, the King basely acquiesced in the decree, and confirmed it.

In 1365 the Pope, Urban V., reasserted the civil supremacy of the See of Rome over England. He did this by renewing his claim to the thousand

marks annually which King John had promised his Holiness on that humbling day when he 'yielded up to . . . our lord Pope Innocent and his successors all our kingdom of England, and all our kingdom of Ireland, to be held as a fief of the Holy See,' together with the arrears which had accumulated for the last thirty-three years, during which those marks had not been paid. The claim was made on the King, Edward III., who was warned that if he refused to comply with it, he would be summoned to appear at the Papal Court, to answer for his disobedience to his civil and spiritual superior. Edward laid the claim before Parliament, which promptly and unanimously decided: 'Inasmuch as neither King John nor any other king could bring his realm and kingdom into such thraldom and subjection but by common assent of Parliament, the which was not given, therefore that which he did was against his oath at his coronation. If, therefore, the Pope should attempt anything against the King, by process or other matters in deed, the King, with all his subjects, should with all their force and power resist the same.'

In support of Urban's claim, a monk forthwith published a tract, in which he called upon Wycliffe by name to answer his arguments. This was significant of the place to which Wycliffe had risen.

It bore that he was acknowledged on all hands as being, above every other man in England, the champion of the Crown *versus* the Mitre. He accepted the challenge, and nobly vindicated the prerogatives of the sovereign, and the independence and freedom of the kingdom, against the aggressions and usurpations of the Papal Court; stoutly and triumphantly maintaining the right and duty of the King and Parliament to refuse the vassal tribute demanded; as also to insist on the subjection of all ecclesiastics to the civil power in all civil matters, and even to alienate, should it seem fit to them, the property of the Church.

For the important service thus rendered, Edward made Wycliffe one of the royal chaplains. About the same time (1372) he was appointed Doctor of Divinity and Professor thereof at Oxford; and commenced those public lectures on theological subjects 'which,' it has been said, 'were received with great applause,' the lecturer 'having such authority in the schools, that whatever he said was received as an oracle.' And he took care to say what he believed to be the truth of God, unfolding it distinctly and fully, and defending it against the denials and perversions and caricatures of it that were so prevalent in his time. Among his works of this period is his *Commentary on the Decalogue*, an enduring monument of his erudition,

soundness in the faith, and holy zeal, and of the effectiveness of his work as a pioneer of the Protestant Reformation. He was but as 'the voice of one crying in the wilderness;' but a few extracts from the Commentary just named will show how reasonable and momentous what he cried was.

He thus comments on the first commandment: 'If a man will keep this commandment, he must believe stedfastly that Almighty God in Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons in one God, are the noblest object that may have being; all power, all wit, all mercy, all charity, and all goodness being in Him and coming of Him. Also, thou must fear God above all things in this world, and keep His commandments for the sake of no worldly good; also, thou must love God above all things, and thy neighbour as thyself; labouring diligently to understand the law of God, especially His ten commandments, and watching that thy will be so regulated that it may accord with God's will.'

This exposition shows Wycliffe's discernment of the spirituality and exceeding breadth of the divine law; as does another treatise of his on the ten commandments, which appeared in his *Poor Caitiff*, or the *Poor Man's Library*, as it has been called,—a collection of tracts written by him for the purpose of 'teaching simple men and women

the way to heaven.' 'Let each man,' says he, 'look into his own conscience, upon what he most sets his liking and thought, and what he is most busy about to please; and that thing he loveth most, whatsoever it be. And what thing a man loveth most, that thing he maketh his god. Thus each man wilfully living in deadly sin makes himself a false god, by turning away his love from God to the lust of the sin which he useth. And thus, when man or woman forsakes meekness, which Jesus Christ commendeth, and gives himself to highness and pride, he makes the fiend his god; for he is king over all proud folk, as we read in the book of Job. And the idle man hath sloth and slumber for his god. The covetous man and woman make worldly goods their god; for covetousness is the worst of all evils, and serveth to idols as to false gods, as St. Paul saith. Thus every man and woman using deadly sin breaks this first commandment, worshipping false gods.'

The necessity of obedience to the commandments Wycliffe constantly insisted on, in opposition to all the deceits by which Popery persuaded men that they might live in the breach of them, and yet get to heaven. It practically licensed licentiousness, by selling pardons for both the living and the dead; giving assurance that if only money enough was paid down, the Pope, who had the

'keys of Paradise,' would open it to all in whose behoof the money was paid, and shut them in. Against this delusion, red with the blood of myriads of souls, Wycliffe ever and anon lifted up his warning voice in such terms as these: 'Many think that if they give a penny to a pardoner, they shall be forgiven the breaking of all the commandments of God, and therefore they take no heed how they keep them. But I say unto thee for certain, though thou have priests and friars to sing for thee, and though thou each day hear many masses and found chantries and colleges, and go on pilgrimage all thy life, and give all thy goods to pardoners, all this shall not bring thee to heaven.'

Moreover, obedience to the law of God Wycliffe always enforced by motives drawn from the gospel, and the grace of it. Thus, on the fourth commandment, after explaining that the Christian Sabbath is to be regarded as commemorative more of the resurrection of Christ and the gift of the Spirit, than of the work of the old creation, he adds: 'Bethink thee heartily of the wonderful kindness of God, who was so high and so worshipped in heaven, that He should come down so low, and be born of the Maiden, and become our brother, to buy us again by His hard passion from our thralldom to Satan. He was beaten, and buffeted, and

scourged, until His body was as one stream of blood. He was crowned with thorns for despite. He was nailed, hand and foot, with sharp nails and rugged; and so, at last, He suffered a painful death, hanging on the hard tree. And all this He did and suffered of His own kindness, without any sin of Himself, that He might deliver us from sin and pain, and bring us to everlasting bliss. Thou shouldest also think constantly how, when He had made thee of nought, thou hadst forsaken Him and all His kindness through sin, and hadst taken thee to Satan and his service, world without end, had not Christ, God and man, suffered this hard death for thee; it should be full, sweet, and delightful to us to think thus on this great kindness and great love of Jesus Christ.'

In 1350 the two statutes of Provisions and Premunire had been passed, as bulwarks against Papal aggression. The first declared that the Court of Rome should not collate to any benefice or living in England; and that if any person, by virtue of a writ from Rome, disturbed a patron in the presentation of a living, such a person should pay fine and ransom to the King, and be imprisoned till he renounced his pretended right. The second statute forbade, under the severest penalties, the introduction or circulation of bulls or mandates prejudicial to the King or people, and all appeals

to the Papal Court on questions of property from the judgment of the English tribunals.

These statutes, though urgently needed, had produced little good effect. Rome was at no loss for devices to evade them. For example, in the face of the first of the statutes, the Pope 'anticipated,' as he pleasantly called it, presentation to vacant benefices. He sold the privilege of expecting them when they fell vacant! When vacancies occurred, those who had purchased from his Holiness the privilege of expecting the livings got them; or if the rightful patrons battled with the Pope for their rights, their presentees had to 'pay the Pope's provisors.' In either case his coffers were replenished; and to such an extent was this done, that 'Gregory IX. in the course of a few years drained England of no less a sum than 950,000 marks—£15,000,000 sterling—partly in the revenues of benefices conferred on his nominees, and partly by direct taxation of the clergy.'

Such barefaced and insatiable robbery was intolerable; the nation's complaints of it were both deep and loud; and after other vain attempts to abate the grievance, a Commission was sent to the Pope in 1374, to insist on its being redressed. It shows the public confidence and esteem with which Wycliffe was now regarded, that his name stood second on the list of the seven commissioners.



It was at Bruges that the nuncios met with them for conference, but the Papal residence was then at Avignon; and Wycliffe's visit to Bruges, and his intercourse with the dignitaries of the Papal Church, had much the same effect on him that Luther's visit to Rome in 1510 had on the German Reformer. His convictions and spirit as a Reformer were greatly deepened and intensified. And no wonder; for what says Petrarch of Avignon, the seat of the Papacy, during the seventy years of its captivity there? 'You imagine,' he says in a letter to a friend, 'that the city of Avignon is the same now that it was when you resided in it. No; it is very different. It was then, it is true, the worst and vilest place on earth; now it is become a terrestrial hell, an abode of fiends and devils, a receptacle of all that is most wicked and abominable. What I tell you is not from hearsay, but from my own knowledge and experience. In this city there is no piety, no fear of God, no faith or charity—nothing that is holy, just, equitable, or humane. Why should I speak of truth, where not only the houses, palaces, courts, churches, and the thrones of Popes and cardinals, but the very earth and air seem to teem with lies? A future state, heaven, hell, and judgment, are openly turned into ridicule as childish fables. Good men have, of late, been treated with so much scorn and contempt, that

there is not one left among them to be an object of their laughter.'

Wycliffe returned to England in 1376, and the King testified his appreciation of his services by presenting him to the prebend of Aust, in the collegiate church of Westbury, in the diocese of Worcester, and about the same time to the rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire. With rising dignity and influence, his reforming zeal and labours increased. He had a high idea of the dignity of preaching, and great faith in the power of the pulpit—in other words, in the faithful, earnest, instant preaching of the gospel. 'The highest service,' says he, 'that men ever attain to on earth is to preach the word of God. This service falls peculiarly to the priests, and therefore God more straitly demands it of them. Hereby should they produce children to God. Surely it might be well to have a son that were lord of this world; but fairer much it were to have a son in God, who, as a member of Holy Church, shall ascend to heaven! And for this cause Jesus Christ left other works, and occupied Himself mostly in preaching; and thus did His apostles, and for this God loved them. And accordingly, Jesus Christ, when He ascended into heaven, commended it specially to all His apostles to preach the gospel freely to every man. So also, when Christ spoke

last with Peter, He bade him thrice, as he loved Him, to feed His sheep. In this stands the office of the spiritual shepherd. And as the bishop of the temple hindered Christ, so is He hindered by the hindering of this deed. Therefore Christ told them that, at the day of doom, Sodom and Gomorrah should fare better than they. And thus, if our bishops preach not in their own persons, and hinder true priests from preaching, they are in the sin of the bishops who killed the Lord Jesus Christ.'

Agreeably with these views, Wycliffe was himself a great preacher. No fewer than three hundred of his sermons, probably collected and published by his curate, have been handed down to us; and they give us a pretty fair idea of how he preached the word unto the people. We gather from them, too, what the doctrines were which he found in the Bible, and declared to men as the gospel, by the knowledge and faith of which they are saved; and they are substantially the doctrines which evangelical Christendom holds at this day. He preached, for example, salvation by grace, not of works. For human merit there was no place in his theology. 'We should know,' says he, 'that faith is the gift of God, and that it may not be given to men except it be graciously. Thus, indeed, all the good which men have is of God; and accordingly, when God

commendeth a good work of man, He commendeth His own gift. This, then, is also of grace, even as all things are of grace that men have, according to the will of God. God's goodness is the first cause why He confers any good on man; and so it may not be that God doeth good to man, but if He do it freely, by His own grace; and with this understood, we shall grant that men deserve of God.'

While Wycliffe himself laboured most assiduously, in season and out of season, he also organized a staff of fellow-labourers, to assist him in reaping the wide, wide fields that were so white to harvest. He sent forth his evangelists—his 'poor priests,' as they were called—a large body of humble, plain, devoted men, who had learned from him the way of life, and were willing and eager to teach it to their fellow-men. 'If begging friars,' said he, 'still rule the country, preaching the legends of saints and the history of the Trojan war, we must do for God's glory what they do to fill their wallets, and form a vast itinerant evangelization, to convert souls to Jesus Christ.' His 'poor priests' went forth to their work barefoot, dressed in russet, unencumbered by money or provisions, but trusting for the means of subsistence from those to whom they should minister. Crowds listened to their homely, heart-stirring discourses, and welcomed them into their houses. Their mission was signally

successful, as for the immediate good of souls, so for shaking the whole fabric of Popery in the land. The Popish clergy took the alarm, and passed a 'private statute,' requiring the King's officers to imprison both the preachers and their hearers. Wycliffe himself was, above all others, obnoxious to them. In a Convocation of clergy which met early in 1377, Courtenay, Bishop of London, moved that he should be summoned before them, to be examined as to his teaching, on the 19th February, in our Lady's Chapel in St. Paul's. He did appear, attended by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and by Henry Percy, Earl-Marshal of England—two noble patrons who now openly took his side. As they were with difficulty working their way forward in the chapel through the press, 'Let not the sight of these prelates make you shrink a hair's-breadth from the confession of your faith,' whispered the Duke; 'we are here to defend you.' Impatient of the slow progress they were making through the crowd, Lord Percy forced on, desiring Wycliffe to follow. Noticing this, Courtenay, who presided, called aloud to Percy, that 'if he had known what mastery he would have kept in the church, he would have prevented his entering it.' John of Gaunt replied for Percy, 'He shall keep such masteries though you say nay.' When they had reached the prelates, behind the high altar,

'Wycliffe,' said the Earl-Marshal, 'be seated ; you have many things to answer, and you will need the rest.' 'Not so,' exclaimed Courtenay ; 'criminals stand in the presence of their judges.' 'Lord Percy's motion is but reasonable,' rejoined the Duke ; 'and as for you, my Lord Bishop, who are grown so proud and arrogant, I will bring down the pride not of you alone, but of all the prelacy of England.' The altercation continued, and waxed ruder and hotter, till the Duke was heard to say that, rather than take such words from him, he would pluck the Bishop by the hair of the head out of the church ; at which the crowd in the chapel took fire, and assaulted the Duke and Percy, who narrowly escaped with their lives, and the meeting broke up in confusion. Next day the mob broke into the Savoy, the Duke's palace, and reversed his arms as those of a traitor. They then proceeded to Percy's house, which, but for the interposition of Courtenay, they would have given to the flames ; and laying their hands on an unlucky priest, whom they took to be Percy in disguise, they hanged him.

The clergy were not to be thus baffled ; they applied to the Pope, who, in May of the same year, issued four bulls against Wycliffe, condemning certain propositions ascribed to him. Before these documents arrived in England, Edward III. had

died, and Richard II. had succeeded him. Courtenay, now Archbishop of Canterbury, however, prosecuted the case, and had Wycliffe cited to appear in St. Paul's on the 18th December, and to answer the charges against him, contained in no fewer than nineteen heretical propositions extracted from his works. The Synod for trying him met at Lambeth; but a new patron appeared in his behalf. Joan, Richard's mother, who favoured the Reformer's opinions, interposed, and forbade further action, sending her orders by Sir Louis Clifford; and his prosecutors 'bent their heads like a reed to the wind, became soft as oil in their speech; so were they stricken with fear, you would think them as a man who hears not, or one in whose mouth are no reproofs.' The fickle multitude also at this time took part with him, and broke in on the clerical conclave, and dispersed it.

It indicated the high authority conceded to Wycliffe, and the great deference paid him, that on the death of Edward the Parliament of England submitted to his decision the following question: 'Whether the kingdom of England, on an imminent necessity for its own defence, might not lawfully detain the treasure of the kingdom, that it be not carried out of the land, although the Lord Pope required it on pain of censure, and by virtue of the obedience due to him?' Wycliffe's answer was

in the affirmative, for which he gave ample reasons, protesting before King and Parliament against, and dilating on, the Lord Pope's insatiable avarice and shameless rapacity.

The 'Great Papal Schism,' following on the death of Gregory XI. in 1378, was upon the whole favourable to Wycliffe. Attention was diverted from him when Christendom got embroiled in the support of two rival popes; and the Schism brought a good opportunity, which he did not fail to improve, of exposing the impiety and absurdity of the claims of all pretended successors of Peter, and for likewise invoking the sovereigns of Christendom to overthrow the whole fabric of Romish usurpation and tyranny. 'Trust me,' said he, 'in the help of Christ, for He hath begun already to help us graciously, in that He hath cloven the head of Antichrist, and made the two parts fight against each other; for it cannot be doubtful that the sin of the Popes, which hath so long continued, hath brought in the division. The time,' continued he, 'has come for emperors and kings to help in this cause to maintain God's law;' and he added, 'Of all heresies, none could be greater than the belief that a man may be absolved from sin if he give money, or because a priest layeth his hand on his head and saith, I absolve thee. Thou must be sorrowful in thy heart, or God absolveth thee not.'



Next year he was seized at Oxford with an illness which threatened his life. The friars, hearing of it, visited him in solemn procession, reminded him of the many and great injuries which he had done them, and conjured him, as they wished him to die a penitent, to express his sorrow for all that he had said and written against them, and to retract it. Having heard them silently, he beckoned to his servant to raise him up on his pillows, and summoning up all his strength, he said with a firm and loud voice, and in words which proved prophetic, 'I shall not die, but live, and again declare the evil deeds of the friars.'

The chief labour of his declining years was the translation of the Bible from the Latin Vulgate (Wycliffe was unacquainted with Hebrew and Greek) into English,—the first translation into English of the whole sacred volume that was ever made. To this great undertaking he was moved by his pious love of the Book of God, and by all those principles most sacred in his view as a Reformer,—such as the supreme authority of Holy Scripture, and its sufficiency in matters of faith and worship; and the right and duty of every one to judge for himself what God, speaking in His word, has said on these matters. The fidelity and general excellence of his translation are acknowledged by all competent judges. Its literary merits

are of a high order. Next to Mandeville's *Travels*, it was the first prose work in English of any importance, and did much to enrich and fix our language. And the mighty influence for good to the souls of men which Wycliffe's Bible exerted may be learned from an enemy, the Roman Catholic historian Lingard, who has thus written of it:—  
'There was another weapon which the rector of Lutterworth wielded with equal address and still greater efficacy; in proof of his doctrines he appealed to the Scriptures, and thus made his disciples judges between him and the bishops. Several versions of the sacred writings [it ought to have been, of part of them] were then extant; but they were confined to libraries, or only in the hands of persons who aspired to superior sanctity.

'Wycliffe made a new translation, multiplied the copies with the aid of transcribers, and by his "poor priests" recommended it to the perusal of their hearers. In their hands it became an engine of wonderful power. Men were flattered by the appeal to their private judgment; the new doctrines universally acquired partisans and protectors in the higher classes, who alone were acquainted with the use of letters; a spirit of inquiry was generated, and the seeds were sown of that religious revolution, which in a little more than a century astonished and convulsed the nations of Europe.'

The clergy furnished further proof of the beneficent influence of the book. They cried out, 'It is heresy to speak of Holy Scripture in English. Learn to believe in the Church rather than in the gospel.' Knyghton wrote: 'Christ committed the gospel to the clergy and doctors of the Church, that they might minister it to the laity and weaker persons according to the exigency of the times and the wants of men. But this Master John Wycliffe translated it out of Latin into English, and by that means laid it more open to the laity, and to women who could read, than it used to be to the most learned of the clergy, and those of them who had the best understanding. And so the gospel pearl is cast abroad, and trodden under foot of swine; and that which used to be precious to both clergy and laity is made, as it were, the common jest of both; and the jewel of the Church is turned into the sport of the people; and that which was before the chief talent of the clergy and doctors of the Church, is made for ever common to the laity.' A Convocation of the clergy decreed the greater excommunication to the readers of Wycliffe's Bible; and the State made the possession of it a civil crime, punishable with death. For this mortal dread and hatred of the book, and determination to suppress it, Knyghton accounts by what he says of the wide diffusion of Wycliffe's principles, to

which his Bible and his evangelists contributed so much. 'The number of those who believed in his doctrine very much increased; and, like suckers growing out of the root of a tree, were multiplied, and everywhere filled the compass of the kingdom, insomuch that a man could not meet two persons on the road but one of them was a disciple of Wycliffe.' The clergy's objections to his Bible Wycliffe had anticipated and obviated before it was published. In his treatise *On the Truth and Meaning of Scripture* he had said: 'They who call it heresy to speak of the Holy Scripture in English must be prepared to condemn the Holy Ghost, who gave it in tongues to the apostles of Christ.' And to those who drivelled about the opening of the Bible to all interfering with the office of pastors and teachers, he answered: 'Those heretics are not to be heard who fancy that secular men ought not to know the law of God, but that it is sufficient for them to know what the priests and prelates tell them by word of mouth; for the Scripture is the faith of the Church:' and that those who hindered men from searching the Scripture for themselves, did so 'to keep the people in a damnable and unbelieving state.'

In spite of all the opposition offered it, the demand for Wycliffe's Bible far exceeded all his expectations. The art of printing had not yet

been invented, so that copies of it had to be made by the pen. This was very tedious and laborious work, and the volume was necessarily very costly. We have on record notices of copies of his New Testament alone being bought at a price varying from about £30 to about £45 of our money each. Yet copies of the precious book were fast multiplied, readily purchased, and eagerly read; and the more that the word of God, in this translation of it, grew and multiplied, the more did the doctrines of Wycliffe prevail. 'So great was the activity of the copyists, so numerous the manuscripts, that notwithstanding the exterminating zeal of the Papal inquisitors, one hundred and fifty copies remain to this day. Some are in the British Museum; some in cathedrals, college libraries, and other public buildings. Three editions of Wycliffe's New Testament have been printed in England,—one in 1731, another in 1810, and the last in 1841, Bagster's *Hexapla*. His translation of the Old Testament long remained in manuscript; but, to the great joy of the good and the learned, Oxford published it in 1851.'

In 1381 Wycliffe openly attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation, which added new fuel to the ire of his enemies. Having examined his teaching on this head, they forbade it, ordered his imprisonment, and pronounced on him the sentence of the

greater excommunication. Many who had favoured his cause were now intimidated, and shrank from further supporting him. Even the Duke of Lancaster now deserted him. Either he had hitherto befriended him less from religious convictions than from political motives, which, circumstances being altered, began to operate differently; or his superstition was offended by his client's impugning such a sacred mystery as the sacrifice of the mass. None of these things moved Wycliffe. He soon appeared in a work which he named *The Wicket*, vindicating his teaching on the Eucharist, and still further exposing the absurdity and idolatry of the doctrine of Rome on the subject. 'Since the year of our Lord 1000,' said he, 'all the doctors have been in error about the sacrament of the altar, except, perhaps, it may be Berengarius. How canst thou, O priest, who art but a man, make thy Maker? What! the thing that groweth in the fields, the ear which thou pluckest to-day, shall be God to-morrow! As you cannot make the works which He made, how shall you make Him who made the works?'

The cause, as it at present stood between him and his ecclesiastical judges, Wycliffe in vain appealed to the King. Courtenay, now Primate, convened a Synod, on the 17th of May 1382, at the Dominican Convent of the Preaching Friars in London, and summoned Wycliffe before it. He

refused to obey the summons, holding that he was amenable only to the University. The Synod had no sooner met than a violent earthquake shook the convent to its foundations. Many of the members called for an adjournment, interpreting the earthquake as God's testimony against their meeting, and the purpose of it; but Courtenay adroitly quieted, if he did not altogether satisfy, them, by a very different interpretation of the phenomenon. 'Know you not,' said he, 'that the noxious vapours which catch fire in the bosom of the earth, and give rise to this phenomenon which alarms you, lose all their force when they break forth? Well, in like manner, by rejecting the wicked from our community, we shall put an end to the convulsions of the Church.' The result was, that of twenty-four propositions imputed to Wycliffe ten were pronounced 'heretical,' and fourteen 'erroneous.'

The bishops in Parliament seconded the Primate, and petitioned the King to take order for the suppression of Lollardism; and the King issued a royal ordinance against it, which is notable as the first penal enactment against heresy that polluted the statute-book of England. It denounced Wycliffe and his coadjutors as 'evil-minded persons, under the cloak of holiness, preaching in churches, churchyards, markets, fairs, and other open places, without licence;' and authorized sheriffs to appre-

hend them, and detain them in prison till they 'should justify themselves according to law and reason of Holy Church.'

Wycliffe denounced the persecuting ordinance, and in November 1382 made his complaint to King and Parliament, in which he defended his doctrine on the Eucharist, and gave an outline of his whole belief, saying, 'Since Jesus Christ shed His blood to free His Church, I demand its freedom; I demand that every one may have liberty to leave those gloomy walls (the convents), within which a tyrannical law prevails, and embrace a simple and peaceful life under the open vault of heaven. I demand that the poor inhabitants of our towns and villages be not constrained to provide a worldly priest, often a vicious man and a heretic, with the means of satisfying his ostentation, his gluttony, and his licentiousness, of buying a showy horse, costly saddles, bridles with tinkling bells, rich garments and soft furs, while they see their wives, children, and neighbours dying of hunger.'

His hope was that he might have sympathizers in the Commons; and he was right. So many of them had he, that they petitioned the King to repeal his tyrannical ordinance, which he consented to do. This chafed the Primate, and his next move against Wycliffe was to summon



him to a Convocation at Oxford. He appeared before the conclave, and resolutely and fearlessly maintained and defended his opinions. Having done so, he looked with heroic firmness and boldness into the face of the Primate, saying, 'The truth shall prevail,' and withdrew. His judges, perplexed and cowed, contented themselves with obtaining an order from the King banishing him from the University of Oxford; and he retired to Lutterworth, where he by and by finished his testimony.

In 1382, the Pope, Urban VI., summoned Wycliffe to Rome, to answer for his heresies, and for all the other mischief which he had done to Holy Mother Church. Having been lately smitten with paralysis, he refused to undertake so long and fatiguing a journey; but he wrote a letter to the Pope, giving an account of his faith, declaring his willingness to retract any part of it that should be proved contrary to Scripture, but protesting that till this was done he must adhere to it. Meantime he continued his ordinary parochial work in Lutterworth, and added several works to those which he had previously published.

On the 29th December 1384, as he was conducting divine worship in the church of Lutterworth, he was smitten a second time with paralysis. The stroke was so severe as to deprive him of

the power both of speech and of motion. He lingered for two days, and then fell asleep on the 31st December, in the sixty-first year of his age. 'Admirable,' says Fuller, 'that a hare so often hunted with so many packs of dogs should die at last quietly sitting in his form.'

He was buried in the chancel of Lutterworth church; and there he rested for forty years, till the Council of Constance, which betrayed Huss, and burned him and Jerome, crowned its infamy by ordering that Wycliffe's body should be disinterred and burned, and his ashes cast into the Swift, the little stream running by the foot of the hill on which Lutterworth was built. The Bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese Lutterworth lay, executed the order. 'Thus,' says Fuller, 'this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wycliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over.' 'And thus,' says Fox in like manner, 'was he resolved into three elements—earth, fire, and water, they thinking thereby utterly to extinguish and abolish both the name and the doctrine of Wycliffe.' But 'though they digged up his body, and drowned his ashes, yet the word of God and truth of His doctrine, with the truth and success thereof, they could not

burn ; which yet to this day for the most part of his articles do remain.'

In personal character and worth Wycliffe holds a high place among the excellent of the earth. In the kingdom of God there are few indeed greater than he.

In an age when Popery was at its height, he was intensely anti-Papal. He pronounced the Pope to be Antichrist, with an emphasis which the most zealous member of a Protestant Institute in our day has not surpassed. All the leading principles of Protestantism he anticipated. The only principle of Popery to which he has been supposed to cling was purgatory ; but it is doubtful whether by purgatory he latterly meant more than the intermediate state which many sound Protestants have held. To which of the present divisions of the Protestant Church he would have attached himself, had he lived in our time, we do not know ; but certainly he was not prelati. His judgment was, that the three orders which are the keystone of prelacy have no countenance in Scripture. 'One thing,' he wrote, 'I confidently assert, that in the primitive Church, in the time of Paul, two orders were held sufficient, those of priest or presbyter, and deacon. No less certain am I that in the time of Paul presbyter and bishop were the same. There were not then the distinctions of pope and cardinal,

patriarchs and archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, with other offices without number or rule. As to all the disputes which have arisen about these functionaries I shall say nothing; it is enough for me that, according to the Scriptures, the presbyters and deacons retain that office and standing which Christ appointed, because I am convinced that Cæsarean pride has introduced these orders.'

Wycliffe's theology was evangelical, well entitling him to the appellation given him, the Evangelic Doctor. The system of doctrine which he found in the Bible is substantially the system which Augustine and Calvin found in it.

He was the friend and advocate of religious toleration, being in this respect much in advance of the Reformers of the sixteenth century, and of too many of the Reformed of the nineteenth. 'Christ,' he taught, 'wished His law to be observed willingly, freely, that in such obedience men might find happiness. Hence He appointed no civil punishment to be inflicted on the transgressors of His commandments, but left the persons neglecting them to the sufferings which shall come after the day of doom.'

It is even more surprising that Wycliffe was a Voluntary,—opposed to all State endowments of religion, as unauthorized by Scripture, and most injurious in their tendency and effects; pleading

for their abolition ; and proposing, as an easy and equitable way of abolishing them, that the State should resume them on the death of the incumbent. 'As nature,' said he, 'abhors sudden changes, and as this great transgression (endowing the Church) made progress by little and little ; so, if it were made to decrease by successive steps, as the death of the occupants succeed each other, with a small amount of prudence the result would be anything but hurtful either to King or people.'

His writings, a title of which we have not named, speak for his intellectual calibre, his learning, and his dialectic power. For his alleged intemperance in controversy, and for the severity with which he lashed priests and friars for their vices, we offer no apology. With softer words and feebler blows he could not have done his work ; just as Luther and Calvin and Knox could not, with softer words and feebler blows have done their work. Reformers must not heed squeamish, dainty critics. If they would have and use the spirit and power necessary to their vocation, they must not be smooth-tongued with the priests of Baal.



## THE ENGLISH LOLLARDS.



**T**HE LOLLARDS were the followers of Wycliffe. The name given them is understood to have been one of reproach. Various explanations of it have been offered, but perhaps the likeliest of them is that which derives it from *lolium*, tares, cockle, darnel; the designation being intended to bear that the Wycliffites were the tares of Christendom, as compared with the Papists, who were the wheat, and that they were fit only to be bound in bundles and burned.

We propose to give some account of the Lollards of Britain. Our notices of them will necessarily be extremely brief, but we trust that they may nevertheless be interesting and useful. We shall take first the Lollards of England.

Wycliffe died in 1384, but it was soon apparent

that he had left behind him in England many disciples. Inspired with a measure of their master's zeal, they laboured to diffuse their principles; and they did so with such success, that d'Aubigné says, 'England was almost won over to the Reformer's doctrines.' Only eleven years after his death, his followers petitioned Parliament to 'abolish celibacy, transubstantiation, prayers for the dead, offerings to images, auricular confession, the arts unnecessary to life, the practice of blessing oil, salt, wax, incense, stones, mitres, and pilgrims' staffs.' 'All these,' the petitioners added, 'pertained to necromancy, and not to theology.' The clergy were alarmed, and applied to the King (Richard II.) to protect the Church against those deadly assailants. Richard forbade Parliament to entertain the petition; and summoning into his presence a number of the Lollard leaders, threatened them with death if they did not abjure their tenets. Soon after this he was hurled from his throne and cast into a prison, where he ended his days. His successor, Henry IV., was his cousin, the son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Wycliffe's patron. Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, set the crown on his head, whispering into his ear, 'To consolidate your throne, conciliate the clergy, and sacrifice the Lollards.' This advice Henry followed, pursuing a course the opposite of

his father's. He it was who passed the statute for the burning of heretics, and who began in England that Apollyon-work which makes the history of the Lollards in it a martyrology.

William Sawtrey had the honour of being the first to suffer under this infamous statute. He had been a priest in the diocese of Norwich, where, being charged with heresy, he escaped conviction by explanations, which the Bishop called abjuring his errors. He was parish priest of St. Osyth's, London, when, in February 1401, he was brought before the Convocation held in the Chapter-house at St. Paul's. The chief articles of his indictment were his having said, 'That he would not worship the cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ who suffered on the cross; that every priest and deacon is more bound to preach the word of God than to say particular services at the canonical hours; and that after the pronouncing of the sacramental words of the body of Christ, the bread remaineth of the same nature that it was before, neither doth it cease to be bread.' Finding that he adhered to these sentiments, Arundel pronounced him a relapsed and incorrigible heretic, degraded him, and delivered him to the High Constable and Marshal of England, with the usual hypocritical request to 'receive him *favourably*.' That very day a writ was issued, directed to the Mayor and



Sheriffs of London, purporting to be the decree of the King 'against a new sprung up heretic,' commanding them to 'cause the said William Sawtre, in some public or open place within the liberties of the city (the cause being published unto the people), to be put into the fire, and there in the same fire really to be burned, to the great horror of his offence, and the manifest example of other Christians.' He was burnt accordingly in Smithfield, on the 26th February 1401.

In 1407 the magistrates of Shrewsbury apprehended one William Thorpe, a learned and pious man, for preaching Lollardism, and sent him to Arundel. After examining him, declaring 'with many terrible oaths' that he would not leave one of his hated sect in the land, and threatening to have himself 'burned in Smithfield,' the Archbishop threw him into a loathsome dungeon. We read no more of him, as it is all but certain that we should have done had he either recanted or suffered at the stake. The presumption therefore is, that he either died in his dungeon of sickness, or was secretly put to death by his persecutors.

On 1st March 1409, John Badley, a tailor by trade, was brought before Archbishop Arundel, the Bishop of London, and other lords and bishops, to answer for his Lollardism. His examination turned mainly on the subject of transubstantiation.

He was accused of having maintained that, 'after the sacramental word spoken by the priests, to make the body of Christ, the material bread doth remain upon the altar as in the beginning, neither is it turned into the very body of Christ.' And further, that 'it was impossible that any priest should make the body of Christ, and that he never could believe it, unless he saw manifestly the body of Christ in the hands of the priest; and that when Christ sat at supper with His disciples, He had not His body in His hand, to distribute to His disciples, but spake figuratively, as He had done at other times.' Arundel reasoned with him on his heresy, and besought him to believe what the Church believed; offering, if he did so, and lived according to his faith, 'to pledge his soul for him at the judgment-day!' Badley persisted in maintaining that the wafer was not God, but 'a sign or sacrament of the living God;' adding, 'That he would believe the omnipotent God in Trinity, which they had accused him of denying; and said, moreover, that if every host, being consecrated at the altar, were the Lord's body, then there would be 20,000 Gods in England.'

The humble artisan was more than a match for the Archbishop in logic and common sense, but that did not avert his fate. He lay in prison till the 15th of the month, when he was again brought

before his clerical judges, who found him an obstinate heretic, and delivered him to the secular power. On the afternoon of that day he was removed to Smithfield, put into a large empty barrel, bound with iron chains to a stake, and heaps of dry wood were piled around him. The Prince of Wales (afterwards Henry V.) was present to witness the execution, and he besought Badley to recant and save his life. He answered that he could not, being fully persuaded that his opinions were true. The Prior of St. Bartholomew's, holding up the host before him, asked him what it was. He replied, 'Hallowed bread I very well know it to be, but not God's body.' Fire was now applied to the pile, and as the flames ascended, the martyr was heard crying, 'Mercy!' The Prince again interposed, desired the flames to be quenched, and renewed his entreaties to the sufferer to recant; enforcing them this time with appalling threatenings on the one hand, and with the promise on the other of an ample yearly stipend for life from the King's treasury. The martyr was immovable; the fire was rekindled, and he died calling on the Lord Jesus to receive his spirit.

The next victim was a person distinguished by his social as well as by his Christian rank. He was Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham. In 1410 Arundel held a meeting of the clergy at Oxford,

'the whole province of Canterbury being tainted with novel and damnable Lollardism, to the intolerable and notorious scandal of the University.' Many of Wycliffe's opinions were condemned as 'damnable heresy;' the members of the University were forbidden to teach, preach, or maintain any of them; and the books containing them were ordered to be burnt. In 1413 a Convocation was held at St. Paul's, which pronounced Wycliffe's writings, condemned at Oxford, fit only for the fire; declared that the plague of Wycliffism could not be stayed unless certain great men who patronized it were removed; and expressly named Sir John Oldcastle, who, in right of his wife, was Lord Cobham.

. His lordship was the leader of the Lollards. He had an intelligent and strong conviction of the truth and vital importance of their principles, and was zealous in propagating them. He had advocated them in Parliament, and had been at not a little expense in maintaining the preachers of them, and in copying and circulating Wycliffe's writings. For these reasons he was very obnoxious to the clergy; and there was another thing that raised their wrath against him to the boiling-point. He was a strenuous advocate of a Bill which the Commons were pressing, to apply the revenues of the Church to the purposes of the State; a Bill

which, says Hall, 'made the fat abbots to sweat, the proud priors to frown, the poor monks to curse, the silly nuns to weep, and, indeed, all to fear that Babel would fall down.' Yet there was difficulty in the way of instituting proceedings against him. He was popular with the nation, and he was a great favourite with the King himself, both for his highly estimable character, and for his military skill and valour.

Arundel's first move against him was an application to the King for permission to indict his lordship for heresy. The King, now Henry V. (his father, Henry IV., had died in March 1413), refused the permission sought till he should talk with Cobham, reason with him on his opinions, and try to reconcile him to the Catholic faith; promising, however, that if he failed to reclaim him, he should then be delivered to the Church, to be dealt with as his case might require. Henry did fail in his praiseworthy effort to recover the erring Wycliffite. He reasoned and expostulated with him, and entreated him to submit himself to his mother the Church, and to acknowledge and renounce his errors. Cobham replied: 'I am, as I have always been, most willing to obey your Majesty, as the minister of God appointed to bear the sword of justice for the punishment of evil-doers, and the protection of those who do well. To you, therefore, next to my eternal,

living Judge, I owe my whole existence, and entirely submit—as I have ever done—to your pleasure my life and all my fortune in this world, and in all affairs of it whatever am ready to perform exactly your royal commands. But as to the Pope, and the spiritual dominion which he claims, I owe him no services that I know of, nor will I pay him any ; for, as sure as God's word is true, to me it is fully evident that he is the great Antichrist, the son of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place.'

Henry now gave permission to the Primate to proceed against him. We must shun the details of the process ; the necessity of doing so our limits lay upon us. Suffice it to say that, before his ecclesiastical judges, Lord Cobham approved himself a confessor of unflinching fidelity and dauntless courage ; stating his faith, defending it, and so wielding the power of the truth, as once and again visibly to stun and confound his prosecutors. We shall give three specimens.

When Arundel offered him absolution, if he would humbly claim it in the form and manner ordained by the Church, he answered, 'Forsooth, I will not ; I never trespassed against you, and therefore I do not feel the want of your absolution.' Then, with tears streaming down his cheeks, he kneeled upon the floor, and, raising his eyes to

heaven, exclaimed: 'I confess myself here unto Thee, my eternal living God, that I have been a grievous sinner. How often, in my frail youth, have I offended Thee by ungoverned passions, pride, concupiscence, intemperance! How often have I been drawn into horrible sin by anger, and how many of my fellow-creatures have I injured from this cause! Good Lord! I humbly ask Thee mercy: here I need absolution.' Then, rising from his knees, and looking around him, he cried with a loud voice: 'Lo! these are your guides, good people. For the breaking of God's law and His commandments they never yet cursed me! But for their own laws and traditions most cruelly do they handle both me and other men. And therefore both they and their laws shall, by the power of God, be utterly destroyed.'

Again: Being asked by the Primate, with reference to the doctrine of transubstantiation, 'Do you believe that, after the words of consecration, there remains any material bread?' 'The Scriptures,' said Cobham, 'make no mention of *material* bread; I believe that Christ's body remains in the *form* of bread. In the sacrament there is both Christ's body and the bread; the bread is the thing that we see with our eyes, but the body of Christ is hid, and only to be seen by faith.' Upon this they with one voice cried, 'Heresy! Heresy!' One of the

bishops said vehemently, 'It is a foul heresy to call it bread.' Cobham answered, 'St. Paul was as wise a man as you, and perhaps as good a Christian, and yet he calls it bread. "The bread," saith he, "which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" To be short with you, I believe the Scriptures most cordially, but I have no faith in your lordly laws and idle determinations. Ye are no part of Christ's holy Church, as your deeds plainly show.' 'What rash and desperate fellows are these followers of Wycliffe!' exclaimed Doctor Walden, the Prior of the Carmelites. 'Before God and man,' replied Cobham, 'I solemnly here profess, that till I knew Wycliffe, whose judgment ye so highly disdain, I never abstained from sin; but after I became acquainted with that virtuous man and his despised doctrines, it has been otherwise with me. So much grace could I never find in all your pompous instructions.' 'It were hard,' said Walden, 'that in an age of so many learned instructors you should have had no grace to amend your life till you heard the devil preach.' 'Your fathers,' said Cobham, 'the old Pharisees, ascribed Christ's miracles to Beelzebub, and His doctrines to the devil. Go on, and, like them, ascribe every good thing to the devil. Go on, and pronounce every man a heretic who rebukes your vicious lives. Pray, what warrant have you from Scripture for



this very act you are now about? Where is it written in all God's law that you may thus sit in judgment on the life of man? Hold; perhaps you will quote Annas and Caiaphas, who sat upon Christ and His apostles!' 'Yes, sir,' said one of the doctors of law, 'and Christ too, for He judged Judas.' 'I never heard that He did,' said Cobham. 'Judas judged himself, and therefore went out and hanged himself. Indeed, Christ pronounced a woe against him for his covetousness, as he does still against you, who follow Judas' steps.'

Once more: Being asked by one of the friars, 'Are you ready to worship the cross on which Christ died?' 'Where is it?' said Cobham. 'But suppose it were here at this moment?' said the friar. 'A wise man indeed,' said Cobham, 'to put to me such a question, and yet he himself does not know where the thing is! But tell me, I pray, what sort of worship do I owe to it?' One of the conclave answered, 'Such worship as St. Paul speaks of, when he says, "God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."' 'Right,' replied Cobham, and stretched out his arms; '*that* is the true and the very cross—far better than your cross of wood.' 'Sir,' said the Bishop of London, you know very well that Christ died upon a *material* cross.' 'True,' said Cobham; 'and know also that our salvation did not come by

that material cross, but by Him who died there-upon. Further, I know well that St. Paul rejoiced in no other cross but in Christ's passion and death *only*, and in his own sufferings and persecutions for the same truth which Christ had died for before.'

As the last day of the trial was drawing to a close, the Primate, impatiently calling on the panel to consider well the position in which he stood, said, 'You must either submit to the ordinances of the Church, or abide the dangerous consequences.' His lordship answered promptly and firmly, 'My faith is fixed ; do with me what you please.' The Primate then formally and solemnly pronounced Sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, an incorrigible, pernicious, and detestable heretic ; and, having condemned him as such, delivered him to the secular power.

Execution did not, as was usual in such cases, immediately follow on the condemnation. His Majesty gave the criminal a reprieve for fifty days, in the course of which he escaped from the Tower,—by what means was never known,—and fled into Wales, where he managed to conceal himself for upwards of four years. But the clergy, bent on his destruction, thoroughly poisoned Henry's mind against him. The Commons, under the influence of the Crown, passed a bill of attainder

against him, and the King set a price of a thousand marks on his head. At length, towards the end of 1417, he was discovered and taken by Lord Powis. His sentence was, that he should be both hanged and burned—hanged for treason, and burned for heresy; and the sentence was executed in all its horrors. Brought out of the Tower with his hands tied behind his back, he was placed on a hurdle, and drawn on it to St. Giles' Fields. There, 'taken from the hurdle,' says Bale, 'he fell down devoutly upon his knees, and prayed to God to forgive his enemies. Then he stood up and beheld the multitude, exhorting them in most godly manner to follow the law of God written in the Scriptures, and in anywise to beware of such teachers as they see contrary to Christ in their conversation and living; with many other special counsels. Then was he hanged up there in chains of iron, and so consumed alive in the fire, praising the name of God so long as life lasted. In the end, he commended his soul into the hands of God, and so departed hence most christianly, his body being resolved into ashes. And this was done in the year of our Lord 1418, which was the sixth year of the reign of Henry v., the people there present showing great dolour.'

Greatly mortified at Cobham's escape from the Tower, the clergy loaded him and his party with

their revilings. Among other gross calumnies, they represented the assemblies of the Lollards for religious worship as seditious meetings, and obtained a royal proclamation to suppress them. This led them to meet in small companies in places of retirement, and often in the dead of night. One of their frequent resorts on such occasions was St. Giles' Fields, which were then a thicket or copse. A number of them met there for the communion of saints on January 6, 1414. The King was then at Eltham, a few miles from London ; and a message was brought him that Lord Cobham, at the head of twenty thousand Lollards, was stationed in St. Giles' Fields, with the intent of putting their persecutors to the sword, seizing the person of the King, and making himself regent of the kingdom. Believing the malignant falsehood, Henry instantly armed the few soldiers he could muster ; marched at their head to the place ; found a body of Lollard worshippers, and fell upon them, killing twenty and taking sixty prisoners ; and then marched on, but saw no more of the conspirators. He imagined that he had only disposed of the advanced guard of the traitors, whereas he had routed the whole army !

The prisons of London were forthwith filled with Lollards to overflowing. It was to increase the accommodation for them that the addition to Lambeth Palace was built, still known as the Lollards'

Tower, a monument of the horrid treatment to which those witnesses for the truth were subjected. That prison tower is entered by a narrow doorway, hardly sufficient to admit one person at a time. It has two doors, an inner and an outer, of strong oak. It has eight large iron rings fixed in the walls, to which the prisoners were tied ; the thick wainscot on the walls having many of their names rudely scratched on it, as also 'words and sentences, the silent utterance of hearts overcharged with sorrow.' Of the sixty persons whom Henry took prisoners in his Quixotic midnight attack, thirty-nine were burnt for heresy in St. Giles' Fields. Three of these were Beverly, a Lollard preacher ; Sir Roger Acton, a man of much learning and property ; and John Brown. Arundel died in 1414, and was succeeded by Chicheley, who proved a more rancorous persecutor of the Lollards than his predecessor. Under his influence a statute was enacted, requiring all persons admitted into office, from the Chancellor downwards, to swear that they would do everything in their power to extirpate them. The statute also charged them with political disaffection and incendiarism. In this Chicheley must have consciously maligned them, for no one knew better that religious heresy alone was the crime for which they suffered. He likewise issued an order, in 1416, directing that 'these persons in every parish should

be examined twice every year upon oath, and required to inform against any persons whom they knew or understood to frequent private conventicles, or to differ in their life or manners from the common conversation of Catholic men, or to have any suspected books in the English language, that process might be made against them ;' and if not sentenced to be burned, they were to be kept in prison till the next Convocation of the clergy.

The machinery for destroying the Lollards was thus complete ; and it was not allowed to rust. In 1415, John Claydon, a furrier in London, was burned in Smithfield. His crime was having in his possession certain English Lollard books. Richard Turmin, a London baker, was burned with him, sharing his fate because he was a partaker of his Lollardism. In 1419 the Primate called a Convocation in London, before which several Lollards were brought, and obliged to abjure their opinions or lay down their life at the stake. Henry V. died in 1422, and was succeeded by his son, Henry VI., then an infant ; but the havoc of the Lollards continued. In 1423, William Taylor, a priest in the diocese of Canterbury, was degraded and burned in Smithfield. His heresy was, teaching ' that prayers for spiritual gifts were to be made to God alone, and that to pray to creatures was idolatry.' In the diocese of

Norwich, many suffered between 1424 and 1428, and again between 1428 and 1431. In the latter three years above a hundred and twenty persons were imprisoned for heresy, many of whom were given to the flames. William White, a priest, on becoming a follower of Wycliffe, resigned his priesthood and living, but devoted himself to the work of an evangelist. He was burned at Norwich in 1424. His main heresy was, teaching 'that men should seek the forgiveness of their sins from God only; that the Pope was an enemy to Christ's truth; and that men ought not to worship images.' His wife followed in his footsteps as a follower of the truth, for which 'she suffered much trouble.' Among the Norwich delinquents was John Baker, whose crime was having in his possession a book containing the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, and the Creed in English; Marjory Backston, whose crime was having a 'brass pot,' containing a piece of bacon and oatmeal, on the fire the first Sunday in Lent, and corrupting a neighbour by saying that kneeling and praying to images in churches was useless; and Nicholas Belward, whose crime was buying a New Testament in London, for which he paid four marks and forty pence, or £2, 16s. 8d., equal to more than £20 of our present money.

The persecution raged in other places as well as in Norwich. It extended more or less over the

kingdom. In London, very many suffered for their 'mad opinions ;' so the bishops' registers describe their Lollardism. In Norfolk, John Florence, a turner, accused of holding heretical opinions about the Pope and the worship of images, got his life for a prey ; on condition, however, of his 'performing penance, and being disciplined with a rod before all the people for three Sundays in the cathedral at Norwich, and three other Sundays in his parish church at Shelton. As a part of this punishment, he had to walk in a procession bare-headed, bare-footed, and bare-necked, in a canvas shirt and canvas breeches, bearing a taper.'

Chicheley died in 1443, but his death brought no relief to the Lollards. The next three Primates were cardinals, all of whom were zealous in doing the work of the 'woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus.' Bouchier, the last of the three, had a singular delinquent to deal with. He was Reginald Peacock, Bishop of Chichester. He got so far tinged with Lollardism as to attack the mendicant friars, and to contend stoutly that the Scriptures are the foundation and the sole rule of faith. He escaped the fire ; but an outcry of blasphemy was raised against him, and he was expelled the House of Lords, and was forbidden the King's presence. Bouchier convicted him of heresy, but he pur-



chased his life by recanting, was deprived of his bishopric, and was confined for the residue of his days in a secret chamber in Thorney Abbey, in Cambridgeshire.

During the wars of the Roses the persecution of the Lollards was in a great measure suspended. As Fuller finely says, 'the very storm was their shelter.' We read of only one sacrifice during that period to the Moloch of religious intolerance,—John Goose, burnt on Tower Hill in 1473. But the worship of this demon was resumed in the time of Henry VII., and the smoke of its altars was more frequent and dense than before, though the records of it are comparatively scanty.

In 1494, Joan Boughton, a widow of upwards of fourscore, was burned in Smithfield. Her crime was, holding most of Wycliffe's doctrines, and that so stedfastly, 'that all the doctors in London could not turn her from one of them.' She was the mother of Lady Young, also a sufferer for the same cause; and she had the honour of being the first woman burned for heresy in England. Several others suffered about the same time.

In 1506, William Aylsworth was burnt at Amer-sham, in Buckinghamshire. His friends and relations were compelled to carry the faggots for his pile to the place of execution; and his only daughter, a married woman, was compelled to

set the fire to them. The courage of her husband and sixty others failed them in view of the stake, and they had to do penance—all of it most degrading, and some of it very painful. Many of them were branded on the cheek with a hot iron.

The day after Alyswoth's execution, Roberts, a miller of Missenden, was burnt at Buckingham. Twenty others were, at the same time, 'made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men,' by being compelled to bear faggots, and to do penance.

In the course of the following three years two more victims were burned at Amersham, and others, who escaped the fire, were branded on the cheek. Father Rogers, as he was called, was confined for fourteen weeks in the bishop's prison, where he suffered so much from cold and hunger, and the heavy irons with which he was loaded, that he never stood upright again. Thomas Chase, another Amersham victim, fared still more pitiably. After suffering in prison similar treatment to that of Rogers, he was strangled, his murderers giving out that he committed suicide; which was falsified by a witness, who heard him calling on God to receive his spirit as they were putting him to death.

In this reign Laurence Ghest was burnt at Salisbury, after an imprisonment of two years. When they had bound him to the stake, they

presented his wife and their seven children before him, to induce him to recant; but his constancy proved immoveable. As he loved not his life to the death, so neither loved he to the death his wife and children.

The last Lollard martyr under Henry VII. whom we shall advert to was a woman, her name unknown. She was burnt at the town of Chippen-sadbury. The Chancellor, Dr. Whitton, who condemned her, was present at the execution; and as the multitude was dispersing, an infuriated ox, passing by others, gored him, rending him with its horns, and carrying his bowels in triumph over all the street,—an occurrence which was interpreted as a judicial visitation of Divine Providence.

The accession of Henry VIII. to the throne took place in 1509. The dismal work of Lollard persecution continued in his reign with even increased severity. The memorials of it are more exact and copious than those of preceding reigns; but we must not, therefore, relax our effort at compression.

In 1511, on the suit of Longbard, Bishop of Lincoln, who represented to him the alarming increase of the Lollards, Henry ordered the mayors, sheriffs, and other officers to aid the Bishop in bringing the heretics to justice. A suspected Lollard, whose name is not given, was

seen in a wood, where he had been praying by himself, sitting on a stile and reading an English book of prayers. His house was searched, and portions of the Bible were found hidden under the floor—Wycliffe's Bible, doubtless, which those who ventured to possess themselves of it, at the peril of their lives, were in the way of hiding from the Romish inquisitors and their spies. The culprit was brought before Longbard, and burnt as a relapsed heretic; he having, at some previous date, abjured heresies imputed to him.

The same year, William Carder of Tenterden, Robert Harrison, Edward Walker, and Agnes Greville were added to the list of the martyrs. It is only of the first and the last of them that we have any particulars. Carder was willing to retract all his Lollardism, except 'that it was enough to pray to Almighty God alone, and that we needed not to pray to saints;' but such a qualified retraction could not be accepted, and he was given to the flames. Agnes Greville's husband and two sons were brought into court, and, to save their own lives, were forced to give evidence of her holding Lollard opinions. The poor woman, in the paroxysm of her anguish and terror, 'burst into these words openly, that she repented the time that ever she bare these children,' and declared her readiness to recant. But this the Arch-

bishop (Warham) would not allow, and she too was committed to the fire.

The same year eight men and four women were subjected by Longbard to very severe penance. Their crimes were — denying transubstantiation ; that baptism and confirmation were necessary to salvation ; that confession of sin ought to be made to a priest ; that God has given more power to a priest than to a layman ; and that extreme unction, pilgrimages, worshipping of images, and various other Romish observances, were not to be found in Scripture. Those who were not burned for such crimes must not seldom have envied those who were. One portion of them was immured in prisons ; and when death released them, ‘they were wont,’ says Foxe, ‘to be thrown out to dogs and birds, as unworthy of Christian burial.’ Another portion of them was, after all the public ignominy connected with abjuring, consigned to monasteries, ‘to linger out the rest of their days, and obliged, on certain public market days and processions, to appear with a fagot, the emblem of recantation, on their shoulders. They were also condemned to be present (if called on) once at the burning of a heretic.’

The same year William Swerting was burnt in Smithfield. He had been long suspected of Lollard pravity. He had been once in the

Lollards' Tower ; and after abjuring in St. Paul's Church, he had to carry a fagot at St. Paul's Cross, and was adjudged to wear the figure of a fagot on his coat for the remainder of his life. His pravity, in spite of these means of purging it out, remained in him, and he was ordered to execution—the charges against him being, his acquaintance and fellowship with Wycliffites ; his advising his wife, when she would go on pilgrimage, to stay at home and mind her own business ; his reproving her for worshipping the images in the church, and setting up candles before them ; and his holding that the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ, but the memorial of Him in the substance of bread.

The case of James Brewster was very similar ; the chief articles of his indictment being, his acquaintance with heretics, and his speaking disrespectfully of pilgrimages. He was tried the same day with Swerting, was condemned with him, and was fixed to the same stake and burned in the same fire.

About this time, Dean Colet, the munificent founder of St. Paul's School, made a narrow escape. Fitz-James, the Bishop of London, accused him of heresy to Archbishop Warham ; one article in the accusation being, that he had translated the Paternoster, or Lord's Prayer, into Eng-

lish! Happily for Colet, Warham was his personal friend, and quashed the proceedings against him.

The registers of Bishop Fitz-James show how busy he made himself, from 1509 to 1517, in persecuting the Wycliffites. They show, besides, how absolutely antichristian in their own views, and in their spirit and aim, he and his clergy were. For example, as proof of the impiety of a certain Joan Baker, they record that she not only would not reverence the cross herself (*i.e.* the material cross), 'but that she had also persuaded a friend of hers, lying at the point of death, not to put any trust or confidence in the crucifix, but in God who is in heaven, who only worketh all the miracles that are done, and not the dead images, which are but stocks and stones; and therefore she was sorry that she had so often gone on pilgrimage to idols.' As another example, even more astounding, five persons being charged with reading certain heretical books, the proof adduced in support of the charge, and sustained as relevant and conclusive, was that on a given night, and during all the night, 'they erroneously and damnably read . . . certain chapters of the Evangelists in English, containing in them divers erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresy,' etc.!

In 1514, Robert Thin, a merchant tailor in

London, was accused of heresy before Bishop Fitz-James, who apprehended him and committed him to close custody in the Lollards' Tower at St. Paul's, none of his friends being allowed access to him. We noticed already the Lollards' Tower in Lambeth Palace; but in those very orthodox times each prelate had his own prison for heretics, and Fitz-James' prison was one of the towers at the west end of the old Cathedral of St. Paul's, the spot where the clock now stands. There many endured a living death, and there Thin was murdered. He was examined the day after his imprisonment, and the following morning the boy who carried his breakfast to him found him dead, hanging by a silken girdle. Doctor Horsey, chancellor of the diocese, had murdered him, and then hung his body on the wall by his own girdle, to give colour to the clergy's story that Thin had committed suicide. The verdict of a coroner's inquest was that he had been murdered. There was an immediate outcry for justice on his murderers, which the clergy tried to still by condemning the dead man for heresy, it having appeared in his examination that a copy of Wycliffe's Bible had been found in his house, and Wycliffe's 'damnable works;' and that 'he defendeth the translation of the Bible and the Holy Scripture into the English tongue, which is prohibited by the laws



of our mother, Holy Church.' Having condemned him, they disinterred his body, and burned it in Smithfield! The outcry for justice on his murderers, instead of being allayed by these proceedings, was louder than before. The King, at the request of Parliament, ordered that the property of the deceased, amounting to £1500, and which his heresy had forfeited, should be restored to his children, as a compensation for this 'cruel murder.' Soon after, a bill passed the Commons for bringing the murderers to justice, but the clergy had influence enough to get the bill thrown out in the Lords, and the matter was hushed up; but the public indignation was such, that Horsey did not find it convenient to remain in London, but fled to Exeter.

In 1517, John Brown was burned in Ashford. Sailing in a Gravesend barge between that town and London, he had sat more closely to a fellow-passenger, who happened to be a priest, than was agreeable to his reverence. 'Dost thou know who I am? Thou sittest too near me; thou sittest on my clothes.' 'No, sir,' said Brown, 'I know not what you are.' 'I tell thee I am a priest.' 'What, sir! are you a parson, a vicar, or a lady's chaplain?' 'No,' said the priest; 'I am a soul priest; I sing for souls;' meaning that he was one who sang mass for the deliverance of souls out of

purgatory. 'I pray you, sir,' said Brown, 'where do you find the soul when you go to mass?' 'I cannot tell thee,' said the priest. 'I pray you, where do you leave it, sir, when the mass is done?' 'I cannot tell thee,' again replied the priest. 'Then you can neither tell where you find it when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done; how, then, can you save the soul?' inquired Brown. 'Go thy way,' said the priest; 'thou art a heretic, and I will be even with thee.'

The priest was as good as his word. Hastening to Archbishop Warham, he informed him against Brown. Three days after, a bailiff, attended by some of the Archbishop's servants, entered Brown's house, apprehended him, put him on his own horse, with his feet tied under its belly, and conveyed him to Canterbury. There he was kept forty days in prison, and was most 'piteously treated, his bare feet being set on burning coals to make him deny his faith;' and thence he was sent to Ashford, where he had resided, to be given to the fire. Brought thither the night before his execution, and set in the stocks, a maid of his house saw him, and ran with the sad tidings to her mistress, who had remained ignorant of the fate of her husband. She came, and sat beside him all night; and he told her how he had been treated, and how his feet had been burned to the bone, so that he could

not set them to the ground—‘to make me,’ said he, ‘deny my Lord, which I will never do ; for if I should deny Him in this world, He would deny me hereafter. And I pray thee, good Elizabeth, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children virtuously in the fear of God.’ The next day he was burned, and died praying, his last words being, ‘Into Thine hand I commit my spirit: Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth.’

Brown’s wife and children appear to have walked in his ways. His son Richard was a prisoner for his religion when the ‘Bloody Mary’ died, and his life and liberty he owed to the accession of Elizabeth to the throne.

In 1518, John Hillman was burned in Smithfield, some of Wycliffe’s works, which he kept hid in the hollow of an old oak, being discovered. In the reign of Henry VII. the fear of the stake had overcome him, and he had recanted, for which he was sincerely and deeply sorry. But he had now got courage to die for Christ ; and, condemned by Fitz-James as a relapsed heretic, he was consigned to the flames.

The same year Thomas Mann was burned in the same place. He was a Lollard preacher, who had itinerated much in fulfilling his ministry, having been once and again in Norfolk, Essex,

Suffolk, Middlesex, Berks, and Buckinghamshire. He formed congregations at Newbury and Amer-sham, both of which were dispersed by persecution. Some members of the former were burned, and others punished in various ways. The Bishop's Register records that 'he confessed that he had turned 700 people to his religion, for which he thanked God ;' a crime which nothing but his life could expiate.

The same year Robert Cosin was burned at Buckingham, for teaching Joan Norman that she might drink on Sunday before mass as well as on any other day, contrary to the rule of Holy Mother Church, that people ought not to break their fast before they receive the consecrated bread; and Christopher Shoomaker was burned at Newbury, because he came to the house of John Say, and read to him 'out of a book the words which Christ spake to His disciples,' teaching them that the 'sacrifice of the mass remained in substance bread, bearing the remembrance of Christ.'

'It is heart-sickening,' says a living writer, summarizing the melancholy annals of those times, 'to turn over page after page of the history of those days, and find in them all the same sad tale of woe. In 1519 seven martyrs were burned together at Coventry, because they had taught their children and servants the Lord's Prayer and the Ten

Commandments in English. Their poor children were sent to the monastery of the Grey Friars in Coventry, and warned never to meddle with the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, or the Ten Commandments in English, or they might expect to suffer the same death as their parents. The records of the diocese of Lincoln of 1521 contain a list of a hundred names of persons, most of whom were accused for reading or repeating parts of the Scriptures in English. One man, John Barrett, a goldsmith of London, suffered with his wife and maid, because he had in their presence repeated the Epistle of St. James without book. Another, Agnes Ward, because when Gardiner said, "God help us, and our Lady, and all the saints of heaven," she replied, "What need is there to go to the feet when we may go to the Head?" Six others were found guilty for not being able to say the Creed in Latin, and others because they repeated the Pater-noster, Creed, and Ave in English. Robert Drury was accused for having allowed his servant to eat bread and cheese on a fast day.'

We may add that four of the Lincoln 'hundred' appear to have been committed to the flames, the children of one of them being compelled to kindle their father's pile; that the charge against another was, saying when her father was a-dying that 'all who die go either to heaven or to hell,'—the witness

against her being her more orthodox sister, who contradicted her, saying, 'Nay, there is between them purgatory ;' and that the charge against other two was, their alleging that the consecrated host was not the true body of Christ, the proof of the allegation being that a mouse put into the pix will eat it up, as it did at Essex when two priests profanely tried the experiment, for which one of them was burned.

About this time the persecuting zeal of Rome, normally lively enough, was sensibly quickened. Two things contributed to do this,—the threatening aspect which the Reformation in Germany was assuming ; and the activity of the press in multiplying copies of the works of the Reformers, Luther, Melancthon, Zwinglius, etc., which, in spite of all laws to the contrary, were largely imported into England, widely circulated, and greedily read. Both these causes continued to operate with rapidly augmenting force, till, in the course of a quarter of a century, Lollardism developed into Protestantism, or at least was merged in it.

A host of English Lollards yet remains. We must select from them ; and we shall content ourselves with selecting two of the more prominent of them, Bilney and Bainham.

Thomas Bilney studied at Cambridge, was an excellent scholar, and became a very fervent

Christian. He had an 'invincible desire to win souls to Christ;' and one of the first that he won at Cambridge was the famous Latimer, one of the fathers of the English Reformation. He would reclaim Bilney from the errors of Lollardism; and the happy result of his attempt to do so was, that he himself was reclaimed from the errors of Romanism. The simple means by which Bilney converted him was a leaf from his own experience. He told Latimer how he had in vain sought rest to his soul in all the mortifications and observances of Popery, and how he had found it not in working, but in believing—believing what had been done, when Christ cried on the cross, 'It is finished.' Latimer mused on the contents of the leaf with intense interest; it darted new light into his mind, and came with new power to his heart. His sins, more especially his unbelief, rose up before him, and, as he was 'made to possess' them, he wept bitterly. Softly and sweetly did Bilney whisper into his ear, 'Brother, though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as snow.' Latimer believed, and believing, he too found rest to his soul.

After this Bilney left Cambridge, and took a wide circuit of the country, preaching the gospel with great clearness and fulness, and exposing the delusions of Popery. Wolsey, then in the height of his power and glory, hearing of his proceedings,

had him apprehended and imprisoned. Brought to trial, his indictment was large ; but the gist of it was the usual charges of heresy to which the Lollards were called to answer. Bilney was not yet ready for the stake. His fortitude failed him, and he was prevailed on to recant. He was released ; and his penance was, to carry a fagot in procession, and to stand, a spectacle to all, before the preacher at St. Paul's Cross during the sermon.

His recantation was soon as a sword in his bones. Truly was he made to know and see that it was an evil thing and a bitter ! He returned to Cambridge, remorse gnawing him, and his confusion covering him, so clear a sight and so keen a sense had he of his unfaithfulness and cowardice ! At length, two years after his fall, by 'doing the first works' he obtained pardon and recovered peace, and he forthwith began anew to witness for Christ. One night he bade his friends at Cambridge adieu, saying that he was 'going up to Jerusalem.' He went to Norfolk, and resumed the work of 'winning souls to Christ,' by 'testifying the gospel of the grace of God.' He was arrested and imprisoned, tried and convicted as a relapsed heretic, and was burned on the 10th of November 1531 at Lollard Pit, a valley without Bishopgate, at the bottom of St. Leonard's Hill.

The night before his execution, he conversed



most comfortably with friends who visited his dwelling much on Isaiah xliii. 1-3: 'Thus said the Lord, Fear not, for I have redeemed thee,' etc. At the stake he prayed very earnestly and composedly, and concluded with adopting the very appropriate words of Psalm cxliii. Having been chained to the stake, Dr. Warner approached him and took farewell of him with tears; Bilney, gently smiling, thanking the Doctor for all his kindness and saying, 'Oh, Master Doctor, feed your flock that when the Lord cometh He may find you so doing. Farewell, my good Doctor, and pray for me.' Some friars and others having begged him to express his charity towards them, and to excuse them of being the cause of his death, he exclaimed 'Good people, I beseech you not to behave thus worse to these men for my sake; they are not the cause of my death.'

'The officers then surrounded his body with reeds and fagots, and set fire to the reeds, which made a great flame, that chiefly injured his face while he continued holding up his hand, and calling on the name of Jesus. For some time the flame was kept at a distance from him by the wind; but at length the wood caught fire, and burned with great fury till the martyr was consumed to ashes.'

James Bainham was the son of Sir Alexander Bainham, of Gloucestershire. He was educated

for the legal profession, and had an honoured place in the Temple as an attorney. The poor and the oppressed well knew his kind, compassionate nature, and crowded to him for advice and help, which they never sought in vain. He was a person of still higher worth. He was much given to prayer, and to the reading of the Scriptures, and altogether led a most exemplary Christian life. A Lollard in his opinions, he fell a victim to Sir Thomas More's severity.

Sir Thomas had succeeded Wolsey as Lord Chancellor of England. In his earlier years he was a warm friend and advocate of religious toleration. The king of his Utopia 'made a law that every man might be of what religion he pleased, and might endeavour to draw others to it by the force of argument, and by amiable and modest ways, without bitterness against those of other opinions. What a mercy to the world had it been, had all other kings been like-minded! This law was made by Utopus not only for preserving the public peace, which he saw suffered much by daily contentions and irreconcilable heats, but because he thought it was required by a due regard to the interests of religion itself. He judged it not fit to decide rashly any matter of opinion; and he deemed it foolish and indecent to threaten and terrify another for the purpose of making him be-

lieve what did not appear to him to be true.' But on the woolsack Sir Thomas not only forgot these noble sentiments, but became a rancorous persecutor of all nonconformists to the established Popery. Hearing of Bainham's Lollardism, he brought him to his own house in Chelsea, where he detained him a prisoner. He set himself to reclaim him to Papal orthodoxy, and also to discover from him his accomplices in his religious delinquencies; but he failed in both. He then had him tied to a tree in his garden, called the 'Tree of Truth;' and there, to drive heresy out of him, the Lord Chancellor of England literally whipped him with his own hand! The whipping proving ineffectual, he next sent him to the Tower, had him tortured on the rack, was himself present at the administration of the discipline applied to the body for the good of the soul; and he made the instrument of torture be worked so severely, that Bainham was taken off it more dead than alive. This was in the first half of December 1531.

By the treatment to which he was subjected he was so broken down in mind as well as in body, that by the middle of February 1532 he was induced to recant his Lollard opinions, and to submit himself to the Church of Rome. But scarcely had a month elapsed when he bitterly bewailed his weakness. He did so first before the congregation

which then met secretly in Bow Lane ; and on the following Sabbath he went to St. Augustine's Church, with Tyndale's New Testament in his hand, and, standing up before the congregation, he lamented and recalled his recantation, begged the people to forgive him for it, and, holding up the New Testament, said : ' Should I not return again unto the truth, this word of God would destroy me, both body and soul, at the day of judgment. Beware of my weakness, and be careful not to imitate my conduct. I beseech every one rather to suffer death than to do as I have done ; for I would not feel such an hell again as I have felt for all the world's goods.'

Bainham was almost immediately seized, and committed to close custody. On the 19th of April 1532 he was brought before Richard Foxford, Vicar-General to the Bishop of London, accompanied by certain divines, and by Matthew Grafton the Register. This final trial occupied three days. It was finished on the 26th of April, when Foxford pronounced the definitive sentence, and delivered the martyr to the secular arm. The conclusion of Foxe's account of him has been thus epitomized :—

' Mr. Bainham, throughout the whole of his imprisonment, was treated with the utmost cruelty. For about a fortnight he was confined in the Bishop's coal-house, with his feet set fast in the

stocks, and iron fetters upon his legs. Thence he was removed to the custody of the Lord Chancellor, who kept him two nights chained to a post. He was then carried to Fulham, where he was treated with great cruelty for a week ; then to the Tower, where he was scourged with whips to make him recant his opinions. Then he was carried to Barking ; then to Chelsea, where he was condemned ; and lastly to Newgate, whence he was taken to the place of execution. His words at the stake deserve to be held in everlasting remembrance. When his arms and legs were half consumed in the fire, he exclaimed, " Behold, ye Papists ! you look for miracles, here you may behold one ; for in this fire I feel no more pain than if I were on a bed of down, but it is sweet to me as a bed of roses." From the whole of his story we may learn that true happiness can only be found in closely adhering to the path of duty, even though that path should lay [lie] through the midst of floods and flames. Whenever we refuse to obey our divine Master, we are certain to experience in our consciences a distressing sense of our guilt, and of the punishment which such conduct deserves ; whereas, if we in all things conform to the commandments of God, He has promised He will never forsake us, but that we shall be furnished with grace fully equal to our day of affliction.'



## THE SCOTTISH LOLLARDS.



**L**OLLARDISM was not indigenous in Scotland, as it was in England. It was an exotic in this northern part of the island ; but it was soon brought to it from the south, and it took root readily in our soil, and grew luxuriantly. Wycliffe died in 1384, and the proto-martyr for Lollardism in Scotland was burned at Perth in or about 1407. This honour fell not to a native, but to an Englishman, named James Resby. It is said that he had come into our country for a refuge from persecution ; and in place of what he sought, he found in it a martyr's crown.

For all that we know of Resby we are indebted to Bower, the continuator of Fordun, a decided Romanist, who thought that his Church, in giving Resby to the flames, was doing God service, and

rendering to him the punishment due to his heresies. His notice of him is short, but very suggestive. He describes him as an English presbyter or priest, of the school of John Wycliffe, condemned as a heretic in a council of the clergy under Master Laurence of Lindores. He admits that Resby was for some time reputed a very famous preacher by 'the simple;' by whom he meant, we doubt not, the common people, as distinguished from the wise men after the flesh, the mighty, and the noble, and more especially from the learned, watchful, and jealous clergy, whose scent of heresy was as keen as the war-horse's scent for the battle, which he smelleth afar off. But he says that, though for a while a highly popular preacher, Resby at length interspersed his teaching with most dangerous sentiments, and was convicted of holding no fewer than forty heresies. He specifies only two of these, viz. that the Pope is not the vicar of Christ, and that none but a holy man ought to be acknowledged for Pope. He does not say what his other thirty-eight heresies were, but we are at no loss to divine them. We have a sure index to them in the fact which Bower states, that Resby was a disciple of Wycliffe; so that his unspecified heresies must have been what his persecutors took for Wycliffism, and branded as such. Further, Bower acknow-

ledges that Resby did not stand alone in his day. Wycliffe had then other disciples in Scotland, who entertained his opinions and books, though with extreme secrecy, by instigation of the devil (so the Popish historian charitably puts it!) working on those to whom 'stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant.' Moreover, he tells us that he seldom, if ever, knew any infected with the pestilent doctrines of that wicked school being recovered from them, or going to sleep in the Lord in a Christian manner—a high compliment, certainly, to the constancy of the Lollards, an unwitting testimony to their being steadfast and immoveable in all the fiery trials through which their enemies made them pass.

Twenty-five years elapsed before Lollardism had its second martyr in Scotland; but in the interval the principles of it spread widely in the country, and took a powerful hold of many of the people. Of this we have many and various and clear indications, notwithstanding the scantiness of the memorials of those times that have come down to us.

One of these indications is the Pope's appointing Laurence of Lindores to the office of Inquisitor of Heresy for Scotland. Why this appointment? Rome was uneasy about Scotland's orthodoxy. The heart of His Holiness was meditating terror for some heresy that was troubling the Scottish



Church, and threatening to corrupt it from the purity of the Romish faith. And that heresy was Lollardism. There was no other to cause such disquietude and alarm. It was, above all other things, to search for Lollardism, and to do battle with it—it was to seize its apostles and abettors, and to rid the land of them by burning them, that the Abbot of Lindores was clothed with the office and armed with the powers of Inquisitor-General for Scotland.

Another indication of the same thing is the praise bestowed on certain persons of that age for championing orthodoxy and opposing Lollardism. The Duke of Albany, for example, was made Governor of Scotland in 1405, so that it was during his administration, and soon after the commencement of it, that Resby was committed to the flames. And what is Wintoun's eulogy of the Duke? It is such as he would never have penned—it is such that it could not have occurred to him to pen it, if Lollardism had not been then rife and strong, and if men had not been held in estimation in proportion to their zeal and efforts against it. He says of the Duke :

‘ He was a constant Catholike,  
All Lollard he hatyt and hereticke.’

Like praise is given to Haldenstone, Prior of St. Andrews; and it is equally significant of the

growth of Lollardism in his time, and the extent to which it was stirring the country. Bower, among many other good works for which he panegyricizes the Prior, says of him, 'As inquisitor, he sharply reprov'd and confuted heretics and Lollards.'

There is yet another indication of the same thing in the Acts passed against Lollardism by all authorities in the land, learned and political as well as ecclesiastical. Thus, in 1416, the University of St. Andrews enacted that all who commenced Masters of Arts should be required to swear that 'they would defend the Church against the insult of the Lollards, and would resist to the utmost of their power all adherents of that sect.' And the Parliament of James II., held at Perth on the 12th March 1424-5, passed the following Act:—

OF HERETICKIS AND LOLLARDIS.

'*Item*, Anentis Heretickis and Lollardis, that ilk Bischop sall ger inquyr be the Inquisione of Heresy quhar ony sic beis fundyne, ande at thai be punyst as Lawe of Haly Kirk requiris: Ande gif it misteris, that Secular power be callyt tharto in suppowate and helping of Haly Kirk.'

The second martyr for Lollardism in Scotland was Paul Craw or Cwarar. He was a Bohemian,

of the country of John Huss, one of Wycliffe's earliest and most renowned disciples. Wycliffe's writings having reached him, and converted him to his opinions, Huss commenced preaching them, and exposing the corruptions of the Church of Rome, encouraged by the favour which Wenceslaus bore both to him and to the anti-Papal spirit which some political causes had aroused in his dominions. His followers soon became numerous; his martyrdom greatly increased them, and from their master they were called Hussites. Paul Craw was their messenger. They sent him to Scotland to salute their fellow-religionists here, to comfort them in the tribulations which they were enduring, and to work together with them in advancing the cause for which they suffered.

Craw was a physician, and was highly recommended for his skill in the healing art; which he would seem, however, to have practised only in subservience to his religious mission, in which it much aided him. It gave him access into circles which would otherwise have been shut to him, and precious opportunities of disseminating his principles, which he sedulously improved. He was a learned and able Lollard evangelist, and an acute and powerful debater. This Bower confesses, representing him as an adept in sacred learning, and as ever ready to adduce Scripture in support of his

views as occasion required. Such a man was well fitted to be a helper of Lollardism in Scotland, and he appears to have had much success. His views were on most points identical with those of Wycliffe. 'He affirmed that purgatory was a cunningly-devised fable, the efficacy of pilgrimages an imposition, and that the doctrines of transubstantiation, the power of the "keys," and priestly absolution were vain devices of human invention. He strenuously asserted the right of the laity to the free perusal of the Holy Scriptures; and what was probably regarded as the most obnoxious of all his heretical opinions, he asserted that in temporal matters the spiritual should be subordinate to the civil, and that magistrates had a right to try and to punish ecclesiastics who had been guilty of criminal offences. In the celebration of the Lord's Supper, Crawar and his followers rejected the unauthorized rites of the Romish Church, and clearly followed the example of the primitive Christians. They commenced the service by the Lord's Prayer, after which they read the history of the institution of the ordinance, as contained in the New Testament, and then proceeded to distribute the elements, using common bread and a common drinking-cup or goblet.'

So dangerous an enemy of Rome could not be borne with. 'He was confuted,' Bower says, 'by

the venerable man Master Laurence of Lindores, inquisitor of heretical pravity, who gave rest nowhere within the kingdom to heretics and Lollards.' The whole process of Laurence's 'confuting' of him we have not seen ; but the most effective part of it, doubtless, was that which Bishop Lesley thus records: 'Coming to St. Andrews, he (Craw) scattered his poison secretly in the University. In a short time, his designs being discovered, he was reasoned with by some learned men. But heresy had taken such firm hold of his mind, that neither the force of argument, nor the authority of antiquity, nor the testimony of the Fathers of the Church, nor the true sense of Holy Scripture, could move him. He was therefore committed to the flames, to prevent the evil from spreading.' This was in 1432, and the scene of his execution was the market-place of St. Andrews. We have only one item more of information concerning him. Laurence, afraid of the effect which his last speech and dying words might have produced, had his mouth stopped at the stake. 'To declare thame selvis,' says Knox, 'to be the generatioun of Sathan, who from the begynnyng hath bein ennemy to the treuth, and he that desyrith the same to be hyd frome the knowledge of men, thei putt a ball of brass in his mouth, to the end that he should nott geve confessioun of his fayth to the people,

neyther yit that thei should understand the defence which he had against thair injust accusatioun and condemnioun.'

The next notice of the Lollards in our annals carries us forward toward the close of the fifteenth century. In 1494 no fewer than thirty Lollards of Ayrshire were tried for heresy. After the death of Wycliffe, the English Lollards were scattered abroad by the grievous persecutions to which they were subjected. Some of them found their way to the western parts of Scotland, and, settling there, propagated their faith, and made many converts to it. These are known in history by the name of the Lollards of Kyle. Thirty of them were summoned by Blackadder, Archbishop of Glasgow, before King James IV. and his great Council, to answer for their Lollardism. Knox, copying from the Glasgow 'Register,' or 'Scrollis,' which is now lost, gives in his *History* the names of some of the thirty, the articles of which they were accused, and a glimpse of how the trial proceeded, with the issue of it.

The names specified are—George Campbell of Cesnock, Adam Reid of Barskimming, John Campbell of Newmilns, Andrew Shaw of Polkemmet, Helen Chalmers, (by courtesy) Lady Polkellie, and Marion Chalmers, Lady Stairs. It is interesting to note that such of the posterity of those worthies as

figure most in the next two centuries did not dishonour the Lollard blood that ran in their veins.

They were charged with thirty-two heresies ; all of them, of course, wicked and dangerous, but some of them peculiarly 'damnable.' They condemned, for example, the worship of saints, images, and relics, and even said that we should not pray to the glorious Virgin Mary, but to God only. They denied transubstantiation, and held the worship of the sacrament of the altar to be idolatry. They maintained that the Pope is not the successor of Peter, except wherein it was said unto Peter, 'Get thee behind me, Satan ;' but that he and his bishops deceive the people, by their pardons, their bulls and indulgences, and their masses for souls in purgatory ; and that he exalts himself against God and above God. They rejected celibacy and the pretended miracles of Rome, and would not allow that they were bound to believe all that the doctors of the Kirk had written. Admitting the Pope's headship, they declared that he was the head of the Kirk of Antichrist, that he and his ministers were murderers of souls, and that the princes and prelates of his empire were thieves and robbers.

Very pertinently and justly does Knox remark :  
'By these articles, which God of His mercyfull providence caused the ennemies of His trewth to

keip in thare registeris, may appeir how mercyfullie God hath looked upoun this realme, re-teanyng within it some sponk of His light, evin in the tyme of grettast darkness. Nether yit awght any man to wonder, albeit that some thingis be obscurly, and some thingis scrabusly spokin ; but rather awght all faythfull to magnifye Goddis mercy, who without publict doctrin gave so great light.'

Adam Reid of Barskimming, one of themselves, was counsel for the accused—a man, evidently, of great shrewdness and humour ; and his defence gave the trial a turn so irresistibly ludicrous, that it quite broke down. In the early edition of Knox's *History*, Reid is, by a mistake of the press, called 'Adam Reid of *Blaspheming!*' Had Bishop Blackadder lived to read the *History*, he would, we suspect, have thought the misprint a very happy one. The Bishop, in mockery, asked Reid whether he believed that God was in heaven. Reid answered in effect, that he believed God was in heaven with a better faith than he had in the Seven Sacraments of Rome. The Bishop cried out, 'He denies that God is in heaven ;' at which the King, wondering, asked, 'Adam Reid, what say you ?' Reid replied, 'Please your Majesty to hear the end betwixt the churl and me.' Reid then thus addressed the Archbishop: 'I neither



think nor believe as thou thinkest that God is in heaven ; but I am most assured that He is not only in heaven, but also in earth. But thou and thy faction declare by your works that either ye think there is no God at all, or that He so sits in heaven that he regards not what is done upon the earth ; for if thou firmly believedst that God were in the heaven, thou shouldest not make thyself check-mate to the King, and altogether forget the charge that Jesus Christ the Son of God gave to His apostles, which was to preach His gospel, and not to play the proud prelates, as all the rabble of you do this day. And now, sir,' he added, addressing the King, 'judge ye whether the Bishop or I believe best that God is in heaven.' Blackadder and his accomplices were stunned by the blow, and hung down their heads. The King, highly enjoying the comedy, asked Reid, 'Wilt thou burn thy bill?' (*i.e.* abjure his opinions, of which the burning of his bill would have been the sign). Reid rejoined, 'Sir, the Bishop, if you will ;' and the rejoinder evoked peals of laughter.

Thus Adam Reid, by his rough but pawky and pungent wit, turned the charge against him and his fellow-panels into ridicule ; and the result was, that the diet against them was deserted, and they were dismissed, with a caution to beware of new doctrines, and to content themselves with believ-

ing as the Church believed. This was a signal triumph to the Lollards. The trial made their principles better known in the country than ever they had been before; and the ridiculous breakdown of the attempt to get them branded as heresy, and suppressed by force, mightily quickened their progress.

‘After that dyet,’ says Knox, ‘we find almoist no questioun for materis of religioun the space ney of thretty yearis. It pleased God of His great mercy, in the year of God 1527, to raise up His servand, MAISTER PATRIK HAMYLTOUN, at whome our hystorie doith begyn.’ Beginning the history of the Reformation in Scotland at that date, he drops the name of Lollards, and calls the agents in it the Reformers; and in this he is generally followed by succeeding writers. But the justice of this might be fairly challenged, if the point were much worth disputing. *Scottish Lollards* and *Scottish Reformers* are designations which do not contrast the one with the other. The Lollards were Reformers as much as those who began to be so called in 1527, and they sought essentially the same reforms. For a series of years, too, those called Reformers from the date mentioned were under Lollard influence, as well as under the influence of the Protestant Reformation on the Continent. It is, we presume, for these

and such reasons that the period of Lollardism in England is extended by writers on the subject to 1546, when real Protestantism was established in England, on the death of Henry VIII. and the accession of Edward VI. to the throne ; and if we are not approved, we trust that we may at least be excused, for consulting our convenience in extending the period to the corresponding event in Scotland, the establishment of the Protestant Reformation in 1560.

The history of the period is still mainly a martyrology, and the first who suffered was Patrick Hamilton. He was nobly and even royally connected ; his father, Patrick Hamilton of Kincaivil, being the son of the Lord Hamilton who married a sister of James III., and his mother being a daughter of John Alexander, Duke of Albany, the second son of James II.,—a connection to which he owed the abbacy of Ferne, to which he was appointed in his childhood. He was educated at St. Andrews ; and there, when he was about twenty years of age, some rays of gospel light began to irradiate his mind. These, there seems every reason to believe, reached him through a Lollard medium, John Andrew Duncan, a son of the laird of Airdrie, in Fife. Mr. Duncan, in sojourning in Beverley, learned Lollardism, and became a most zealous advocate of it. On his return

home, he and Hamilton got on terms of great intimacy; and the effect of their intercourse was, that Hamilton was strongly prepossessed in favour of the new doctrines. This led him to visit the Continent, in quest of further illumination. After spending some time with Luther, Melancthon, and other Reformers at Wirtemberg, he was recommended by them to the College of Marburg, then presided over by Francis Lambert; and there he drank in the knowledge of the Scriptures with the utmost avidity, and was fully instructed in the principles and grounds of the reformed faith.

Panting to show unto his countrymen the way of salvation, as he himself had now learned it, he returned to Scotland, and began to preach the truth, in opposition to all the Popish errors by which it had been corrupted. His talents, his learning, his rank, his character, his youthful and graceful appearance, all contributed to his popularity, and deepened the impression produced by the simple and pure gospel, which he preached with intense earnestness; and which he embodied in the small Latin treatise, commonly called 'Patrick's Places,'—a wonderful book for its day, and which Foxe has translated and incorporated in his *Martyrology*. The clergy got frightened, and on pretence of wishing a free and friendly conference with him on his opinions, they decoyed him to St.

Andrews. Archbishop Beaton employed Archibald Campbell, an able and crafty friar, Prior of the Dominicans, to worm himself into Hamilton's confidence, and ascertain his sentiments. Campbell did so; and having learned his views, with which he affected sympathy, he reported them to Beaton. Beaton apprehended his unsuspecting victim, imprisoned him in the Castle, and convened a court to try him for heresy. Friar Campbell was his accuser. The articles against him were fourteen in number; and, according to the most material of these, he held and taught that the corruption of sin remains in children after baptism; that we are justified by faith and not by works; that penance does not purchase remission; that auricular confession is not necessary to salvation; that there is no purgatory; and that the Pope is Antichrist.

Hamilton defended himself very ably, by pleading the truth of these tenets, and denying others of which he was falsely accused; and concluded his testimony by solemnly declaring that neither mass, matins, nor dirges—that nothing but the blood of Christ can save the soul of man. 'What need we any further witness?' said his judges; 'we ourselves have heard from his own mouth. He denies the institution of the Holy Kirk, and the authority of the holy father the

Pope.' Sentence of condemnation was pronounced upon him ; and that very day, the 29th February 1528, was Patrick Hamilton led to the stake, aged twenty-eight says Tytler, and twenty-four says M'Crie. The place of execution was the area in front of St. Salvator's College, 'where,' in the words of Pitscottie, 'was a great fire, and a stake, and a scaffold made, whereon they put this innocent man in presence of all the people.' When he had come to the scene, he put off his gown, and gave it, with other pieces of his apparel, to his servant, saying, 'This stuff will not help in the fire, yet will do thee some good. I have no more to leave thee but the ensample of my death, which I pray thee keep in mind ; for albeit the same be bitter and painful in man's judgment, yet is it the entrance to everlasting life, which none can inherit that denieth Christ before the congregation.' His bodily suffering was protracted and agonizing. The executioner applying fire to the powder that was laid to ignite the wood, his left hand and the left side of his face were scorched, but the pile did not kindle. More powder had to be brought from the Castle, which was at a considerable distance. The martyr endured his lingering torment with dauntless heroism and with imperturbable meekness and calmness. The friars aggravated the pains of his last moments by importuning him to

save his life by recanting. Campbell was peculiarly busy, saying, 'Turn, thou heretic, call upon the Lady,' etc. In vain did Hamilton mildly beseech him to desist; and as he persisted, he at length said, 'Wicked man, thou knowest that I am not a heretic, and that it is the truth of God for which I now suffer; so much thou didst confess unto me in private, and thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ.' Powder was now again thrown upon the pile, and kindled; and he died commending his soul to God, and beseeching him to dispel the darkness of Popery from his native land. His last words were: 'How long, O Lord, shall darkness cover this realm? How long wilt Thou suffer this tyranny of man? Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.'

Hamilton's martyrdom had the contrary effect to what his murderers wished and expected. It moved pity, excited inquiry, and impressed many in favour of the truth and excellence of the principles for which he suffered. So much was this the case, that John Lindsay said to the Archbishop: 'My lord, if ye burn any more, except ye follow my counsel ye will utterly destroy yourselves. If ye burn them, let them be burnt in *cellars*, for the smoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton hath infected as many as it blew upon!' The miserable fate of Friar Campbell tended to produce the same effect

on the public mind. The summons which his dying victim gave him to answer for himself at the judgment-seat of Christ so rang in his ears, and so pierced his heart, that in a short time he died in a state of insanity, produced by horror of conscience and despair.

Mr. Duncan, the young laird of Airdrie, meditated delivering Hamilton from his murderers. With this view he had armed and mounted about a score of his tenants and servants, intending to enter St. Andrews by night, and to rescue him out of their hands; but a troop of horsemen surrounded them, and made Duncan himself their prisoner. We mention the circumstance, because it is fitted to correct some prevalent misconceptions, and to reflect light on the potential influence which Lollardism had on the Scottish Reformation. 'We have been accustomed to suppose,' says Dr. M'Crie, 'that Patrick Hamilton was the first who introduced the reformed opinions into Scotland, that he acquired them abroad, and that they were embraced by very few of his countrymen previously to his martyrdom. This opinion requires to be corrected. Before that youthful and zealous Reformer made his appearance, the errors and corruptions of Popery had been detected by others, who were ready to co-operate with him in his measures of reform. The more the subject is



investigated, the more clearly, I am persuaded, it will appear that the opinions of Wycliffe had a powerful and extensive influence upon the Reformation. Even in Scotland they contributed greatly to predispose the minds of men to the Protestant doctrine. We can trace the existence of the Lollards in Ayrshire from the time of Wycliffe to the days of George Wishart; and in Fife they were so numerous, as to have formed the design of rescuing Patrick Hamilton by force on the day of his execution.'

The next who suffered was Henry Forrest, a young Benedictine monk. He had been overheard expressing some admiration of Hamilton. Archbishop Beaton apprehended and imprisoned him; and, to provide evidence which might convict him, he appointed Friar Walter Laing to visit him as a spiritual guide and comforter, and to hear his confession. Not suspecting treachery under the cloak of religion, and trusting in the rules of the Church, which forbade the secrets of the confessional to be revealed, Forrest answered frankly the insidious questions put to him, saying that he thought Master Patrick a good man, wrongfully put to death, and that his articles were true, and not heretical. He was forthwith put on his trial, his confession being used against him, and was condemned as a heretic equal in iniquity to

Hamilton himself. There was a distinct and conclusive proof of this in the circumstance of an English New Testament being found in his possession, in all probability Wycliffe's; a deadly crime this, taken by itself, in the view of his persecutors.

On the day of his death the clergy assembled to degrade him; and when he saw their faces, he cried out, 'Fie on falsehood! Fie on false friars, revealers of confession! After this day, let no man ever trust any friars, contemners of God's word and deceivers of men!' He was burnt at the north gate of the Abbey Church of St. Andrews; the *north* side being chosen, 'to the intent that all the people of Angus might see the fire, and so might be more feared from falling into the like doctrine.'

On the 27th August 1534, David Straiton and Norman Gourlay, a priest, suffered the same death for the same cause, on the Castlehill of Edinburgh. Straiton was brother to the Baron of Lauriston in Kincardineshire, and a frequent companion of the celebrated Erskine of Dun, by whom he was brought to the knowledge and faith of the new doctrines. It is recorded of him, that one day, while yet a young man, reading these words, 'Who-soever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will

I also deny before my Father which is in heaven,' he was deeply moved, and, falling on his knees, implored God that, though he had been a great sinner, he might never be permitted, from fear of any bodily torments, to deny Him or His truth. His prayer was signally answered in the hour of greatest need. Besieged and importuned to purchase his life by recanting, he sternly and stedfastly refused, and encouraged his fellow-sufferer in the same noble resolution.

On the Castlehill of Edinburgh, in February 1539, Cardinal David Beaton made one grand holocaust of eight or nine like heresiarchs: Dean Thomas Forrest, Vicar of Dollar; Keillor and Beveridge, two black friars; Duncan Simpson, a priest of Stirling; Robert Forrester, a notary of Stirling; and three or four others of the same town.

Forrest was a native of Fife, and of a house of some consideration there. His father was master of the royal stables in the days of James IV., and the kindness of a noble lady enabled him to complete his education at Cologne. On coming home, he was admitted a canon regular in the monastery of St. Colm's Inch; and there he met with a volume of Augustine, of which he used to say, 'Oh, happy and blessed was that book to me, by which I came to the knowledge of the truth!' The earnest study of the Scriptures followed; the doctrines of the

Reformers were embraced ; and it was forthwith his anxious endeavour to commend them to his brother monks. The abbot warned him of his danger, and advised him to say as others said, and to keep his views to himself. His answer was : ‘ I thank you, my lord ; you are a friend of my body, but not of my soul. Before I deny a word that I have spoken, you shall see this body of mine consumed to ashes, and blown away with the wind.’

Appointed to the charge of Dollar, he was indefatigable in his pastoral labours, and abounded in deeds of piety and charity. When the Pope’s agents came into his bounds selling their indulgences, he said, ‘ Parishioners, I am bound to speak the truth to you ; this is but to deceive you. There is no pardon for our sins that can come to us either from Pope or any other, but solely by the blood of Christ.’

The friars having complained of Dean Forrest to his bishop, Crichton of Dunkeld, because he preached to his parishioners every Sabbath upon the gospel and the epistle of the day, and because he did not take from them certain clerical dues, the Bishop called him before him, and the following most instructive and ever-memorable colloquy took place between them :—

*Bishop*—My joy, Dean Thomas ; I love you, and would give you good advice.

*Dean*—I thank your lordship heartily.

*Bishop*—My joy, Dean Thomas, I am informed that you preach the epistle or gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you take not the cow nor the cloth from them, which thing is very prejudicial to the churchmen; and therefore, my joy, Dean Thomas, I would you take your cow and your upmost cloth, as other churchmen do [the best cow and the upper garment of a deceased person were held to be the vicar's due], or else it is too much to preach every Sunday, for in so doing you make the people think that we should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good epistle, or any good gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the Holy Church, to preach that, and let the rest be.

*Dean*—My lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain that I take not the cow nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing that they have, and I will give and communicate with them anything that I have; and so, my lord, we agree right well, and there is no discord among us. And whereas your lordship saith it is too much to preach every Sunday, indeed I think it is too little, and also would wish that your lordship did the like.

*Bishop*—Nay, nay, Dean Thomas, let that be, for we are not ordained to preach.

*Dean*—When your lordship biddeth me preach when I find any good epistle or a good gospel, truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the epistles and gospels, and among them all I could never find any evil epistle or any evil gospel; but if your lordship will show me the good epistle and the good gospel, and the evil epistle and the evil gospel, then I shall preach the good and omit the evil.

*Bishop*—I thank God that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was [hence the proverb in Scotland, ‘Ye are like the Bishop of Dunkeld, who knew neither new nor old law’]; therefore, Dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my mass-book and my pontifical. Go your way, and leave off all these fantasies; for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, you will repent it when you may not mend it.

*Dean*—I trust my cause is just in the presence of God, and therefore I care not much what follows.

At his trial the following encounter took place between him and his accuser, who was ‘a venomous priest,’ by name John Lauder:—

*Lauder*—False heretic! thou sayest it is not lawful to kirkmen to take their teinds and offerings and corpse-presents, though we have been in use of them constitute by the Kirk and King; and also

our holy father, the Pope, hath confirmed to us the same ?

*Dean*—Brother, I said not so, but I said it was not lawful to kirkmen to spend the patrimony of the Kirk as they do, as on riotous feasting and on fair women, and at playing at cards and dice ; and neither the Kirk well maintained, nor the people instructed in God's word, nor the sacraments duly administered to them, as Christ commanded.

*Lauder*—Dare thou deny that which is openly known in the country ?—that thou gave again to the parishioners the cow and the upmost cloths, saying that you had no right to them ?

*Dean*—I gave them again to those that had more mister [need] than I.

*Lauder*—Thou false heretic ! Thou learned all thy parishioners to say the Paternoster, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English, which is contrary to our acts, that they should know what they say.

*Dean*—Brother, my people are so rude and ignorant, they understand no Latin, so that my conscience moved me to pity their ignorance, which provoked me to learn them the words of their salvation in English, and the Ten Commandments, which are the law of God, whereby they might observe the same. I teached the Belief, whereby they might

know their faith in God, and Jesus Christ His Son, and of His death and resurrection. Moreover, I taught them and learned them the Lord's own Prayer in the mother tongue, to the effect that they should know to whom they should pray, and in whose name they should pray, and what they should ask and desire in prayer, which I believe to be the pattern of all prayer.

*Lauder*—Why did you that? By our acts and ordinances of our holy father the Pope?

*Dean*—I follow the acts of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Apostle Paul, who saith in his doctrine to the Corinthians, that he had rather speak five words to the understanding and edifying of the people, than ten thousand words in a strange tongue, which they understand not.

*Lauder*—Where finds thou that?

*Dean*—In my book here in my sleeve.

Upon this *Lauder*, starting with a bound to the vicar, pulled the book out of his hand, and holding it up to the people, said with a loud voice, 'Behold, sirs, he has the book of heresy in his sleeve that makes all the din and play in our Kirk.'

*Dean*—Brother, God forgive you; you could say better, if ye pleased, nor to call the book of the Evangel of Jesus Christ the book of heresy! I assure you, dear brother, that there is nothing in this book but the life, the latter will and testament



of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, penned by the four Evangelists for our wholesome instruction and comfort.

*Lauder (interrupting)*—Know thou not, heretic, that it is contrary to our acts and express commands to have a New Testament in English, which is enough to burn thee for?

At the stake, Friar Hardbuckle most persistently but vainly assailed his constancy, and urged him to pray to the Virgin Mary. His New Testament was again taken from him, and held up amid shouts of 'Heresy! Heresy! Burn him! Burn him!' which he answered by praying, 'God be merciful to me a sinner! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit;' and repeating portions of the Psalms of David as long as he could articulate.

The bishops of the west, determined to show that they were not behind those of the east in *burning* zeal, had two persons, Kennedy and Russell, brought to the stake for heresy in Glasgow in March 1538. Kennedy was a poetic genius, and had perhaps galled them with his irony. When apprehended by his enemies, he was at first timid and faint; but by and by he was so mightily and marvellously strengthened and comforted, that, falling on his knees, he blessed God with a loud voice for pulling him with His own hand from the pit into which he would have cast himself, and en-

abling him to face death at the stake, triumphing over it. His companion spoke to him many good words and comfortable words, as they were on their way to the death-scene; and, having reached it, fixing his eyes on the prelates who presided, he said to them: 'Now is your hour and the power of darkness; ye now sit in judgment, whilst we stand before you, falsely accused and most wrongfully condemned. But the day is coming when we shall have our innocence declared, and ye shall discover your blindness; meanwhile proceed, and fill up the measure of your iniquities.'

At Perth, in 1543, six persons were offered in one great sacrifice to the Moloch of Popish tyranny. They were Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Revelson, James Founleson, and his wife, Helen Stirke. Apprehended for heresy, they were lodged in the Spey Tower of the city, and brought forth next day to judgment.

Robert Lamb was accused of interrupting Friar Spense, when he heard him preaching that prayer to the saints is so necessary that there can be no salvation without it. He was also accused, with William Anderson and James Revelson, of hanging up the image of St. Francis in a cord, nailing rams' horns to his head and a cow's tail to his rump, and of eating a goose on Allhallow-even. James Hunter, a simple and illiterate man, was

accused of keeping company with such heresiarchs ; and this, we suppose, must have been the crime of Founleson too—we at least have observed no record of anything more specific laid to his charge. Helen Stirke was accused of not calling, in child-bed, upon the name of the Virgin Mary, but only upon God ; and of saying that Mary owed the honour of being the mother of Christ not to her own merits, but to God's free mercy. There was a separate count against Revelson, to the effect that, when building a house, he had set upon the top of his fourth storey a three-crowned diadem of Peter, made of wood, which Cardinal Beaton took to be done in mockery of his cardinal's hat.

For these crimes, as also for conferring and reasoning on the Scriptures contrary to the Act of Parliament, they were all hanged, one excepted ; why not burned we have not seen explained. 'So, comforting one another, and assuring themselves that they should sup together in the kingdom of heaven that night, they commended themselves to God, and died constantly in the Lord.' The one exception was Helen Stirke. She earnestly desired to die with her husband, but was refused. Following him to the place of execution, she comforted and encouraged him, and parting from him with a kiss, said, 'Husband, rejoice ! we have lived together many joyful days, but this day, in which

we are to die, ought to be the most joyful to us both, because we now shall have joy for ever. Therefore I will not bid you good-night, for we shall soon meet with joy in the kingdom of heaven.' Helen was drowned in a pool of the Tay, in the neighbourhood of the scaffold on which her husband hung a corpse. She was taken to the pool with a sucking child at her breast—a sight, surely, enough to move the heart of a stone; and having commended her orphan children to the neighbours, and given the suckling at her breast to a nurse provided for it, with unflinching firmness and unruffled calmness she resigned herself to death.

George Wishart was another of Cardinal Beaton's victims. He was of the family of Pitarrow, in the Mearns, his father being Justice-Clerk to James v. Brought early to the knowledge of the truth, perhaps by Erskine of Dun, who afterwards patronized him, he devoted himself to the work of an evangelist, and was an admirable preacher of the gospel. His natural talents were good, his scholarship high, his character noble, his eloquence winning and impressive, his appearance in no ordinary degree prepossessing and commanding; and all these combined to give him great power of rousing and swaying his fellow-men. For teaching his scholars at Montrose to read

the New Testament in the original tongue he had to flee Scotland.

During his exile we trace him first to Bristol, where he publicly preached the gospel, and denounced the abounding Mariolatry. But he had not yet the faith and the fortitude necessary to the martyr; for, being proceeded against by the authorities, and found a heretic, he escaped by burning his fagot in the Church of St. Nicholas. We trace him next to Germany and Switzerland; and after that to Cambridge, where he became a member of Corpus Christi College, pursued his studies with great ardour, did the work of a tutor to others, and earned the highest reputation as a gentleman, a scholar, and a Christian.

On returning to Scotland in 1543, and beginning his public labours in Dundee, crowds of all ranks attended on them; and many were brought to abjure the errors and corruptions of Popery, and to know and profess the true doctrine of Christ. The clergy took the alarm, and so opposed and threatened him that Wishart transferred his services to the west country, where they met with much acceptance. The outbreak of the plague in Dundee brought him back to it; and the God-like work which he did during that dire visitation, while it raised his reputation and influence among the people, proportionally increased the dread

and hatred with which the zealots of Popery regarded him. Quitting Dundee, he betook himself to the Lothians, and resided in turns with the Lairds of Brunstone, Longniddry, and Ormiston—'every Sabbath teaching openly in some church or other with good success, until he was apprehended.'

His apprehension took place in the end of January, at Ormiston, whither he had gone accompanied by some friends. John Knox wished to go with them, but Wishart dissuaded him, saying, 'One is enough for a sacrifice at this time.' 'After supper he held comfortable discourse with God's chosen children' present, and sang and prayed with them, and then passed to his bed-chamber. About midnight, the Earl of Bothwell surrounded the house, Cardinal Beaton being within a mile's distance, with a body of 500 men. Wishart surrendered to Bothwell, on a solemn assurance that his life would be spared; but his captor perfidiously delivered him to the Cardinal, who was thirsting for his blood, and who, taking him first to Edinburgh and then to St. Andrews, cast him into the dungeon of his castle, where he lay in irons till his execution.

The Governor Arran having refused to grant a commission to a civil judge to try Wishart, Beaton summoned a council of bishops and

abbots to meet in the Abbey Church, and on his own authority brought Wishart to trial before them. The Council having convened, Winram, the sub-Prior of St. Andrews, preached, and the 'venomous' Lauder accused the prisoner. The grand charge against him was heresy; which was divided, however, into no fewer than eighteen articles, comprising the then usual counts against the Reformers, and plenteously garnished with such names as 'runnagate,' 'heretic,' 'traitor,' 'thief,' 'deceiver of the people,' hurled at the head of the panel. His bold and noble defence was as unavailing as his Master's before the Sanhedrim. He was found guilty, and condemned to the stake. Before sentence was pronounced, he poured out his soul in a most pathetic prayer, pleading with God on His permitting His servants to suffer the cruelty and fury of the ungodly, and importuning grace for them, that, while such times of trial lasted, they might be faithful unto death.

Sentence having been pronounced on him, Wishart was conducted back to the Castle, to spend there his last night on earth. Next day two executioners arrayed him in a black linen coat, fastened some bags of powder to his body, tied a rope about his neck and a chain about his waist, and led him to the stake, which was erected in

front of the Castle, with the great guns in position opposite to it, in case of any attempt being made to rescue the victim. The front tower of the Castle was hung with tapestry, and luxuriously fitted with cushions, that the Cardinal and friends with him might loll on them, and feast their eyes on the spectacle below.

The blessed martyr having mounted the pile, declared to the people the joy he felt in offering up his life for the name of Christ, and exhorted them not to be offended with the good word of God because of the torments which they saw prepared for him. Having thus spoken, he kneeled down, and prayed for a little with great fervour. Then, being raised up and bound to the stake, he cried with a loud voice, 'O Saviour of the world, have mercy on me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into Thine hands!' The executioner then kindled the fire, and the powder that was fastened to his body exploded. The captain of the Castle, perceiving him to be still alive, bade him be of good courage; on which the martyr said: 'This flame hath scorched my body, yet hath it not daunted my spirit. But he, who from yonder high place beholdeth us with such pride, shall within a few days lie in the same as ignominiously as now he is seen proudly to rest himself.' As he was uttering



these words, the executioner drew the cord that was about his neck so tight, that he spoke no more, and the fire soon consumed him to ashes. 'And thus,' as Stevenson says, 'like another Elijah, he took his flight to heaven from a fiery chariot.'

It was on the 1st of March 1546 that Wishart uttered the above words concerning Cardinal Beaton. On the 29th of the following May, out of the same window from which he had looked down on the dying martyr, the Cardinal's body was hung in a bloody sheet, to satisfy the Provost and the clamorous citizens that he was really dead. He was succeeded in the Primacy by John Hamilton, bastard son of the first Earl of Arran, and so half-brother of the second Earl, the Governor of Scotland. Hamilton pursued the same policy of clearing the land of the pestilent Reformers by burning them. His first burnt-offering was Adam Wallace, described by Knox as 'a sempill man, without great learnyng, but ane that was zelous in godlynes, and of ane up-rycht lyeff.' Though not very learned, Wallace was an educated man, and was tutor to the children of Lady Ormiston. Apprehended and carried to Edinburgh, he was tried in the church of the Blackfriars, before Governor Arran, the Earl of Argyll, great Justiciar of the kingdom, the Earls

of Angus, Huntly, and Glencairn, and, as Knox phrases it, 'diverse otheris besydes the bischoppes and thare rable.'

Wallace's accuser was the 'venomous priest' Lauder; and the articles against him were—that he had usurped the office of a preacher; that he had baptized one of his own children; that he had denied the existence of purgatory; that he had held prayers to the saints and for the dead to be altogether superstitious; that he had called the service of the mass idolatry; and that he had affirmed that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar were, after consecration, bread and wine still. He defended himself with much propriety and acuteness, despite of the scandalous brow-beating and insult which he had to bear from Huntly, bringing the differences between him and his prosecutors to the test of the Scriptures, a copy of which in French, Dutch, and English he had fastened to his belt. He was found guilty, and adjudged to the flames; the Earl of Glencairn, however, dissenting, and protesting that he did not consent to his death. After his condemnation the most strenuous efforts were made in vain to persuade him to recant. He was burned next day on the Castlehill, many in the crowd of spectators feeling profound sympathy with him, and giving articulate expression

to it; but the Provost of the city, who superintended the execution, would not allow him to address them.

The last martyr during the reign of Popish tyranny in Scotland suffered in 1558. He was Walter Mill, parish priest of Lunan, in Forfarshire. Having embraced the Reformed doctrines, he, as far back as the days of Cardinal Beaton, left off saying mass, for which he had to abandon his cure. He added another deadly offence—he married a wife, and judged it prudent to go into concealment. Marked out for the Church's vengeance, two creatures of Archbishop Hamilton at length apprehended him in Dysart, and carried him to St. Andrews, where he was imprisoned in the Castle. Tested by both promises and threats, his constancy proved immoveable. He was brought to trial in the metropolitan church, before a conclave of bishops, abbots, doctors, and friars. He was so feeble from age, being a decrepid old man of eighty-two, and from the treatment to which he had been subjected, that he had to be assisted in climbing up to the pulpit, which was his 'dock,' and it was feared that he would not be able to make his voice heard. 'But,' says Foxe, 'when he began to speake, he made the church to ryng and sounde agayne, with so great courage and stoutness, that the Christians which were present

were no lesse rejoyced than the adversaries were confounded and ashamed.'

Examined in the usual way on the topics disputed between the Papists and the Reformers, Mill answered with wonderful promptness, clearness, and point. When asked, 'Wilt thou not recant thyne erroneous opinions?' he replied, 'I am assured of my lyfe: I know I must dye once, and therefore, as Christ said to Judas, *Quod facis, fac cito* (What thou doest, do quickly). Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corne, I am no chaffe; I will not be blowen away with the wind, nor burst with the flaile, but I will abide both.'

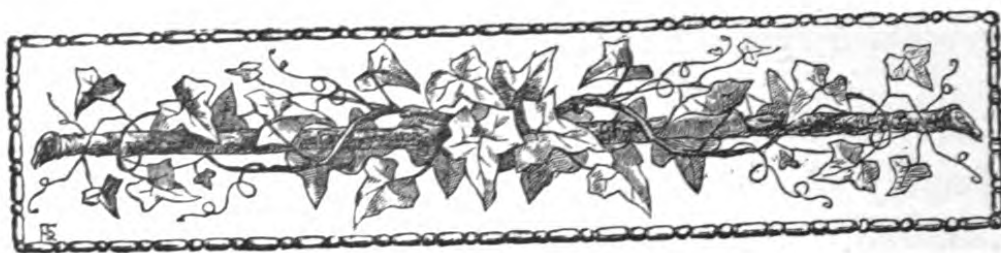
His sentence, which was that he should be delivered to the temporal judge, and punished as a heretic, revolted public feeling. Provost Learmonth refused to be his temporal judge. Not a merchant would sell, not a citizen would give, as much cord as would tie him to the stake, or a tar barrel to burn him, or a pound of powder to kindle the fire. One of the Archbishop's own domestics, a man of dissolute habits, was made judge for the occasion, and the rope for binding the victim was cut from his Grace's pavilion. His murderers would fain have prevented him from speaking at the stake, but 'some of the young men committed both the burners and the byshops their maisters

to the devill, saying that they believed that **they** should lament that day, and desyred the sayd Walter to speake what he pleased.' 'Standing upon the coals,' he protested that he suffered for no crime, but for the faith of Jesus Christ as set forth in the Scriptures, for which he most willingly laid down his life. He exhorted the people, if they would escape eternal death, to be no more seduced by the lies of Antichrist and his brood, but to rest their entire dependence on Christ, the only and all-sufficient sacrifice. He expressed his trust in God that he was the last who should suffer death in Scotland for this cause. His last words, as the flames were enveloping him, were: 'Lord, have mercy on me. Pray, people, while there is time!'

The place where he suffered was in front of the main gate of the priory, or what now goes by the name of the Pends. In testimony of their respect for his memory and their detestation of his murder, the people of St. Andrews raised a cairn on the spot. The Archbishop and his satellites removed the cairn, but as often as they did so it was restored next morning, in spite of the anathemas which they denounced against the restorers; and this ominous battle between the priests and the people was at length ended only by surrounding the spot with a guard.

Mill's dying hope, that he was the last whom Popery should in that age martyr in the land, was fulfilled. Two years after his martyrdom, the friends of the cause for which he suffered became ascendant, and the Protestant Reformation was established.





## W O L S E Y.



**T**HOMAS WOLSEY was born in Ipswich, in Suffolk, in 1471. He was of plebeian origin, his father being a butcher in Ipswich. From a not very intelligible prejudice against the butchers' craft, and from loathness to believe that one who came to such greatness was so low-born, some poor attempts have been made to raise his father in the social scale to the rank of a grazier; but these ought to have been forestalled by his contemporary, John Skelton, who designates him 'a butcher's dog,' and says that he was 'cast out of a butcher's stall;' and by Shakespeare, who must have conversed with persons who knew Wolsey, and who makes Buckingham say of him:

'This butcher's cur is venom-mouthed, and I  
Have not power to muzzle him.'

Wolsey's natural talents were of the highest order; and the education which he received in Suffolk was so good, that he was fit in his boyhood for Magdalen College, Oxford. He was sent to it; and when only fifteen, his proficiency was such that he took his bachelor's degree with great distinction, and was honoured with the soubriquet of 'The Boy Bachelor.' He was soon elected a Fellow of Magdalen, and appointed head-master of the school then attached to the College; in which humble office he did much to advance the interests of education, and meditated greater things for it, which he did not afterwards forget.

While master of this school, Wolsey had under his charge three sons of the Marquis of Dorset, whom he accompanied, in a Christmas vacation, to their father's seat in the country. He was then in the twenty-ninth year of his age; and so struck was the Marquis with his mental powers and acquirements, his handsome person, and his fascinating manners and conversation, that he at once became his patron, and presented him to the vacant rectory of Lymington, in Somersetshire, to which he was instituted in October 1500. The living, though 'no very mean one,' did not long satisfy Wolsey; and we may suspect that he was willing to bid it adieu the sooner on account of a mishap which there befell him. At no period



of his life was he remarkable for self-control, sobriety, and circumspection; and it would seem that, in the ardour of youth, clerical indiscretions did very easily beset him. Overtaken in one of these, he attracted the notice of Sir Amyas Paulet, a neighbouring justice of the peace. With some companions like himself, who had not yet cast their colts' teeth, he had gone to a fair in a neighbouring town, where all the party got drunk, and raised a riot. Sir Amyas was at the fair, and, selecting the rector of Lymington as the most criminal of the band, and convicting him, he adjudged him to be set in the stocks, and had the sentence executed immediately. Well might Cavendish, his chamberlain and biographer, ask, after relating the scandalous misadventure, 'Who would have thought that ever he should have attained to be Chancellor of England?' Whether they fully sympathize or not with the reflection, he adds, 'These be wonderful works of God and fortune.' We may add that Wolsey, in the heyday of his power, had his revenge on Sir Amyas; making him, as Bishop Godwyn states, dance attendance on him in London for several years, and curry favour by all manner of obsequiousness. He, in fact, detained him a prisoner for five or six years in his lodging in the Gate House of the Middle Temple, next to Fleet Street; though, to appease Wolsey, the

baronet had rebuilt the house, and decked it sumptuously round about with Wolsey's arms, etc., 'in glorious sort.'

After being for a short time chaplain in the family of Deane, Archbishop of Canterbury, Wolsey got fairly on the road of promotion. At Lymington he had, by his wit and vivacity, commended himself to Sir John Nanfant, a Somersetshire gentleman, Treasurer of Calais, which was then an English possession. Sir John first engaged him as his chaplain, then appointed him his deputy in the office of Treasurer of Calais, where he resided for a considerable time; and afterwards, through Bishop Fox, Secretary and Lord Privy Seal, introduced him to King Henry VII., and got him appointed King's almoner and King's chaplain.

At that time Henry needed just such a servant as Wolsey. The widowed King, then in his fiftieth year, had been looking through all Europe for a rich and fair wife, and had been promised the hand of Lady Margaret, Duchess Dowager of Savoy, the only daughter of the Emperor Maximilian. An envoy was wanted to conduct some delicate negotiations connected with this affair, and Henry appointed Wolsey to this embassy. The project of the marriage with Margaret came to nothing, but Wolsey executed the part

entrusted to him with a despatch which gave his Majesty a most agreeable surprise, and in a way which was otherwise highly satisfactory. The rich deanery of Lincoln was immediately bestowed on him. His duties as royal chaplain brought him daily into the presence of the King; he speedily became a central figure in the Court circle; and the influence which he exercised over the high personages among whom he mingled has been truly described as 'magical.' His abilities were transcendent, his tact admirable, and his eloquence irresistible. As Shakespeare says, he 'was exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading.'

Henry VII. died in 1509, and his son, Henry VIII., succeeded him. Wolsey's advancement was now rapid, the young King being 'wholly taken with his smooth tongue and pliable behaviour.' So pliable was it, that he played the courtier to perfection. To please Henry was his end and aim in everything. He studiously pandered to the gratification of all his humours and propensities. He was now forty, and Henry only eighteen; but in his passion for all the pleasures of youth, he was, or at least affected to be, as ardent as his master. To the royal tastes in other things he ministered with equal carefulness and success. Thomas Aquinas was Henry's favourite author. The subtleties of the angelic Doctor none could dis-





MEN OF MARK IN BRITISH CHURCH HISTORY.

cuss with him so acutely and agreeably as Wolsey; and having done so, 'with a happy facility he could pass from St. Thomas to the ladies, and affairs of gallantry.' With state affairs Henry could not be pestered. 'He had as little inclination,' says a late writer, 'to trouble himself with business as a wild ox has to be yoked to the plough;' and Wolsey not only accommodated himself to this feeling, but nursed it, that a monopoly of 'business,' and of everything connected with it, might come into his own hands. Lord Campbell says:—

'Wolsey at once conformed to the tastes of the youthful sovereign, and won his heart. He jested, he rallied, he sang, he danced, he caroused with the King and his gay companions, and in a very short time, by his extraordinary address, he not only supplanted Surrey in the royal favour, but also Fox, his patron. He was sworn a privy councillor, and appointed King's Almoner, an office which kept him in constant attendance on the person of the monarch in his hours of relaxation; and thereby enabled him to acquire over the mind of Henry an ascendancy which was imputed to the practice of the magical art. It is said, however, that although Wolsey, for the purposes of ambition, countenanced irregularities at Court unsuitable to the presence of a priest, he was careful, when any opportunity offered, to give good advice to the

King, as well in respect to his personal as his political conduct, and highly tending on both accounts to his advantage and improvement. He would instil into his mind a lesson on the art of government over a game at primero, and after a roistering party with him at night, he would hold with him in the morning a disputation on a question out of Thomas Aquinas.'

The Court of the young monarch was not without its factions, intrigues, and jealousies. To get rid of these, and of the annoyance and hindrance which they caused, Wolsey advised Henry to quit his father's counsellors, and to entrust his authority to one person, whose sole and whole object should be to serve him. He further advised that this person should, if possible, be of congenial temperament, tastes, and habits with the King himself, to take part with him in his engagements and indulgences, obtruding state cares on him only at intervals, 'introducing him gradually into the knowledge of public business, and initiating him into the science of government without tedious restraint or application.' Henry warmly approved of the advice, and committed to Wolsey the realization of his own idea. This was in reality making him his prime minister, on doing which he granted him the magnificent mansion, with gardens, in Fleet Street, which had belonged to the attainted Empson. His

father's old ministers, the Duke of Norfolk and Bishop Fox, being now treated with neglect and disrespect, retired from Court, and Wolsey reigned without a rival. 'Thus,' says Cavendish, 'the Almoner ruled all them that before ruled him ; such things did his policy and wit bring to pass. Who was now in high favour but Master Almoner? Who had all the suit but Master Almoner? And who ruled all under the King but Master Almoner? Thus he proceeded still in favour. At last, in came presents, gifts, and rewards so plentifully, that he lacked nothing that might either please his fantasy or enrich his coffers.'

The catalogue of the offices which he engrossed in the course of the next four years (1510-1514) is a long one. He was made Registrar and Chancellor of the Order of the Garter; Reporter of the proceedings in the Star Chamber; Lord Treasurer, on the resignation of the Duke of Norfolk in 1512; and Commissary-General of the army when Henry went to war with France in 1513. Having obtained from the Pope a dispensation to hold pluralities in the Church, he became Rector of Torrington, Canon of Windsor, Prebendary of York, Dean of York, Bishop of Lincoln, and Archbishop of York. With the latter he 'was allowed to unite, first the see of Durham, and next that of Winchester. He farmed, besides, on very advantageous terms, the



bishoprics of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, filled by foreigners, who gladly compounded for the indulgence of residing abroad by yielding up to him a large share of their English incomes. The rich Abbey of St. Albans he held *in commendam*. To these appointments must be added the bishopric of Tournay, in France. When that city surrendered to Henry in 1513, he claimed the disposal of the office by right of conquest, gave it to Wolsey, and put him in immediate possession of the temporalities; and half a dozen years after, when Henry restored Tournay to Francis I., it was for 600,000 crowns paid to himself, and under charge of an annual pension of 12,000 livres to Wolsey, in lieu of the revenues of the bishopric.

The only remaining dignity in England worth coveting, and to which a subject might rise, was the Chancellorship, and in 1515 Wolsey clutched it. Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, had held it for a dozen of years—a sufficiently long time, as Wolsey thought; and he contrived to make the seat so uncomfortable to him, that Warham was fain to vacate it, and Wolsey succeeded him in it.

The same year, Pope Leo X., observing Wolsey's ascendancy over Henry, and appreciating the importance of attaching such a powerful English minister to the interests of the Papal See, made him a cardinal, and legate *a latere* over the whole

kingdom of England—the latter office investing him with powers of the highest order. ‘He might summon the Primate to his convocation; he had authority to superintend, and even to correct, anything which he esteemed irregular within the jurisdiction of any see in England; he could appoint all officers in the spiritual courts, and present to all ecclesiastical benefices, constitute masters of faculties and masters of ceremonies to advance his dignity, and exercise a visitorial power over all monasteries and colleges within the King’s dominions.’

Wolsey had now reached the pinnacle of his power and grandeur. He was the greatest subject, both ecclesiastically and civilly, in England. But there was in Christendom a yet loftier height than that to which he had mounted, and he aspired at rising to it. It was the chair of St. Peter. When this became the object of his ambition, it shaped his policy for a series of years; which is saying, in other words, that it shaped for a series of years the policy of England. In the contest for dominion in Italy and superiority in Europe, between the Emperors of Germany (both Maximilian and Charles v.) and Francis I., King of France, Wolsey inclined to the side which promised best to further his views on the triple crown. The famous meeting between Henry and Francis at the Field of

the Cloth of Gold, and all the magnificence thereat, which was the ruin of so many of the English and French nobility, Wolsey devised, as for other purposes, so mainly for this one,—to tempt the German and French rivals to court the alliance of England, and to persuade them that it could not be purchased at too high a price.

As Henry was busily preparing for the meeting with Francis, to his great surprise he received the news that the Emperor Charles was in the Channel on a friendly visit to him. The news did not take Wolsey by surprise. This visit he had concerted in a secret negotiation with Spain, where the Emperor was then residing, to prevent his taking offence at the coming meeting between his master and Francis, and to ingratiate himself with him. His success, so far as his own interests were concerned, seemed to be complete. Charles exceedingly gratified his pride by the deference which he paid him, granted him a pension of 7000 ducats, made him some most magnificent presents, and engaged that, on the death of the present Pope, the Cardinal should have all the weight of his influence to elevate him to the Papal throne.

The splendid pageant at the Field of the Cloth of Gold came off in the summer of this year (1520); and Henry, after spending some time at Calais, whence he paid a visit to Charles at Gravelines,

and where he received a visit from Charles in turn, embarked with his Court for Dover, and returned thence to London, 'all safe in body, but empty in purse;' Wolsey, however, having arranged a treaty with Francis, in which he engaged to pay a heavy price for England's neutrality in the war between him and Charles, which was now seen to be inevitable. The treaty of marriage between the infant Dauphin the son of Francis, and Mary the daughter of Henry, was renewed; and, in addition to the original money stipulation in it, Francis now bound himself and his successors to pay to Henry and his successors the yearly sum of 100,000 crowns, in the event of the said marriage between their children being solemnized, and the issue of it being seated on the English throne. Such apparent friendship between England and France excited Charles' jealousy, and, to counteract it, he invited Wolsey to visit him at Bruges. The invitation was accepted, and Wolsey, in the character of ambassador from England, went to Bruges with great pomp and splendour; and there the Emperor again encouraged him to aspire at the tiara, and pledged him his support.

Nothing but bitter disappointment came of these promises of Charles. Pope Leo X. died suddenly in December 1521, when he was only in the forty-sixth year of his age, and Adrian, Cardinal of

Tortosa, who had been tutor to Charles, was chosen to succeed him. Wolsey's only consolation was, that Adrian was an infirm old man, who could not long stand between him and the prize for which he panted. His pontificate did last for only twenty months and six days; but on his death Wolsey was again disappointed, German faith, on which he leaned, proving the staff of a broken reed. He was beat by Giulio de Medici, a cousin of Leo X. This reduced to a minimum Wolsey's hope of ever sitting in Peter's seat, for the successful candidate was young and vigorous. But, to show his respect for his foiled competitor, and to soothe his mortified feelings, the new Pope appointed him Legate for life, enlarged his powers, and gave him (a most unusual concession) permission to suppress certain religious houses in England.

According to Sir James Mackintosh, Wolsey's 'most conspicuous crime' was his 'part in the death of the Duke of Buckingham.' The Duke, as representing the ancient family of Stafford, and as hereditary High Constable of England, stood at the head of the English nobility; but he had been guilty of many things on which Henry was quite unappeasable. He was guilty of having in his veins royal blood, the blood of the Plantagenets, being descended by a female from the Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III. He was

guilty of having great wealth, for which a needy, greedy, unscrupulous despot could find a use. He was guilty of listening to Hopkins, a Carthusian friar, and a notable astrologer and fortune-teller, who had foretold that his youngest son would be Henry's successor on the throne. He was guilty of reflecting on the ruinous expense of that vanity of vanities at the Field of the Cloth of Gold :

‘ The interview

That swallow'd so much treasure, and, like a glass,  
Did break i' the rinsing.’

He was obnoxious to Wolsey as well as to the King. He had wounded him in his most sensitive part, his pride, treating him with marked disdain, and scoffing at his pomp and state. The Cardinal had therefore a personal quarrel with him, and not only did nothing to prevent his ruin, but urged it on. The Duke was arrested, charged with high treason, sent to the block, and suffered with great dignity and bravery; the people, with whom he was a favourite for his openness of heart and hand, and for the courtesy of which he was the ‘mirror,’ pouring curses loud and deep on the ‘venom-mouthed cur’ to whom they imputed his death.

Immediately after the judicial murder of Buckingham, Henry appeared in the field as the champion of Holy Mother Church. Luther's doctrines

had already found their way to England, and had been embraced by many. On 14th May 1521 Wolsey issued orders to all the bishops of England to seize all heretical books, or books containing Martin Luther's errors. On the 20th May, three days after Buckingham's execution, Henry sent a holograph letter to Louis of Bavaria, denouncing 'this fire which had been kindled by Luther, and fanned by the arts of the devil,' and calling on Louis, as a good Christian, to burn both Luther and his books. The Reformer had spoken rather disrespectfully of Thomas Aquinas, the King's favourite author, and this made his indignation against him burn all the hotter. He took the pen to refute him, and the result was his *Treatise on the Seven Sacraments*, in the composition of which he had all the assistance which Wolsey, More, and others could give him, and in which 'the royal polemic,' as he thought, 'smashed Luther and his doctrines.' He took to himself all the credit of the *Treatise*, and his ambassador at Rome presented a copy of it to his Holiness, who declared it to be 'sprinkled with the dew of ecclesiastical grace,' and conferred on Henry, in reward of his orthodox and pious zeal, the title of Defender of the Faith, which the sovereigns of England still wear, though they have let the seven sacraments dwindle into two.

While Henry was thus winning his laurels on

the arena of theological controversy, Charles v. and Francis I. were fighting for worldly dominion. It does not fall within our scope, nor would our limits allow us, to trace the course of the war between them; but those who do so will perceive how steadily and resolutely Wolsey sought his revenge on Charles for dealing so perfidiously with him in the matter of the Papal chair. Thus, in 1522, Henry and Charles agreed to invade France, the one on the north and the other on the south, and to divide its conquered provinces between them. This was while Wolsey was yet fondly confiding in Charles' promises of the Papacy. In 1525 Henry resolved to contract an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the French regency, and to oppose Charles as their common enemy. This was when Charles' promises of the Papacy to Wolsey had been shamelessly broken. When Charles had thoroughly beaten Francis at Pavia, and after the sack of Rome had made the Pope his prisoner, and become master of all Italy, England resolved to put herself at the head of a league to check the ambition of Charles, who aimed at nothing less than universal dominion; and Wolsey was sent on a grand embassy to Paris to establish the league. As regards the balance of power may have weighed in English councils, but, as Lord Campbell says, what weighed more was,



that there was now 'no chance of Wolsey being raised to the Popedom.'

Wolsey's revenues, in the days of his greatness, were immense, equalling, or nearly equalling, those of the Crown. The long list of high and lucrative offices which he held gives an inadequate idea of them; for they were increased by large pensions from the Emperor of Germany, the King of France, and the Doge of Venice, and by numerous and rich occasional presents from others, who thought that his favour could not be bought too dearly. Yet he was not avaricious in the ordinary and proper sense of the epithet. He was 'ravenous,' as Shakespeare makes Buckingham say of him :

' This is the fox,  
Or wolf, or both (for he is equal ravenous  
As he is subtle, and as prone to mischief  
As able to perform it).'

His ambition, too, was boundless, and his pride and arrogance intolerable. When Archbishop Warham wrote him a respectful letter, signing himself, 'Your loving brother,' he complained of his correspondent's presumption in thus putting himself on a level with the Lord Cardinal Legate. Well might the Archbishop, who was unmoved by his insolence, against which he remonstrated, observe, 'Know ye not that this man is drunk with too much prosperity?'

But Wolsey, we repeat, was not avaricious. He was not sordid. He did not hoard wealth, and had no desire to do so, but spent with a profusion which fully equalled the enormousness of his income. His charity to the needy was constant and open-handed. He was a passionate lover of letters and of the arts, and his benefactions to them were most generous. He founded and endowed Christchurch College, Oxford; and in that University he instituted several new professorships. He also erected a college in his native town of Ipswich, which he was to endow richly; intending, as he himself said, that 'many scholars should be brought up and maintained' therein, and 'always trained in virtue, to the end that a perpetual memory of God shall be kept and honoured.' He built Hampton Palace at his own charge, of which he at last made a present to King Henry; and the value of the gift may be estimated by what Du Bellay says of it: 'The chambers had hangings of wonderful value, and every place did glitter with innumerable vessels of gold and silver. There were two hundred and fourscore beds, the furniture to most of them being silk, and all for the entertainment of strangers only.' To one of his rank the favours of Mrs. Lark and other such ladies must have been costly; and he indulged in them so freely, that 'his health suffered from his dissolute life.' Above all, the

magnificence of the state which he maintained, and which has sorely taxed the descriptive powers of biographers and historians, must have been prodigiously expensive. 'His manner of living eclipsed the splendour of the King's Court.' Tytler gives a miniature of the 'gorgeous churchman' from the large portrait of him by Cavendish, which was taken from the life, and may therefore be depended on. After stating his being made Legate *a latere*, Tytler says :—

'His pride now became excessive, and the pomp and ceremony which he assumed were greater than had ever before been seen in England. His own habit was gorgeous, his upper vesture being generally scarlet, crimson taffeta, or crimson satin ; and not contented with his red hat, he wore red gloves, whilst his shoes were silver-gilt, inlaid with pearls and precious stones. His train consisted of 800 persons, among whom were nine or ten lords, fifteen knights, and forty squires. It was computed that his income, with the numerous presents and pensions which he received from abroad, equalled the annual revenue of the Crown ; and such was the splendour of his domestics, that his cook was clothed in satin or velvet, and wore a gold chain. When he appeared in public, the state he assumed almost exceeded that of royalty. His cardinal's hat was borne before him by a person of rank ;

nor would he, in coming into the King's chapel, permit it to be deposited on any place except the altar. Two priests, the tallest and comeliest that could be found, carried before him two huge silver crosses—one to mark his dignity as Cardinal, the other as Archbishop of York; two gentlemen preceded them, each bearing a pillar of silver; and before these marched his pursuivant-at-arms, having upon his shoulder a ponderous mace of silver-gilt. Most of his attendants were mounted, their horses being richly caparisoned; but he himself rode a mule, the trappings of which were of crimson velvet, with a saddle of the same, and gilded stirrups. When he had heard mass in the morning, and retired for a while to his private chamber, he would then issue out to attend his levee, apparelled all in red. About his neck was a tippet of sables; and it was his custom to hold in his hand an orange stuffed with aromatic confections, at which he smelt as he passed amongst the press, or was pestered with many suitors.'

The vulgar gibed at the splendour which was meant to awe and dazzle them, and indulged in such jests as, that the 'two crosses showed that the Cardinal had twice as many sins to repent of as any other prelate.' Doctor Barnes had the daring to inveigh in the pulpit against his pomp and luxury. The Cardinal summoned him

before him, and thus admonished him: 'What, Master Doctor! had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people but yon, but that my golden shoes, my pole-axes, my pillars, my golden cushions, and my crosses did so far offend you, that you must make us *ridiculum caput* amongst the people? We were jollily that day laughed to scorn. Verily, it was a sermon more fitter to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit.'

On the giddy height which he had occupied since 1515 Wolsey began to totter, when the Commons voted only the half of the subsidy which he required, to be paid by instalments, and when he, after that, attempted to replenish the empty exchequer by taxes levied from the people without the authority of Parliament. In 1525 he appointed commissioners to exact the third part of every man's substance, in order to meet the King's urgent necessities. Rich and poor remonstrated against the oppression; but they were warned to beware, 'lest it might fortune to cost some of them their heads.' Happily, they were not to be intimidated by such threats. They would not 'give their goods by commission,' for 'then it would be worse than the taxes in France, and England would be bond, and not free.' Wolsey quailed before the popular resistance, which had actually taken to arms in Suffolk,

and receded altogether from the illegal exaction.

His first misunderstanding with the King was likewise about money. Availing himself of the power which the Pope had given him, Wolsey had suppressed some small monasteries, 'wherein neither God was served nor religion kept;' the revenues of which he was, 'with the gracious assistance of the King,' to convert to a far better use, annexing them to his colleges of Christchurch and Ipswich. Henry interposed, and resolutely insisted on keeping those revenues for himself. Some exaggerated report of the difference between them having been carried to Luther, he indited a long epistle to Henry, in which he heartily abused Wolsey, calling him 'the monster, the nuisance to God and man,' 'the pest of the kingdom, and caterpillar of England;' adding how he had heard with delight that his Majesty had begun to loathe that wicked sort of men, and in his mind to favour the true doctrine. This rash, pragmatic intermeddling did no good, but much ill. The quarrel between the King and the Cardinal had been made up before Luther's letter reached England, and the King answered him that Wolsey was the best, the most faithful, the most religious of men; that he would love him more than ever for the railing of Luther,

whom he regarded as a monster of impiety; and that he would never cease to reckon it among his good deeds, that none who were infected with the German leprosy, contagion, and heresies could cleave to his kingdom, or take root in it.

But the immediate occasion of Wolsey's fall was the question of Henry's divorce of his Queen, Catherine of Arragon. Catherine, who was the fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, had been married to Arthur, Prince of Wales, who survived his marriage only a few months. His father, Henry VII., desirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and to be saved the necessity of restoring Catherine's dower, which was 200,000 ducats, created his second son, Henry, Prince of Wales, and forced him, while a youth of twelve years of age, to be contracted to Catherine, Pope Julius II. giving him a dispensation to marry the widow of his deceased brother. The marriage took place on June 3, 1509, about six weeks after Henry had succeeded his father in the throne. They had lived together as husband and wife for eighteen years, Catherine sharing his throne and bearing him several children, all of whom, except the Princess Mary, had died in early infancy, when the inconstant but self-willed monarch resolved to seek a dissolution of their marriage.

Henry pleaded that both piety and patriotism

shut him up to this extraordinary and very painful course. Piety did so—his conscience being afflicted with scruples that, notwithstanding the Pope's dispensation, his marriage with his brother's widow was unlawful, their connection incestuous, and their offspring illegitimate. Patriotism did the same—his heart being filled with fears that, if he did not leave male issue of unquestionable legitimacy, the kingdom would likely be visited on his death with all the evils of a disputed succession.

It is hard to believe that such pleas had much real weight with a person of Henry's stamp, a monster of lust and cruelty, who, when he tired of them, and wished to be rid of them, could 'hurry from his arms to the scaffold those whom he had loved and embraced with passionate tenderness, if such language may be used in reference to any feeling which animated the breast of such a barbarian,'—one of whom Hume says: 'A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities incident to human nature—violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, presumption, caprice;' and of whom Tytler says, in his life of him: 'It may be doubted whether, in the wide range of English history, there is to be found any monarch whose moral features, upon minute ex-



amination, become more harsh and repulsive than Henry the Eighth. Vain, capricious, profligate, and tyrannical, he seems, even in the generous season of youth, to have exhibited but few indications of a better mind; and these promises soon withered under the influence of that greatest curse of princes, the early possession of supreme power. It was this that acted so fatally upon a heart from the first intensely selfish, never disciplined by misfortune, and which, experiencing no check to unlimited enjoyment, became early the abject slave of its passions. It is this same omnipotence of his own will, fostered in an extraordinary degree by the subserviency of his parliaments, the servility of his nobles, and the timid acquiescence of his people, which produced, as he advanced in years, that portentous combination of sensuality and intolerance from which the mind painfully and instinctively recoils.'

It is also hard to believe how Henry's piety and patriotism bore with his connection with Catherine for the long period of eighteen years, during which there is no trace of its having caused him any serious trouble, and how, all at once, in 1527, his pious scruples and his patriotic fears combined imperiously to demand a dissolution of the connection. We see, we confess, no satisfactory explanation of this but the common one, viz. the

guilty passion which, in 1527, he conceived for Anne Boleyn.

‘It seems, the marriage with his brother’s wife  
Has crept too near his conscience.’

When the chamberlain so put it, to account for Henry’s being ‘full of sad thoughts and troubles,’ most truly did Suffolk answer :

‘No, his conscience  
Has crept too near another lady.’

Anne Boleyn was the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, afterwards created Viscount Rochford and Earl of Wiltshire, by his wife Anne, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk. In her eighth year she went to Paris in the train of the Princess Mary, Henry’s sister, on her marriage to Louis XII. She returned from France in 1527, in her twentieth year, perfected in her education and in every elegant accomplishment, and matchless in symmetry and beauty, and was immediately made one of Catherine’s maids of honour. Henry was at once smitten with her charms, and, as Tytler has it, ‘he at length declared himself with the confidence of a monarch, who felt that he had only to make known his predilection to be accepted as a lover. But he was mistaken; for, though compelled to listen to his solicitation [so he was patriotically to provide against the calamities of a disputed succession, by leaving behind him *lawful*

male issue!], the lady fell upon her knees, and made the following answer: "I deem, most noble King, that your Majesty speaks these words in mirth, to prove me; if not, I beseech your Highness earnestly to take this answer in good part, and I speak it from the bottom of my soul. Believe me, I would rather lose my life than give encouragement to your addresses." Henry, however, in the common jargon of the libertine, declared that he would live in hope, when his perseverance in insult drew forth this spirited reply: "I understand not, mighty King, how you should entertain any such hope. Your wife I cannot be, both in respect of mine own unworthiness, and also because you have a queen already. Your mistress, be assured, I will never be."

Balked thus in his first design, Henry forthwith determined on the divorce of Catherine, who was considerably older than himself, and of whose person he was weary, that he might marry the youthful beauty of whom he was so enamoured, and might raise her to the throne. But how did the affair of the divorce bring about Wolsey's fall? It has been a not uncommon opinion that it did so because he disapproved of the divorce, and intrigued against it; and that he was opposed to Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn because she favoured the Reformation, which had already made

some progress in England. Had these things been so, Wolsey would have fallen a sacrifice to his devotion to the interests of Popery.

This opinion is altogether a mistake. Wolsey was favourable to the divorce between Henry and Catherine, and prayed the Pope to sanction it. It was even said by some that he was the first to suggest it; which he himself sometimes admitted, and at other times denied, as best suited his purpose. However this was, he certainly approved of it; and the Emperor Charles v., nephew of Catherine, who would have good information as to the facts of the case, credited the Cardinal with originating the project, in revenge of his being disappointed of the Papal chair. 'Can I,' said he, 'overlook the indignity with which he (Henry) threatens my aunt by applying for a divorce, or the insult which he has offered to me by soliciting me to marry his daughter Mary, whom he now pronounces a bastard? . . . But I well know who has suggested all this. I would not gratify the rapacity of the Cardinal of York, nor employ my armies to make him Pope; and he has sworn vengeance against me, and now seeks to work out his purposes.'

It is true that, for a successor to Catherine, Wolsey looked to France, his country's alliance with which he wished to strengthen by marrying

his master to Renee, Duchess of Alençon, daughter of the late Louis XII. This was the object which he pursued in his last embassy to France, in 1527, even more than the rescue of the besieged Pontiff; and, as he flattered himself, he had succeeded so well, that in leaving Paris at that time, he told Louisa, the mother of Francis, that within a year she would see a princess of her own blood Queen of England and wife of his master, in lieu of the Emperor's aunt Catherine. On his return to England he was amazed beyond measure to find that, while he had been negotiating for a French princess to him, his master had been assiduously courting his own subject, the fair Anne Boleyn, whose 'cunning chastity' had settled that he could possess her only by marriage; and, falling on his knees, he said everything he could think of to dissuade him from a step which he deemed ignominious, and fraught with danger to the sovereign and the kingdom.

'It shall be to the Duchess of Alençon,  
The French King's sister; he shall marry her.  
Anne Bullen! no, I'll no Anne Bullens for him:  
There's more in't than fair visage—Bullen!  
No, we'll no Bullens.'

• • • • •  
'The late Queen's gentlewoman, a knight's daughter,  
To be her mistress' mistress! the Queen's queen!  
This candle burns not clear; 'tis I must snuff it—  
There, out it goes.'

Shakespeare makes Wolsey add :

‘What though I know her virtuous  
And well-deserving? yet I know her for  
A spleeny Lutheran, and not wholesome to  
Our cause, that she should lie i’ the bosom of  
Our hard-ruled King.’

But in this Shakespeare mistook. The Reformation had nothing to do with the matter, though it was, of course, well understood that the Reformers were not afflicted with the Popish scruples about the divorce, and were not likely to favour the policy of the Papal Court in the case, whatever it might be. Religion did not enter into the views of any of the parties concerned. There is no satisfying proof that Anne Boleyn was a ‘spleeny Lutheran;’ and the faith of which Henry lived and died the defender was the old faith, with this single qualification, that he himself, and not the ghostly father at Rome, must be Pope in England. ‘Religion,’ says Lord Campbell, ‘did not enter into the consideration, for although Anne had been represented as a convert to the new faith, she was no more a Lutheran than Henry himself, who, to the last, adhered to all the doctrines of the Church of Rome, with the exception of making himself Pope in England, and who continued to burn and behead his subjects for doubting the dogma of transubstantiation.’

Finding Henry immoveable in his purpose of divorcing Catherine, Wolsey became a convert to the inevitable, and did all that he could to get the divorce carried through, and the union with Anne Boleyn accomplished. As soon as Henry made his suit to the Pope (Clement VII.), Wolsey supported it, as we have already stated. The suit placed the Pope in the most distressing dilemma. Between Charles V. and Henry VIII. he was, as he himself well phrased it, 'between the hammer and the forge.' But the dispensation of his predecessor Julius, allowing the marriage of Henry and Catherine, Clement was induced to refer to a commission, authorizing Wolsey, with the aid of any one of the English bishops, to pronounce thereon, and to dissolve the marriage if the dispensation had been obtained unfairly. He added a clause to legitimate the Princess Mary in the event of her mother being divorced. The responsibility thus laid upon Wolsey was appalling. He shrank from it, and implored the Pope to divide it by joining Cardinal Campeggio with him in the commission, which also Clement did.

The commission was granted in March 1528, but Campeggio did not reach London till October; and after his arrival, many months were consumed in preliminaries. Delay was clearly the policy of the Court of Rome, in the hope that the chapter of

accidents might make it safe for his Holiness to give a verdict in this very critical and dangerous case, or, which would be still better, might supersede the necessity of his giving any verdict in it at all. The Legates did not open court till May 1529. The King and Queen were present. The Queen protested against the validity of her marriage being tried by judges who held benefices which were the gift of her adversary (the King had made the Italian Campeggio Bishop of Salisbury). Her plea was overruled. Kneeling before the King, she made a most melting appeal to him for justice, and withdrew. 'She was pronounced contumacious, and the suit proceeded; but very slowly, Wolsey urging despatch, and Campeggio resorting to every artifice for delay.' The proofs being completed by 23d July, the King's counsel called for sentence being pronounced. Wolsey also urged this. Campeggio answered that judgment must be deferred till the whole proceedings had been laid before the sovereign Pontiff.

Henry's disappointment was bitter, and his rage great. His 'amorous impatience' had been tried to the uttermost by the delays which the trial had encountered, and the adjournment of the cause he construed as equivalent to a denial of his suit; and the blame of both these he, in the wantonness and madness of his resentment, most unjustly laid



upon Wolsey. He never forgave him for being at the first adverse, not to the divorce of Catherine, but to the putting of Anne in her place. From that day Wolsey began to fall. Everything that mortified his tyrannical master was laid at his door; and his enemies industriously fed the flame that had begun to burn against him in the royal bosom. They represented that he never wished the divorce, except in favour of his French scheme; and that he was the bribed agent and tool of France. To all this Henry opened his ear the more readily, that somehow he was by this time devouring in anticipation Wolsey's immense wealth. Pre-eminent among those enemies were Henry's brother-in-law, the Duke of Suffolk, the Duke of Norfolk, Anne Boleyn's uncle, and her father, Viscount Rochford. Anne herself, who had often professed the highest regard for him, and who the year before had vowed an eternal friendship for him, was as busy as any of them, and the deadliest of them all. She was now bent on his destruction, and had the King completely under the spell of her influence.

On his departure from England, Wolsey went with Campeggio as far as Grafton, in Northamptonshire. Henry had reached Grafton before them, in a progress which he made at this time, accompanied by Anne, through the midland counties. His feeling towards Wolsey had been

observed, and the courtiers betted that he would not so much as speak to him. They lost their bets, for the King received him with seemingly his old familiarity and regard. But the ray of royal favour was delusive, and shone but for a moment. Anne complained of the reception given him, and so wrought on Henry as to extort from him a promise that he would no more admit him into his presence; and his master's face he never saw again. There was no apartment for him at Grafton. When he presented himself early next morning, the King rode away without noticing him, and he was ordered back to London. When the Michaelmas term commenced, as it did soon, he proceeded to the Court of Chancery with his usual pomp; but every one of the King's servants studiously abstained from paying him any honour. On that same day the Attorney-General, Hales, filed two bills against him in the King's Bench, most outrageously charging him with violating the statute of Premunire, by exercising his Legatine power in England, though Henry had solicited that power for him, and had long rejoiced in the greatness which it gave him. Two days after, the Great Seal was taken from him, and his Majesty's pleasure signified that he must surrender York Place and all his possessions, and retire to his country house at Esher.

His fall at first quite unmanned him. For a time he lost all firmness, and 'wept like a woman and wailed like a child.' To have maintained his innocence would only have aggravated his doom from a prosecutor so savagely cruel and relentless, and who, besides, had with him, as Wolsey himself expressed it, a 'night-crow, which possessed the royal ear, and misrepresented the most harmless of his actions.' To Hales' information against him he therefore pleaded guilty, cast himself on the royal clemency, and surrendered to the King the immense wealth which he had accumulated, with York Place, which, under the name of Whitehall, henceforth became the chief town residence of royalty, till it was burned down in the reign of William and Mary. Hampton Court, with all its riches and splendour, he had before made a present of to the King, in the vain hope of recovering his favour, which he had begun to lose. And all this he followed by a most abject letter to Henry, in which he said that he must be 'a continual and lowly suppliant to his benign Grace,' extolled his 'merciful goodness,' and called himself his 'poor, heavy, and wretched priest,' and his 'Grace's most prostrate, poor chaplain, creature, and bedesman.'

When Wolsey entered his barge, the Thames was covered with boats, full of men and women,

who hooted and hissed him, triumphing over him in his fall. They wished and expected to see him conveyed to the Tower, and landed at Traitor's Gate, and were much disappointed when the head of his barge was turned in the opposite direction. Landing at Putney, and mounting his mule, he set out for Esher; but was soon overtaken by Sir John Norris, one of the royal chamberlains, who presented him with a ring from the King, who had taken it from his own finger, and a comfortable message. Wolsey was transported with joy, and dismounting, and falling on his knees, he pulled off his cap, and gave thanks to God and the King for this most unexpected but most welcome token of regard. To Sir John he gave a small gold chain, with a crucifix enclosing a bit of the real wood of the cross, which he had worn round his own neck and next his skin. Lamenting that he had no worthy token to send to the King, he besought the chamberlain to take Patch, his fool, who rode by his side, and to give him to his Majesty, alleging that, for any nobleman's pleasure, he was worth a thousand pounds. The chamberlain accepted Patch, who, however, was so much attached to his master, that it required six strong yeomen to force him from him; and the King received him with marked pleasure.

From Esher Wolsey wrote Henry, that he 'was

dying for want of the light of his countenance.' But it was only when he literally sickened till his life was despaired of that Henry relented, and sent his own physicians to him, with some presents, declaring that he would rather lose £20,000 than lose the Cardinal. The fallen minister was at this time a most pitiable object. The French ambassador wrote: 'I have been to visit the Cardinal in his misfortunes, and have seen the most striking change of fortune. He explained to me his hard case in the worst rhetoric that was ever heard. Both his tongue and his heart failed him. He recommended himself to the pity of the King and Madame [Francis and his mother] with sighs and tears, and at last left me, without having said anything half so moving as his appearance. His face is dwindled to one-half of its natural size. In truth, his misery is such, that his enemies, Englishmen as they are, cannot help pitying him; still they will carry things to extremities. As for his legation, the seals, his great authority, he thinks no more of them. He is ready to give up everything, even the shirt from his back, and to live in a hermitage, if the King will but desist from his displeasure.'

Parliament met this year after a long interval, and a bill of impeachment against Wolsey, containing no fewer than forty-four articles, 'mostly

of a vague and ridiculous description,' was presented by a committee of the Lords. The Lords unanimously agreed to the bill; but after a very able and eloquent speech from Thomas Cromwell, formerly Wolsey's secretary, it was thrown out by the Commons. Soon after it was arranged that Wolsey should receive a general pardon, on yielding up all his revenues, except those of the Archbishopric of York, and 1000 marks a year from the Bishopric of Winchester. The King at the same time permitted him, for the benefit of his health, to remove from Esher to Richmond; but he had been there only a short time, when his enemies, thinking him too near the Court at Windsor, got an order issued that he should henceforth reside within the bounds of his archbishopric.

Reduced as he was, his train yet numbered one hundred and sixty persons, and twelve carts were required for carrying his baggage; and he had not been many months at York, when he had won all hearts by his condescension, affability, and charity, and by his painstaking and indefatigable zeal in the performance of all his ecclesiastical duties. His clergy begged him that he would, in accordance with custom, be installed in his archbishopric. The time for the solemnity was agreed on; and by their presents of game, etc., the nobility and gentry in the country around had

amply provided for the entertainment of the occasion; when, only four days before the time fixed on for the installation, as Wolsey sat at dinner in his house at Cawood, near York, the Earl of Northumberland arrived from the Court, and laying a trembling hand on his shoulder, said in a faltering voice, 'My lord, I arrest you of high treason.'

What act or acts of high treason it was meant to charge him with, the course which events took prevented from being known. His enemies, it was generally supposed, had persuaded the King that he had been carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the Court of France; and information against him to that effect, it was further supposed, had been given by Doctor Agostino, his Venetian physician. However this was, his arrest only verified fears which had been haunting him, and which his superstition had helped to nurse. When his silver cross, a few days before his arrest, was accidentally upset, fell on Doctor Bonner, and drew blood from him, Wolsey said, 'It is an ill omen;' meaning that it portended his own death.

The blow struck by the arrest was more than stunning; it was killing. It gave Wolsey a shock which brought him to his grave; and it made all hearts bleed in Cawood. 'There was not a dry

eye among all the gentlemen sitting at table with him ;' and the grief of his domestics, if not more poignant, was more demonstrative. Indeed, 'the attachment of his dependants was,' as Sir James Mackintosh remarks, 'the most favourable circumstance to Wolsey.' Passive as the doomed victim of an Eastern sultan, he followed Northumberland. At the gate of Cawood, as he passed out of it, were crowded some three thousand, who, as they looked on him, cried out, 'God save your Grace! God save your Grace! The foul evil take them that have taken you away from us!' And so they ran after him through the town, loudly bewailing him ; and were for many miles succeeded by others, who did the same. He was so grieved for having left behind him a certain sealed parcel, that it was sent for ; and his grief was explained when it was found that the parcel contained shirts of hair, one of which he now always wore next his skin. When he reached Sheffield Park, the seat of Lord Shrewsbury, Steward of the King's household, he was sick and faint, and was shortly after seized with dysentery, which confined him to bed for a fortnight. When he had been here for eighteen days, Sir William Kingston, Keeper of the Tower, appeared 'with a guard of twenty-four beefeaters, to conduct him to London.' The arrival of this officer being announced to him, he several times repeated his



name, 'Master Kingston!' and clapping his hand on his thigh, he fetched a heavy sigh. Some fortune-tellers had long ago prophesied that he should have his end near Kingston. He believed them, and had always avoided Kingston-on-Thames, making a wide circuit rather than come near it. It now flashed upon him that he must have misunderstood the prophecy, and that what it foretold was, that he should have his end on Tower Hill, in the custody of Keeper Kingston!

Resuming his slow journey, so weak that he was hardly able to sit on his mule, on the third evening, at a late hour, he reached Leicester Abbey, at the gate of which he was received with many torches. As he entered, he said to the Abbot, 'Father Abbot, I am come to lay my weary bones among you.' He was immediately carried to bed, from which he never rose. This was on the night of a Saturday. On the Sabbath he fainted repeatedly. On the Monday morning it was evident that his end was approaching. His faithful and loving chamberlain, Cavendish, has thus related that morning's interview with him:—'Perceiving my shadow upon the wall by his bedside, he said, "Who is there?" "Sir, I am here," quoth I. "How do you?" quoth he to me. "Very well, sir, if I might see your Grace well," quoth I. "What is it of the clock?" said he to me. "For-

sooth, sir," said I, "it is past eight of the clock in the morning." "Eight of the clock!" quoth he, "that cannot be;" rehearsing divers times, "Eight of the clock! Eight of the clock!" "Nay, nay," quoth he at the last, "it cannot be eight of the clock, for by eight of the clock ye shall lose your master, for my time draweth near that I must depart out of this world."

The clock had struck eight, and he did not die that morning. Early the next one, the hand of death being very visibly upon him, he called Kingston to him, who, entering the chamber of death, bade him good morning, and asked how he did. 'Sir,' said Wolsey, 'I tarry but the will and pleasure of God to render unto Him my simple soul into His hands.' He continued: 'And now, Master Kingston, I pray you have me commended most humbly unto his Majesty; and beseech him, on my behalf, to call to his gracious remembrance all matters that have passed between us from the beginning, especially respecting Queen Catherine and himself, and then shall his conscience know whether I have offended him or not. He is a prince of most royal courage, and hath a princely heart; for rather than miss or want anything of his will, he will endanger one-half of his kingdom. And I do assure you, I have often kneeled before him in his privy chamber, sometimes for three

hours together, to persuade him from his appetite, and could not prevail. And, Master Kingston, this will I say,—had I but served God as diligently as I have served the King, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs. Howbeit, this is my just reward for my pains and diligence, not regarding my service to God, but only my duty to my prince.'

His voice failing him, the Abbot was summoned, and administered to him extreme unction ; and as the great abbey clock struck eight, he breathed his last, in the sixtieth year of his age, 'Kingston' standing by his bedside ! This was on the 29th November 1530 ; and at midnight on the 31st he was, without any solemnity, buried in Our Lady's Chapel, in the church of the monastery.





## GEORGE BUCHANAN.



**T**HE name of George Buchanan is second in lustre to no name in the annals of Scotland in the sixteenth century. Killearn, Stirlingshire, has the honour of having been his birth-parish. His father was Thomas Buchanan, second son of Thomas Buchanan of Drummikill; and his mother was Agnes Heriot, of the family of Trabroun, in East Lothian. They possessed the small farm of Mid-Leowen, or the Moss, on the western bank of the Blane, and there George first saw the light, in February 1506.

The house in which he was born still stands. It must have been often renewed—how often could not be told. It is known that in the lifetime of one proprietor, who died in 1808, in the ninety-fourth year of his age, it was twice rebuilt; but its old form and features were carefully repro-

duced, and it may be presumed that they were so at other rebuildings of it. 'On each occasion,' says Dr. Irving in his *Memoirs of Buchanan*, 'its original dimensions and characteristics were studiously preserved; and an oak beam, together with an inner wall, has even retained its ancient position. The present building, which may be considered as a correct model of Buchanan's paternal residence, is a lowly cottage thatched with straw; but this cottage is still visited with a kind of religious veneration. A fragment of the oak is preserved as a precious relic; and an Irish student, who thirsted for a portion of Buchanan's inspiration, is known to have travelled from Glasgow for the purpose of visiting the house and passing a night under the original beam.'

The place, it is interesting to know, has, or at least had at the time the above-mentioned biographer wrote, some memorials of George Buchanan. In the immediate neighbourhood of his native cottage was a considerable number of trees, said to have been planted by his own hand in his schoolboy days. One of these, a large and venerable mountain ash, had shortly before been torn up by a violent storm; but two fresh stems from its roots had shot up, and were anxiously preserved and nourished. His mother, too, had

a memorial of her name and of her shepherd care on the banks of the Blane, a place well fitted for sheltering her flock being still called Heriot's Shiels.

As Buchanan himself says in his *Autobiography*, he was 'of a family more ancient than wealthy.' His parents, indeed, seem to have been in very straitened circumstances. His father, too, died in the flower of his age, leaving a widow with eight children, five sons and three daughters, to struggle with penury, which their grandfather, Drummikill, could do nothing to alleviate, he himself being then a bankrupt.

George was the third son of the family, and received the elements of his education at Killearn parish school, which had at that time the reputation of being one of the best country schools in Scotland. From it, according to some, he was transferred to the school of Dumbarton. In his boyhood he showed great capacity for learning, and great love of it, which induced his maternal uncle, James Heriot, to send him, when fourteen years of age, to Paris, to prosecute his studies in the famous University of that capital. The chief subject of study, in the beginning of his course there, was Latin authors, especially Latin poets. Nothing could have been more congenial to Buchanan's taste, or could have better stirred and developed

his own poetic genius. He was from the first a most diligent and ardent scholar, and thus, as well as otherwise, gave sure promise of the classical eminence to which he was destined to rise. For, as has been remarked of him, 'Buchanan did not profess to be one of those bright geniuses who can master a new language every six weeks: he incidentally states that his knowledge of Latin was the result of much youthful labour. The Greek tongue, in which he likewise attained to proficiency, he acquired without the aid of a preceptor. The current speech of his native district at that period may be supposed to have been Gaelic. Of this language it is at least certain that he possessed some knowledge; and an anecdote has been related which at once confirms this supposition and illustrates his peculiar vein of humour. When in France, having met with a woman who was said to be possessed with the devil, and who professed to speak all languages, he accosted her in Gaelic. As neither she nor her familiar returned any answer, he took a protest that the devil was ignorant of that tongue.' But he had not been two years at the University of Paris, when his prospects, which had opened so brightly, were darkened. His uncle died, and with his life the pecuniary aid, on which the nephew had been entirely dependent, ceased. He had no alternative but to return home;

which he did with an empty pocket, and with his bodily health so shattered, that for more than a twelvemonth he was unfit to apply himself to any business whatsoever.

In 1523 he took to soldiering. Scotland and England were then at war. The Duke of Albany, the regent of Scotland during the minority of James V., had applied to France for help, and had obtained a fleet of eighty-seven small vessels, and a body of six thousand troops. To learn, as he alleged, the art of war, but influenced, perhaps, more by the pressure of indigence than by anything else, our student joined these auxiliaries, and served against the English in the campaign in which Albany in vain laid siege to the castle of Wark. That one campaign cured him of his military enthusiasm. A great part of the army was lost in a severe snow-storm on its way back to Scotland. Buchanan escaped with his life, but was a poor invalid, and paid the penalty of his warlike escapade in being confined for the rest of the winter to bed.

In the spring of next year, some kind friend, whose name has not been transmitted to us, sent him to the University of St. Andrews, where he attended for one session the lectures on Dialectics of John Mair or Major, in St. Salvator's College, and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. He regarded the scholastic dialectics taught with thorough con-



tempt, speaking of them as no better than the art of sophistry ; but there was in other respects a strong sympathy between him and the lecturer. He and his fellow-student, John Knox, who then met each other for the first time, and began a friendship alike endearing and enduring, were at one with Mair in his general ecclesiastical and political principles. 'Mair,' says Dr. M'Crie, 'had imbibed the sentiments concerning ecclesiastical polity maintained by John Gerson and Peter d'Ailly, who so ably defended the decrees of the Council of Constance and the liberties of the Gallican Church against the advocates for the uncontrollable authority of the sovereign Pontiff. He taught that a general council was superior to the Pope, and might judge, rebuke, restrain, and even depose him from his dignity ; denied the temporal supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and his right to inaugurate or dethrone princes ; maintained that ecclesiastical censures, and even Papal excommunications, had no force, if pronounced on irrelevant or invalid grounds. He held that tithes were not of divine right, but merely of human appointment ; censured the avarice, ambition, and secular pomp of the Court of Rome and of the episcopal order ; was no warm friend of the regular clergy, and advised the reduction of monasteries and holidays. His opinions re-

specting civil government were analogous to those which he held as to ecclesiastical polity. He taught that the authority of kings and princes was originally derived from the people; that the former are not superior to the latter, collectively considered; that if rulers become tyrannical, or employ their power for the destruction of their subjects, they may lawfully be controlled by them, and, proving incorrigible, may be deposed by the community as the superior power; and that tyrants may be judicially proceeded against, even to capital punishments.' These were essentially the great and fundamental principles of which both Buchanan and Knox became the matchless champions.

After one session at St. Salvator's, St. Andrews, Buchanan followed Mair to France, became a student in the Scottish College of Paris, and took the degree of Master of Arts. At this time the conflict between the old religion and the new was profoundly agitating the Continent, and it engaged Buchanan's attention more seriously than it had heretofore done. He did not yet formally abjure Popery, and take his stand on the side of the Reformers, but he felt a deep interest in them, and their 'opinions his better judgment inclined him to approve.' In 1529 he was appointed a professor in the College of St. Bartie, where he taught

grammar for about three years. Near this college Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis, was then residing; and becoming acquainted with Buchanan, admiring his genius, and delighting in his conversation, he engaged him to take the care of his education, which he had come to Paris to complete, and to devote to it his whole time. It was soon after entering into this connection, on which not a little of his future hinged, that our tutor published his first work,—a translation of Linacre's Rudiments of Latin Grammar,—which he inscribed to Lord Cassilis, 'a youth of the most promising talents, and of an excellent disposition.'

After residing abroad with his pupil for five years, they returned to Scotland. Introduced at Court by the Earl, James V. retained Buchanan as tutor to his natural son, James Stuart—not he who was afterwards Earl of Moray, and the 'good Regent,' but he who was Abbot of Kelso. It was soon after this, and while he was living at the seat of Cassilis, in Ayrshire, that he wrote the *Somnium* or Dream. It was the first of his satires against the Romish clergy, whom, though he had not yet openly come out from among them, he regarded with great and growing abhorrence and disgust. In the Dream he represented St. Francis as appearing to him, and beseeching him to become a monk of his order. He answered that 'he was nowise fit for the pur-

pose, because he could not find in his heart to become slavish, impudent, deceitful, or beggarly, and that, moreover, very few monks had the good fortune, as he understood, to reach even the gates of Paradise.' The piece stung the monks to the quick, painting their indolence, licentiousness, and hypocrisy in such colours, and with such exquisite humour, as to hold them up to public odium and ridicule. They complained to the King, but he turned a deaf ear to them, richly enjoying the wit of the satirist, and the torment which it inflicted. When the Franciscans fell into disgrace at Court, as they by and by did, James requested Buchanan to renew his attack on them. He did so in his *Palinodia*, a light and playful piece, much too mild and lenient to suit the humour James was now in. He commanded Buchanan to produce something more caustic; and hence his *Franciscanus*, the terrible severity of which has seldom been equalled, and never surpassed. The ecclesiastics were a capital subject for his pen, some of them about this time being, as he says in his *History*, so deplorably ignorant as to suppose that Martin Luther was the author of a dangerous book called the New Testament! The tenor of this satire runs thus: The writer supposes a friend of his earnestly desirous of becoming a Franciscan. The poet tells him that he himself had once the same intention,

but was dissuaded from it by a third party, whose reasons in support of the dissuasion he relates. They turn on the corrupt morals—‘the detestable crimes and the enormous profligacy’—of the order, as shown in the abominable lessons which he puts into the mouth of an old monk, instructor of the novices. The rage not only of the Franciscans, but of the whole body of the Popish ecclesiastics, knew no bounds. ‘The horrible system which, under the name of religion, found access to the chambers, and violated all the sanctities of conubial rights, trembled at the light of reason and of Scripture; and when the torch of genius blazoned the foul deeds of the vilest tyranny that ever enthralled the souls and the bodies of men, the wretches naturally sought refuge from its excruciating lustre by attempting to extinguish the sacred fire that tormented them.’

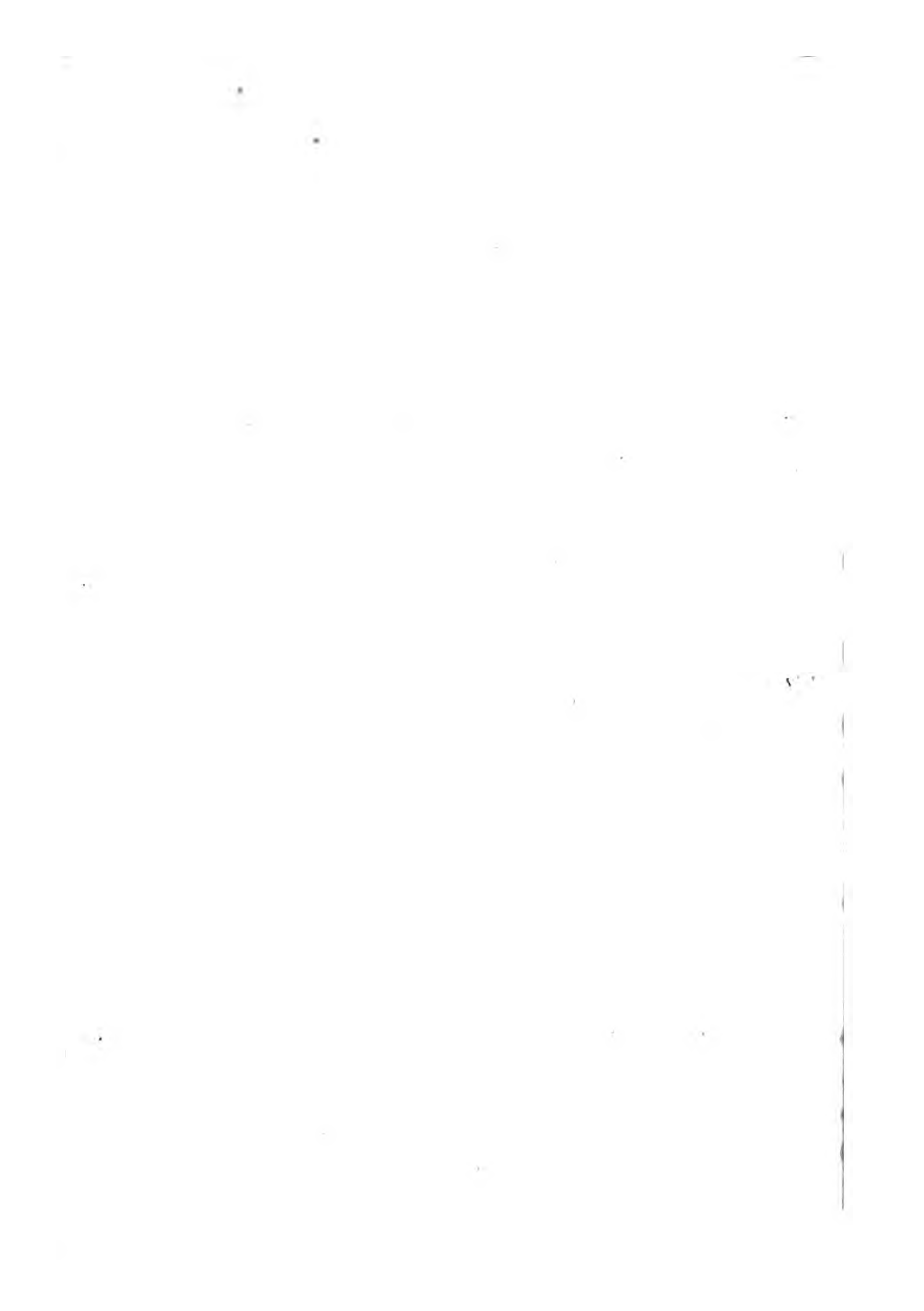
The weak and fickle James did not protect Buchanan against those ‘wretches,’ as he ought to have done. On the contrary, he concurred in the persecution of the Reformers in which their ire broke forth; allowed Buchanan to be included in a general arrest, and thrown into prison; and there was imminent danger of his avarice closing with the offer of money which Cardinal Beaton made for the prisoner’s life. Happily, escaping through the window of the apartment in which

he was confined while his keepers were asleep, he passed through many perils on his way to London, where he sojourned for a short time, in safe keeping in the friendship of Sir John Rainsford. He went thence for the third time to Paris, in which, to his dismay, he found his deadly enemy, Cardinal Beaton, resident ambassador at the French Court. This decided him to accept at once the offer which his friend Andrew Govea made him, of the Humanity Chair in the College of Guienne, lately founded in Bordeaux. There he must have entered on his office before the close of 1539; for when Charles the Fifth made his solemn entry into the city on the first of December that year, Buchanan had the honour of presenting a poem to him in name of the College.

In Bordeaux he mingled with all the men of literature and science in the city and neighbourhood, one of the most illustrious of whom was the elder Scaliger. In it, too, he wrote several of his works: *Baptistes*, a drama instinct with his own most cherished sentiments as a friend of freedom and a sufferer for it, and abounding in the boldest declamation against tyranny and priestcraft; *Jephthes*, another drama, bringing into play, in circumstances most trying, 'the highest and most agonizing passions of the human mind;'

admirably executed translations of the *Medea* and *Alcestis* of Euripides ; and occasional effusions of his own muse, among which were an address to the Chancellor of France in behalf of his College, with an ode to him for his ready and liberal response ; as also an ode to the youth of Bordeaux, commending to them the liberal arts, and urging the cultivation of them.

He remained three years in Bordeaux, when he returned to Paris, and officiated as a regent in the college of Cardinal le Moine till 1547, where he taught Humanity with Turnebus and Muretus, the three associates being three of the most learned men in the world. He proceeded thence to Portugal, on the invitation of Andrew Govea, to the professorial staff of the University of Coimbra, which John III. had founded, and of which he had made Govea the Principal. Govea died in less than a twelvemonth, and Buchanan forthwith became the victim of the jealousy of the natives and the bigotry of the priests. Against the latter King John had promised to protect him ; but he falsified his promise. He and two of his associates were thrown into the dungeons of the Inquisition. After lying there for nearly two years and a half, they were put on their trial. Buchanan was charged with heretical pravity, and with eating flesh in Lent ; and after great labour and travail with







MEN OF MARK IN BRITISH CHURCH HISTORY.

him, the Inquisitors sentenced him to be confined in a monastery, that he might be instructed by the monks, and converted from his errors. To this confinement, and to the noble use which he made of his time during it, we owe his great work, the *Translation of the Psalms of David*, which he began in the convent, and completed on his liberation, — a work which Le Clerc has pronounced incomparable, and which has had its own share in raising its author to the rank universally accorded to him as ‘the best Latin poet of his age.’

Restored at length to liberty, Buchanan, after a short visit to England, returned to France about the beginning of 1553, and soon after his return he was appointed a regent in the College of Boncourt; which office he resigned in 1555, on being entrusted by the celebrated Count de Brissac with the superintendence of the education of his son. He spent the five following years with his pupil, alternately in Italy and France, during which he published at Paris the first specimen of his version of the Psalms; his translation of the *Alcestis* of Euripides, dedicated to Margaret, daughter of Francis I., a munificent patron of men of letters; and an ode in celebration of the surrender of Calais. He likewise composed at this time his *Epithalamium* on the marriage of

Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin, and part at least of his *De Sphæra*, a philosophical descant on the absurdity of the Pythagorean system, which Hallam has pronounced his best poem. It was now, too, that he finally decided for himself on the controversies about religion which were agitating and rending Christendom. On quitting the family of Brissac, in 1560, at the outbreak of the war between France and his native country, he returned to Scotland, and then relinquished the Romish communion, and became a member of the Protestant Kirk.

The same year Francis II. died, leaving Mary a widow of eighteen; and next year she came home to occupy her ancestral throne. Buchanan was appointed to assist her in her classical studies, and every afternoon, we are told, she read with him a portion of Livy. He regarded Mary at this time with unfeigned and fervent affection, and even admiration, which he breathed in the dedication of his Psalms to her—'a poetical tribute, equally admired for the charms of its versification and the delicacy of the compliment it conveys.' She, on the other hand, highly esteemed her tutor; and on the death of the Abbot Quintin Kennedy, in 1564, bestowed on him for life the temporalities of Crossraguel Abbey, amounting in annual value to £500 Scots. Two years after, he dedicated a

new edition of his *Franciscanus* to the Earl of Moray, the Queen's brother ; and he presented him to the Principalship of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews. That he made an admirable Principal cannot be doubted. In erudition, in character, and in administrative experience and tact, he was pre-eminently fitted to magnify the office, as he was also in zealous devotion to the interests of education, and ambition to raise his country to a high place in the republic of letters. In Professor Lee's *Notices* of him, printed by Irving, we have some curious information concerning the chamber which he is said to have occupied as Principal of St. Leonard's. It is now part of a private dwelling-house, but it is thought that it has not undergone much transformation since his day. It is about eighteen feet long by sixteen broad, and has a window to the south and another to the east ; the latter commanding a view of the Bay of St. Andrews and the rocks of Kinkell. It is on the second floor, was formerly entered by an outside stair, and had no communication with any other apartment. All the rooms were constructed on a similar principle, being separated from one another by thick stone walls, and each having a door to the front ; but there were no stairs or passages within the walls. An inventory of the furniture of the chamber in 1544—and it would

be much the same when Buchanan occupied it—has been preserved, and is as follows:—‘In the first, twa standard beds, the foreside of aik, and the northside and the fuits of fir. Item, ane feather bed, and ane white plaid of four ells, and ane covering woven o’er with images. Item, another auld bed of harden, filled with straw, with an covering of green. Item, ane cod. Item, an inrower of buckram of five bredes, part green, part red to zailow. Item, ane Flanders counter of the middling kind. Item, ane little buird for the studie. Item, ane furm of fir, and ane little lettoring of aik on the side of the bed, with an image of St. Jerome. Item, an stool of elm, with another chair of little pieces. Item, an chimney weighing . . . Item, an chandler weighing . . .’ It may be noted that the venerable house of which this chamber was a part was the property and residence of the late Sir David Brewster, during his Principalship of the United College; and that it is now the property and residence of Dr. Heddle, Professor of Chemistry in the same college.

In the year following his appointment to the Principalship of St. Leonard’s, Buchanan was chosen Moderator of the General Assembly of the Kirk. For years before he had sat in the Assembly as a ‘Doctor,’ had been a member

of all its more important committees, and he was on the commission which met in Edinburgh in 1567 to revise the Book of Discipline. The new edition of his *Franciscanus* was soon followed by the *Fratres Fraterrimi*, a collection of most pungent satires on the fooleries and corruptions of Popery; and this was followed by *Elegiæ Sylvæ*, *Hendecasyllabi*, and other like collections, all making the author one of Rome's most deadly assailants, and one of the most effective auxiliaries of the Reformation cause.

In 1570 Buchanan rose to his highest tutorial honour. He was appointed preceptor of James VI., then only four years of age; on which he resigned the Principalship of St. Leonard's. He was assisted by Peter Young, son of John Young, burghess of Dundee, in the literary instruction of his royal pupil; while the training of him in his 'sports and bodily accomplishments' was committed to David and Adam Erskine, Commendators of Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh, and both related to the noble family of Mar. The important and responsible trust confided to him Buchanan executed with most laudable diligence, wisdom, and fidelity. The education of the young sovereign could not have been in better hands. He did his best with it, and he had marked success. Under his care, his pupil became really learned,

in a sense; and if his learning was more that of the pedant than of the scholar, his preceptor was not to be blamed. He was, indeed, reproached for making him a pedant, but his ready answer was, that 'he was fit for nothing else.'

Buchanan was a strict, even a stern disciplinarian, which James never altogether forgot. Of an individual high in office in his court he used to say, 'that he ever trembled at his approach, it minded him so of his pedagogue.' Young craftily and studiously made himself a contrast in this respect to his austere colleague, ingratiating himself with the young King by indulgences, for which he was afterwards most bountifully rewarded. Buchanan, on the contrary, could give him a box on the ear as he needed it, and could apply the birch so sharply, as to bring in the Countess of Mar to remonstrate with him for presuming to lay his hand on 'The Lord's Anointed.'

In ordinary times Buchanan might have lived and died, and been known to posterity, only as the Poet, the Scholar, the Preceptor, and the Theologian; but his were not ordinary times. The state of the kingdom irresistibly drew him into the vortex of politics. Mary's marriage to Darnley; the murders of Rizzio and Darnley; Mary's marriage to Bothwell; Bothwell's flight; Mary's surrender to the confederate lords; her

imprisonment in Lochleven Castle; her escape thence; the defeat of her army at Langside; her flight into England;—these events, succeeding one another with appalling rapidity, brought matters to the most critical pass. The country's salvation imperiously demanded that every one should lay on its altar whatever wisdom he had for counsel, whatever energy for action, and whatever weight to sway his fellow-men. When Queen Elizabeth forced on the Regent Moray the ungracious task of being the accuser of his sister and sovereign, Buchanan accompanied him to England, and prepared the *Detectio Mariæ Reginae*—the 'Detection of Queen Mary'—which was laid before the Commissioners at Westminster, and which the English so industriously circulated. Mary's partisans have denounced Buchanan for thus deserting her, and requiting her kindnesses to him with base ingratitude; but, in truth, he had no choice. If he was to obey the promptings of his patriotism, if he was to do what he felt to be just and right, he must not shrink from maintaining the guilt of one whom he was now constrained to regard as an adulteress and a murderer, and from vindicating Scotland for expelling her from the throne. The same accusers have even charged him with forging Mary's letters to Bothwell, found in the famous casket. When the malignity of faction waxes so wanton and out-



rageous, one is content to say with Hume : ' There are three events in our history which may be regarded as touchstones of party-men. An English Whig who asserts the reality of the Popish Plot, an Irish Catholic who denies the massacre of 1641, and a Scotch Jacobite who maintains the innocence of Queen Mary, must be considered as men beyond the reach of argument or reason, and must be left to their prejudices.'

On the assassination, in 1570, of Regent Moray by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, Buchanan sounded an alarm to the nation. Deeply suspicious of the policy of the Hamiltons, and that they had designs even on the Crown, he lifted up his voice like a trumpet in *Ane Admonition direct to the trew Lordis, Mantenaris of the Kingis Grace's Authority*, in which he adjured them to protect the young King and the children of the late Regent from the dangers to which they were exposed. He wrote his *Chameleon* about the same time, though it was not published till long afterwards ; in which he held up to deserved ridicule and scorn the trimming, time-serving Secretary Maitland. These two tracts are the only pieces which he is known to have written in Scotch ; which is the more to be regretted, that, in excellence of style, his Scotch would seem to have rivalled his Latin.

When promoted to be tutor of James, Buchanan

was made Director of the Chancery, and Keeper of the Privy Seal; the latter office being both highly honourable and lucrative, and entitling him to a seat in Parliament. He took a deep interest in the management of public affairs, and was on terms of confidential intimacy with Regents Moray, Lennox, and Mar. Regent Morton did not retain his esteem; and, chiefly through his advice and that of Sir Alexander Erskine, Morton was deposed, and the government put into the hands of James, when he was only in his twelfth year. The young monarch made him a member of the Privy Council; but he was displaced when Morton returned to power, and it is doubtful whether he ever afterwards held any political office.

In 1576 he prepared his *Baptistes* for the press, and dedicated it to the young King, using terms of plainness and faithfulness which royal ears are not often privileged to hear; telling his Majesty that 'it clearly discloses the punishment of tyrants, and the misery which awaits them even when their prosperity seems at the height. That you should now acquire such knowledge, I consider as not only expedient, but even necessary, in order that you may early begin to hate what you ought ever to shun. I therefore wish this work to remain as a witness to posterity, that if, impelled by evil counsellors, or suffering the licentiousness of royalty

to prevail over a virtuous education, you should hereafter be guilty of any improper conduct, the fault may be imputed not to your preceptors, but to you, who have not obeyed their salutary admonitions.'

In 1579 he published his masterly compend of political philosophy, intituled, *De Regni Jure apud Scotos*, in the form of a dialogue between himself and Maitland, the Queen's secretary; a work much in advance of his age—a noble exposition and defence of the essential principles of civil freedom, in opposition to the slavish principles on which the Stuarts reared their fabric of tyranny, till, a century after this date, it tumbled, and overwhelmed them in its ruins. The political principles of this work are identical with those which Buchanan had imbibed in sitting at the feet of Mair, and of which we have already given a glimpse; and the most competent judges have spoken in the highest terms of its merits. Sir James Mackintosh says of it, in his *Defence of the French Revolution*: 'The science which teaches the rights of man, the eloquence that kindles the spirit of freedom, had for ages been buried with the other monuments of the wisdom and relics of the genius of antiquity. But the revival of letters first unlocked only to a few the sacred fountain. The necessary labours of criticism and lexicography occupied the earlier scholars, and

some time elapsed before the spirit of antiquity was transfused into its admirers. The first man of that period who united elegant learning to original and masculine thought was Buchanan; and he, too, seems to have been the first scholar who caught from the ancients the noble flame of republican enthusiasm. This praise is merited by his neglected though incomparable tract, *De Jure Regni*, in which the principles of popular politics, and the maxims of a free government, are delivered with a precision and enforced with an energy which no former age had equalled, and no succeeding has surpassed.'

Mr. Stewart, another excellent judge, says of it, in his *Dissertation on the Progress of Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Philosophy*: 'The dialogue of our illustrious countryman Buchanan, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, though occasionally disfigured by the keen and indignant temper of the writer, and by a predilection (pardonable in a scholar warm from the schools of ancient Greece and Rome) for forms of policy unsuitable to the circumstances of modern Europe, bears, nevertheless, in its general spirit, a closer resemblance to the political philosophy of the eighteenth century than any composition which had previously appeared. The ethical paradoxes afterwards inculcated by Hobbes as the groundwork of his slavish theory

of government are anticipated and refuted; and a powerful argument is urged against the doctrine of utility, which has attracted so much notice in our times. The political reflections, too, incidentally introduced by the same author in his *History of Scotland*, bear marks of a mind worthy of a better age than fell to his lot. Of this kind are the remarks with which he closes his narrative of the wanton cruelties exercised in punishing the murderers of James I. In reading them, one would almost imagine that one is listening to the voice of Beccaria or of Montesquieu.'

The enemies of liberty were unwittingly quite as emphatic in their praises of this tract. James, for whose benefit it was primarily intended, was at pains, in his *Basilicon Doron*, to advise his son Charles not to attend to 'the abominable scandals' of such men as Buchanan and Knox, 'who are persons of seditious spirit, and all who hold their opinions.' The servile Parliament of 1584 condemned it; and, under a penalty of £200, every person who had a copy of it was required to surrender it within forty days, that it might be purged of 'the offensive and extraordinary matters' in it. In 1664 the Privy Council of Scotland issued a proclamation prohibiting all subjects, of whatever degree, quality, or rank, from transcribing or circulating any copies of a manuscript

translation of it. And in 1683 the loyal and orthodox University of Oxford doomed it to the flames, with the political works of Milton and other such heretics.

Excellent must be the principles, and conclusive the reasonings, of a treatise which was so odious and alarming to such tyrants, and to such abettors and advocates of tyranny! And so they are. Its principles are the principles on which the Revolution of 1688 proceeded, and which alone give validity to the expulsion of the Stuarts from the throne of these realms, and make William and Mary their rightful successors. They are the fundamental principles of the British constitution, and of all rational liberty. The opposite principles are the essence of despotism, and the basis and bulwark of it in all the forms in which it has cursed the earth. They basely degrade humanity. They impiously reflect on Him who made it, and endowed it with its rights and enjoined its obligations. The divine right of kings to govern wrong, and the divine duty of subjects to yield them passive obedience, are not only political heresies, but downright blasphemies.

‘What,’ asks Dr. Irving, ‘are the terrible doctrines which once excited so violent an alarm? Buchanan maintains that all power is derived from the people; that it is more safe to entrust

our liberties to the definite protection of the laws than to the precarious discretion of the king ; that the king is bound by those conditions under which the supreme power was originally committed to his hands ; that it is lawful to resist, and even to punish tyrants. Those who maintain the contrary must have recourse to the absurd and exploded doctrine of divine and indefeasible right. When he speaks of the people as opposed to the king, he evidently includes every individual of the nation except one. And is a race of intelligent beings to be assimilated to a tract of land or to a litter of pigs ?—to be considered, absolutely and unconditionally, as the lawful patrimony of a family, which either merit, accident, or crime may originally have elevated to the summit of power ? In this country and this age it certainly is not necessary to remark, that man can neither inherit nor possess a right of property in his fellow-creatures. What is termed loyalty may, according to the circumstances of the case, be either a virtue or a vice. Loyalty to Antoninus and to Nero must assuredly have flowed from different sources. If the Roman people had endeavoured to compass the death of Nero, would this have been foul and unnatural rebellion ? The doctrine of punishing tyrants in their persons, either by a private arm or by the public forms of law, is

indeed of a delicate and dangerous nature ; and it may be considered as amply sufficient to ascertain the previous right of forcible resistance. It will always be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to find a competent tribunal and impartial judges. But that tyrants ought to be punished is an abstract proposition which cannot be easily controverted ; for under the word tyranny is generally included all that is most odious and intolerable in human delinquency. If mankind are at length roused to the redress of enormous wrongs, the prince who has either committed or sanctioned an habitual violation of the best rights of the people will seldom fail to meet with his adequate reward ; and in spite of all the slavish theories of his priests and lawyers, mankind will not long be reasoned out of the strongest feelings of their nature.'

One extract more, and the goodness of the extracts must be our apology for indulging in them :—

'On the solid foundation which had been laid by Buchanan, a spacious edifice was afterwards reared by Milton, Sidney, and Locke, names which every enlightened Briton will always recollect with peculiar veneration. That two of them were republicans need not alarm the most zealous friends of a legitimate monarchy : if the same



individuals had flourished at a more recent period, they would undoubtedly have entertained different sentiments. The principles which prompted stern resistance to the wide encroachments of the house of Stuart, are perfectly compatible with those which recommend a cordial attachment to the house of Hanover.'

In compliance with the solicitation of friends, Buchanan, in 1580, wrote his *Autobiography*—a wonderfully condensed and graphic sketch of a most eventful life, which had now reached its seventy-fourth year. Soon after, he completed the last, the largest, and in some respects the greatest of his works, on which he had been more or less engaged for nearly twenty years—his *History of Scotland*. Hearing of his increasing weakness, his cousin, Thomas Buchanan, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Kirkheugh, and Andrew and James Melville, visited him. He showed them the epistle dedicatory to the King prefixed to his *History*, which they criticised, he pleading that he could not avail himself of their remarks 'for thinking on another mater' (his death). They went to the printers, and finding something in the seventeenth book of the *History*, 'anent the burial of Davie, quhilk might be an occasion of steying the hail work,' says James Melville in his *Diary*, 'we cam to Mr. George again, and fand bedfast by [contrary

to] his custome, and asking him whow he did, Even going the way of weilfare, sayes he. Mr. Thomas his cusing shaws him of the hardnes of that part of his storie yt the King wald be offendit wt it, and it might stey all the wark. Tell me, man, sayes he, giff I have tauld the treuthe. Yes, sayes Mr. Thomas, sir, I think sa. I wyl byd his fead and all his kins, then, quoth he ; pray, pray to God for me, and let Him direct all. Sa, be the printing of his Cronicle was endit, that maist lerned, wyse, and godlie man endit this mortal lyff.'

'Antiquarians, inquirers, and annalists, besides the whole host of freedom's enemies, have in some shape or other attacked the dead lion ;' and his *History* has not escaped their cavils and assaults. These have done no real injury, however, to its authority and reputation. The most jealous and thorough investigation has rather established his candour and general accuracy ; and so high and diversified are his excellences as a historian, that there is not a model of antiquity which he has not been supposed to transcribe. 'His style,' says Bishop Burnet, 'is so natural and nervous, and his reflections on things so solid, that he is justly reckoned the greatest and best of our modern authors.' 'My countryman Buchanan,' says Lord Monboddo, 'has written the history of his country in Latin, and in such Latin that I am not afraid to

compare his style with that of any Roman historian. . . . I hesitate not to pronounce that the style of his narrative is better than that of Livy.'

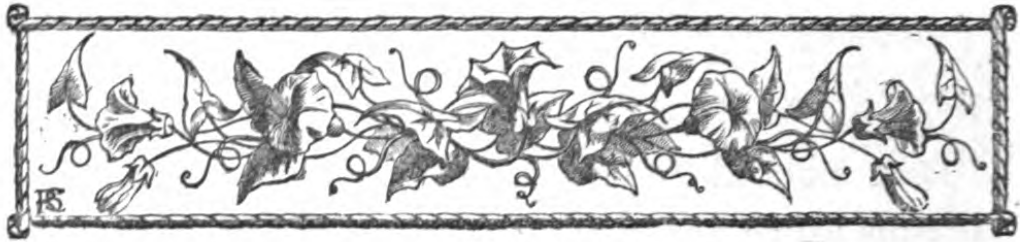
Buchanan died on the 28th September 1582, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and was buried, at the public expense, in the Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh; 'a great multitude of the faithful,' says Calderwood, 'attending his funeral.' No stone marks his grave, a reproach which was so far wiped away in 1788, by the erection of a monument to his memory in the village of Killearn, in his native parish. It is a handsome obelisk, 19 feet square at the base, and 103 feet high, built of white millstone grit, found in the neighbourhood. In the foundation-stone there was deposited a silver medal, enclosed in a bottle hermetically sealed, and with this inscription:

IN MEMORIAM  
 GEORGII BUCHANANI,  
 POETÆ ET HISTORICI CELEBERRIMI,  
 ACCOLIS HUIUS LOCI, ULTRA CONFERENTIBUS,  
 HÆC COLUMNA POSITA EST. 1788.  
 JACOBUS CRAIG, ARCHITECT, EDINBURGEN.

We conclude with cordially adopting what two of Buchanan's contemporaries, John Knox and Thomas Smeton, Principal of the University of

Glasgow, said of him. Knox's tribute to him is : 'That notabil man, Mr. George Bucquhanane, remains alyve to this day, in the yeir of God 1566 yeares, to the glory of God, to the gret honor of this natioun, and to the comfort of them that delyte in letters and verteu. That singular work of David's Psalmes, in Latin meetere and poesy, besyd many uther, can witness the rare graices of God gevin to that man.' Smeton's tribute has been thus summarized : 'Buchanan, the glory of the age, a miracle of erudition, the prince and parent of all learning and of all the learned, an exemplar of ancient virtue and piety, an ornament to Scotland and to human nature.'





## C R A N M E R.

**T**HOMAS CRANMER was born at Aslacton, Northamptonshire, on the 2d July 1489, being the second son of Thomas Cranmer and Agnes Hatfield. The family was old and respectable, and ranked among the landed gentry of the county. He was put to school in his birthplace, his teacher being 'a rude parish clerk,' more noted for the rigour of his discipline than for any other tutorial quality with which we have been made acquainted. His education in his boyhood, being meant for that of a gentleman, included other branches, as hunting, hawking, and riding; in which it would seem that he made as much proficiency as in letters. It is recorded of him, that in after life, though his sight was very defective, he 'could shoot with the long-bow, and many times kill the deer with his

cross-bow ;' and that he could mount and ride the most spirited and unruly steed that came into his stables.

In 1503, before which he had lost his father, and when he was only fourteen years of age, he was sent to Jesus College, Cambridge, where he made good progress, became Master of Arts, and, about 1510 was elected a Fellow of his college. Two years had not elapsed when he married, and thus forfeited his fellowship. His wife was related to the wife of the keeper of the Dolphin Inn, Cambridge. After their marriage, she resided in the house of that relation, which he, of course, frequented ; and hence the silly gossip, not without a tinge of malignity, which, after he had risen to the Primacy, represented him as 'but an hostler, and therefore without all good learning.'

On the loss of his fellowship, he was appointed a reader or lecturer in Magdalen, then Buckingham, College. His college life was a life of assiduous and unwearied study ; and his studies were not confined within the ordinary academic range. He intermeddled with all knowledge, and sought it at all acceptable sources, old and new—in the writings of Erasmus and Luther as well as in those of the Fathers and the Schoolmen. The controversies that had begun to be agitated about religion he appealed to the book of God, humbly

and ingenuously asking, What saith the Scripture ? This led him to the Bible, which became, for a period of three years, his almost exclusive study ; and to this he owed much of that enlarged, accurate, and familiar acquaintance with the sacred volume by which he was distinguished. His mode of studying, too, was thorough and efficient. While the amount of his reading was great, reading was with him a very slow and laborious process. He read with pen in hand, and with a memorandum book open on his desk before him, which he filled with all that struck him as most noteworthy, transcribing many passages, and making references to and abstracts of others. These books grew in process of time into many volumes, which he named his *Adversaria*, and which were of invaluable use to him in the discussions and controversies in which he had afterwards to take part.

About a year after his marriage, his wife died in childbed ; and his own College of Jesus showed its esteem for him in a way as emphatic as it was uncommon. It re-elected him to the fellowship which he had sacrificed for connubial bliss, enabling him to prosecute his studies under the advantages which he had foregone ; and this, doubtless, helped so to strengthen his attachment to his own college, that he declined the offer of a tempt-

ing preferment in Wolsey's new College of Christchurch, Oxford.

Cranmer took his degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1523, soon after which he was appointed to the Divinity lectureship in Jesus College, and to the office of a public examiner in Theology to the University. This gave him an opportunity, which he did not fail to improve, of promoting the study of the Scriptures in the University. In those days too many aspirants to Divinity degrees were as ignorant of the Scriptures as the Bishop of Dunkeld, who thanked God that he knew neither the Old Testament nor the New. Cranmer refused the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Divinity to all candidates for them, till they satisfied him that they had acquired a decent measure of acquaintance with that volume which it is the office of divines to teach.

It was in 1529 that he first came under the notice of Henry VIII. Instead of deciding Henry's suit for a divorce from his queen, Catherine of Arragon, Campeggio and Wolsey had only reported their proceedings in the case to Rome. Henry was bitterly disappointed; and, to soothe his mortified feelings, he made a progress through certain parts of his dominions, accompanied by the equally disappointed and mortified Anne Boleyn. Fox and Gardiner, afterwards Bishops of Hereford



and Winchester, were in the King's suite in that progress, and incidentally spent an evening with Cranmer in the house of a Mr. Cressy, residing in the parish of Waltham-Abbey, Essex; the education of whose sons Cranmer had charge of, and whither he had betaken himself on the outbreak of a virulent epidemic at Cambridge. On that memorable evening they discussed with him the all-absorbing question of the royal divorce. Cranmer's opinion was, that the lawfulness of Henry's marriage to the wife of his deceased brother could be rightly decided only by Scripture, with the laws of which Popes had no power to dispense; and that the law of Scripture on the point might be satisfactorily ascertained by inquiring of the divines in the several Universities of Europe.

Fox and Gardiner reported this opinion to Henry, who was beyond measure delighted with it. 'Where,' said he, 'is this Dr. Cranmer? Is he still at Waltham?' 'We left him there,' was the reply. 'Marry,' rejoined the King, 'I will surely speak with him. Therefore let him be sent for out of hand, for I perceive that he hath the right sow by the ears. If I had known this device but two years ago, it had saved me a great piece of money, and had also rid me of much disquietude.' Cranmer was sent for accordingly, was brought to London much against his will, and was intro-

duced to Henry, who made his case in the matter of the divorce a most pious one; protesting that nothing but trouble of conscience, lest he should be living in sin, moved him to seek separation from a queen, than whom 'never had prince a more gentle, a more obedient and loving companion and wife; nor did he ever fancy woman in all respects better, if this doubt (of the lawfulness of their marriage) had not arisen.' The interview ended with Cranmer's promising to write a treatise on the question, giving up for the present all other engagements, and being accommodated and entertained in the house of the Earl of Wiltshire (the father of Anne Boleyn), at Durham Place.

The treatise, when finished, was presented to Henry, who asked Cranmer: 'Will you abide by this that you have here written before the Bishop of Rome?' 'That will I do, by God's grace,' answered Cranmer, 'if your Majesty do send me there.' 'Marry,' said the King, 'I will send you even to him in a sure embassage.' And so he did by and by. Cranmer's treatise having been widely circulated in Europe, a royal commission was sent abroad to collect the opinions of the Universities, and to urge the divorce at Rome. The commission consisted of the Earl of Wiltshire, Cranmer, Lee, Stokesley, and other learned men. The Universities of the Continent generally declared in Henry's

favour ; those excepted which were under the influence of Charles v., Catherine's nephew. When the commissioners reached Rome, his Holiness received them in state, holding out his foot to be kissed by them ; which the Earl of Wiltshire disdained to do, and the rest followed his example. They offered to prove that marriage to a brother's wife is contrary to the law of God, for the violation of which the Pope could legitimately give no dispensation. Promises that the question should be disputed were made again and again ; days for disputing it were appointed again and again ; but when they came, and Henry's ambassadors appeared, no man appeared to dispute with them. They were treated with courtesy and respect, but they made no progress with their mission ; and, forced to despair of making any, they all returned to London except Cranmer, and at the end of the year (1530) he followed them, returning by Germany, having seen in Rome ' many things contrary to God's honour.' His visit to the holy city had much the same effect on him as Luther's visit to it had upon him.

On his arrival in London, Cranmer found Henry in a state bordering on ecstasy. The foreign Universities had taken his side, pronouncing against the lawfulness of his marriage to Catherine, and in favour of the dissolution of it. The

Convocations, both of Canterbury and York, had done the same. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge had done the same, though not without great debate and difficulty, and a little royal pressure, in which the 'young gentlemen,' who proved more unmanageable than the old, were 'admonished that, if they went on to play the masters as they had begun to do, they would find it was not good *irritare crabones*—to meddle with waspish or angry people.' Cranmer having answered Cardinal Pole, who had written against the proposed divorce, Henry next sent him to the Emperor Charles v., Catherine's nephew, to do what he could to overcome his opposition to the measure. He had no success in the more immediate object of his mission, but he transacted some other important business entrusted to him, having reference to the trade of England with the Low Countries. He had also much intercourse at that time with the German Reformers, which confirmed and increased his own Reforming tendencies. Moreover, he entered anew into the bond of wedlock with a sister of the celebrated Osiander of Nuremburg; an act by which he virtually renounced subjection to the Papal authority, which had enjoined celibacy on the priesthood.

It was while he was then sojourning in Germany that he received the tidings of the death of Warham,

Archbishop of Canterbury, and of the King's intention to promote him to the vacant see. This high preferment he owed to the services he had rendered, and was expected still to render, to Henry in the divorce question. The offer of it took Cranmer by surprise. He quailed as he thought of the giddy height and the grave responsibility to which his master proposed to raise him, and he begged him to look out for some person more worthy of the appointment. But Henry would listen to no denial on any such plea as personal unfitness. Cranmer therefore pleaded another, and a most formidable difficulty. He could not be installed in Canterbury without the Pope's bulls; these bulls could not be granted except on the condition of his swearing an oath of canonical obedience to his Holiness, and this was what one who had cast off his yoke could not do. 'If,' said he, 'I am to accept this place, I must, like my predecessors, receive it from the hands of the Pope, and this my conscience will not permit me to do. I am convinced that your Majesty is the only supreme head and governor of the Church of England, as well in causes ecclesiastical as temporal: to you, and not to any foreign authority, belongs the right of donation to all benefices and bishoprics, and therefore, if I am to serve God, my sovereign, and my country, in this dignity, I will consent to accept

it from the King my master alone, and not from the hand of a stranger, who has no power within this realm.' Unable to cope with this difficulty, Henry sought the advice of Doctor Oliver, an eminent civilian. The Doctor advised that a person should be sent to take the oath to the Pope in the name of the new Primate, and that the Primate should ratify this person's doing so under protestation. This course was adopted, and Cranmer was consecrated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury on the 30th March 1533. He was invested with the pall in virtue of the Papal bulls which he received ; and these proceeded on the oath of canonical obedience sworn in his name, while Cranmer was in the meantime declaring that he did not recognise the Pope, but his royal master, as conferring this ecclesiastical dignity ; all which he followed up by this protest : ' That he took the oath of fidelity to the Pope in no sense but such as was wholly consistent with the laws of God, the King's prerogative, and the statutes of the realm ; that he did not thereby bind himself from speaking his mind freely in matters of religion, the government of the Church, and the rights of the crown ; and that he meant on all occasions to oppose the illegal authority of the Pope, and to condemn his errors.'

Was this a dubious transaction? Would that

we could rest in so faint a condemnation of it! But we cannot. It was a nefarious transaction, tampering with the sacredness of an oath. And it could have been no salve to Cranmer's conscience, if he had not been more anxious to have the splendid prize of the Primacy, than to have it with a good conscience. 'To take an oath, protesting that you do not believe in the assertions it contains, and in which its whole meaning and essence consists, is a transaction to which no conscientious minister in the present day could possibly become a party.'

Installed in the archbishopric, Cranmer had soon very momentous work to perform. He invited it, for he was accommodating enough to address a letter to Henry, urging that the long-pending question as to his marriage should be brought to a determination. Encouraged and fortified by the opinions in his favour which he had received, the King was to be no more mocked by Rome, but, disregarding it, was to have the question issued at home. And he was to have this done without delay. The case, indeed, had become one of great urgency. For five years he had separated himself from the society of Catherine. For three years he had lived with Anne Boleyn, whom he had ennobled by the title of the Marchioness of Pembroke—a life which was perfectly under-

stood not to be Platonic. Anne's situation had become delicate; and he had privately married her, in an attic of Whitehall, in the last week of January. This was a state of things which could not brook delay. If his private marriage to Anne was to be valid, and her offspring legitimate, his previous marriage to Catherine, which had now subsisted for twenty-three years, must be annulled, as unlawful and invalid. Cranmer accordingly received the King's command to hold a court, and to give final judgment in the cause.

The Court, composed of canonists and divines, Cranmer convened at Dunstable, in the neighbourhood of Ampthill, where Catherine was residing. Cited to appear before it, Catherine disobeyed the summons, was pronounced contumacious, and the marriage between her and Henry was dissolved, as contrary to the law of God, and as therefore always null and void. The sentence was duly intimated to her, and that she was no longer Queen of England, but only Dowager Princess of Wales, and was to be addressed and provided for accordingly. She received the intimation with great indignation, and declared that she would sooner be hewn in pieces than submit to such degradation and wrong. Another court was by and by held at Lambeth, in which, after the Royal Proctor had been heard, Cranmer judicially and



solemnly 'declared that Henry and the Marchioness of Pembroke had been joined in lawful wedlock, and confirmed their marriage by his pastoral authority.' On the 1st June he crowned the new Queen in Westminster Hall, the whole ceremonial of the coronation being of unrivalled magnificence; and on the 7th September she was delivered of a daughter, the future illustrious Queen Elizabeth, whom the Archbishop baptized, and to whom he had the honour of being godfather.

If there was in these things any promise of Cranmer's ultimate conversion from Romanism, he was as yet a Romanist in all points save one. Holding King Henry to be the only supreme head of the Church of England, he of course denied the Pope's headship over that Church. But, with this exception, he was yet a sincere and devoted Roman Catholic. He, for example, maintained firmly and jealously the absurd dogma of transubstantiation; and the Sacramentarians, as they were called, who had departed from the Popish faith on the sacrament of the altar, were with him heretics, to be adjudged to the fire. John Frith and Andrew Hewet are sample instances. Frith wrote a book against transubstantiation, and Hewet approved of the book. Frith, examined before Cranmer and the Bishops of London and Winchester, and found an obstinate heretic, was doomed to the

stake. Hewet received the same sentence ; and both were burned together in Smithfield, on the 4th July 1533. Thirteen years afterwards, Mrs. Anne Askew and three companions suffered the same fate for the same heresy. Mrs. Askew is described as 'a lady of ancient family, remarkable accomplishments, and great beauty ;' and the story of her martyrdom is most touching. 'Her chief offence appears to have been a denial of transubstantiation, upon which point she was repeatedly brought before the Council. Of her examination on these occasions she has left a pathetic and interesting account, which has been preserved by Foxe, and presents a picture of religious persecution which it is impossible to read without horror. On finding her fixed in the resolution to maintain her belief, the next object of the inquisitors was to discover her accomplices, as the King had been informed she could name, if she were willing, a great number of them. Strong suspicions were even entertained that she was secretly encouraged by some of the Privy Council. This, however, she positively denied ; upon which Gardiner and Wriothsley, the Lord Chancellor, ordered Knevet, the lieutenant of the Tower, to put her on the rack. She was then let down into the lower dungeon, where she beheld that dreadful instrument, and the jailor standing beside it, his sleeves tucked up,

and ready for his office. Still her courage was unshaken; and the lieutenant, although compelled by his office to obey, was anxious to spare her the extremity of torture. He commanded the jailor to stretch her on the iron platform, but only to "pinch" her; after which, being about to take her down, he was reprimanded by Wriothesley, and ordered to proceed. This he refused, although threatened with the royal displeasure; upon which the other threw off his gown, and drew the rack himself, till her bones and joints were almost plucked asunder. She was then untied, and, having fainted away from the excess of torture inflicted on her by this legal monster, was removed from the dungeon in a chair or litter. No persuasion, not even the offer of life, could prevail on her to recant; and she was soon after, with three other Sacramentarians, publicly burnt at Smithfield.'

The new article on the Royal Supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, which Cranmer and Henry added to the standard faith of England, created, of course, a new heresy; and for the denial of the said supremacy they persecuted as relentlessly as they did for the denial of any article of the old faith. Ex - Chancellor Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher are again sample instances. It was for this new heresy, it was for refusing to acknow-

ledge the Pope of England in the person of King Henry, that More was sent to the block ; of whose trial and condemnation Lord Campbell says that, 'after the lapse of three centuries, during which statesmen, prelates, and kings have been unjustly brought to trial under the same roof, considering the splendour of his talents, the greatness of his acquirements, and the innocence of his life, we must still regard his murder as the blackest crime that ever has been perpetrated in England under the forms of law.' And who does not sympathize with his lordship when he declares, 'With all my Protestant zeal, I must feel a higher reverence for Sir Thomas More than for Thomas Cromwell and for Cranmer'?

If, about the time of which we now write, there was one thing more than another which was secretly sapping Romanism in England, it was the attention and deference that had begun to be paid to the word of God ; and in the circulation of the Scriptures in the English tongue Cranmer was very zealous. He took measures for improving Tyndale's translation of the New Testament. He induced Henry to rescind the interdict which he had laid, in 1531, on the reading of the Bible without the licence of their superiors. He patronized Miles Coverdale in making the first translation of the whole Bible into English, which was published

in 1535. In 1537 he encouraged Grafton to reprint the translation of Tyndale and Coverdale, commonly called the Great Bible, and afterwards Cranmer's Bible, from the preface to it written by him ; which Bible, at his request, Cromwell showed to the King, and obtained his licence that it might be sold and read by all, till the bishops should set forth a better translation ; 'which,' said Cranmer, 'I think will not be till the day after doomsday.' Next year a royal ordinance informed the people that the King had commanded the Scriptures, in their own tongue, to be openly 'laid forth' in every parish church for their perusal.

All this was, however undesignedly on Cranmer's part, yet most effectively, undermining the system of Popery in the land ; and this the clergy were astute enough to discern. 'I marvel,' said Stokesley, Bishop of London, 'what my Lord of Canterbury meaneth, that he thus abuseth the people in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures, which doth nothing else but infect them with heresy.' The curates were of the same mind. The royal ordinance of 1538, to which we have just alluded, they read in their churches, as they were required to do ; but they read it 'so low and confusedly that it could not be understood ; and some went so far as to exhort their parishioners to neglect it, bidding them live as

their fathers had done in times past, the old fashion being the best.' But in spite of the clergy, large numbers of the people appreciated the boon bestowed on them. 'It was wonderful,' says Strype, 'to see with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the more learned, and those who were noted lovers of the Reformation, but generally all over England among all the common people, and with what greediness God's word was read, and what resort there was to the place appointed for reading it. Every one that could, bought the book, and busily read it, or heard it read; and many elderly persons learned to read on purpose.'

The Cromwell whom we have once and again mentioned as concurring and co-operating with Cranmer, was Thomas, Lord Cromwell, afterwards created Earl of Essex. Introduced to Henry in 1531, he was the first to advise him to throw off entirely the yoke of Rome, and to take to himself the authority which the Pope had usurped in England. The King was mightily pleased with his views, for, as Godwin says, he was 'much prone to reformation, especially if anything might be gotten by it;' took him into his service, and made him a Privy Councillor. Having followed his advice as to making himself Pope in his dominions, he by and by appointed Cromwell

his Vicar-General, which vested in him all the spiritual authority that belonged to the King as the head of the Church. He was no sooner promoted to this office than he advised a visitation of the monasteries of the kingdom. Commissioners were appointed for this purpose, with ample powers and instructions. Their report was in due time made; and the revelations which it gave of the interior of the religious houses were so revolting to all who had any sense of religion, or morals, or common decency, that the Vicar-General had little difficulty in accomplishing the object he had in view,—the suppression of those houses, and the confiscation of their revenues. In 1536 Parliament passed an Act, which suppressed 380 lesser monasteries, which brought a revenue of £32,000 a year to the public exchequer, besides £100,000 in plate and precious stones. The greater revenues were surrendered apace, and yielded to the King £100,000 a year, besides a large sum in plate and jewels. Such was the computation, but the real value amounted to these sums several times over—some of them, Burnet says, ten times over.

Of this measure Cranmer did not fully approve. It was his 'wish that three or four religious houses should have been preserved in every county, which, under proper regulation, might have offered

shelter to contemplative piety, and might have opened a quiet harbour for many a troubled spirit that sighed for rest. It was also his wish, which on proper occasions he never ceased to urge, that the revenues of those establishments, instead of being confiscated to enrich rapacious courtiers, should be reserved as a fund for the establishment and maintenance of schools and colleges throughout the country.'

To the acts of insubordination and rebellion against Rome which have come under our notice, others of a like character were added. Such were the abolition by Parliament of the annats, or first-fruits, which had yielded the Papal See a large revenue ; the prohibition of appeals from England to Rome ; and the confirmation to the King of the title of Supreme Head of the Church, with all that the title implied. All these things widened Henry's rupture with Rome ; and the Pope retaliated. On Catherine's appeal, he had annulled Cranmer's judgment in the divorce between her and Henry, and had threatened Henry with excommunication, if he did not, before a given date, separate from his new Queen. Next year, Henry having proved disobedient, the Pope executed this threat. He published his bull of excommunication against the obstinate rebel, casting him out of the Holy Church, depriving



him of his crown, absolving his subjects from their allegiance, and exhorting all Christian princes to declare war against him.

Henry's loves were in the highest degree capricious and inconstant. His love of Anne Boleyn did not last for quite three years after their marriage. The voluptuous monarch took a fancy for Jane Seymour, daughter of Sir John Seymour of Wolff Hall, Wiltshire, one of Anne's maids of honour; and that the maid might be raised to the place of the mistress, the latter must be got out of the way. To put her out of the way, Henry had her arrested on the 2d May 1536, thrown into the Tower, tried on a charge of criminal intercourse (which was high treason in her) with five persons, one of whom was her own brother, Viscount Rochford, and sentenced to be 'burned or beheaded at the King's pleasure.' That Anne was innocent of the crime for which she suffered there can be no reasonable doubt. The evidence on which she was convicted would not have the weight of a feather now-a-days in a court of justice. She was sacrificed to Henry's guilty passion for Jane Seymour. The slave of that passion, there was no enormity that could secure and speed the gratification of it, to which he was not equal. For this he, more than the tools that did his bidding, murdered Anne Boleyn. On the

morning of the day of her execution, the heartless murderer went to hunt in Epping Forest. As he was breakfasting, and looking thoughtful and anxious, the report of a distant gun, the preconcerted signal, was heard. 'Ah! it is done!' he cried, starting up; 'the business is done! Uncouple the dogs, and let us follow the sport.' In the evening he returned from the Forest gay and merry, and on the following morning he married Jane Seymour, Anne's maid of honour.

Cranmer owed much to the friendship of Anne Boleyn and her family; and truth constrains us to say, that he does not rise in our estimation by the part which he acted in connection with her murder. On the day of her arrest, Henry, to prevent his interference in the case, ordered him to keep to his palace at Lambeth, and on no account to appear at Court. Cranmer was dreadfully alarmed. He did indeed venture to intercede for the doomed Queen in letters to the King, but it was in a way which showed that he was as much concerned for his own safety as for hers. He tenderly sympathized with Henry (so he wrote in his letters) in this bitter affliction, and besought him to bear it with resignation! His former good opinion of the Queen made him believe her innocent, but his knowledge of the King's justice and prudence induced him to believe her guilty! He

might be permitted, he hoped, to pray that she might prove her innocence; but if she could not, the man was a traitor who did not call for the severest punishment! How Henry must have laughed in his own sleeve at the intercession of the timid, cringing, selfish, unctuous Primate!

But this was not the worst of Cranmer's conduct in this horrid case. Having divorced Henry and Catherine of Arragon, he had declared the marriage between him and Anne Boleyn valid, and had solemnly sanctioned it by his authority as Metropolitan and judge. This marriage Henry now commanded him to dissolve; and he obeyed! His own heart must have condemned him in doing this; and the wrong which he did he aggravated by attempting to justify it, resting his judgment on a pretended confession which he had extorted from Anne, to the effect that 'there were, and had always been, just and lawful impediments to her marriage to Henry, which had made it always null and void.'

On this proceeding Lord Campbell remarks: 'Not satisfied with knowing that she whom he had so passionately loved was doomed in her youth to suffer a violent and cruel death, he (Henry) resolved before her execution to have a sentence pronounced dissolving his marriage with her, and declaring that it had been null and void

from the beginning, not seeing, in the blindness of his rage, that in this case she could not have been guilty of adultery or treason. Nevertheless, in a divorce suit which lasted only a few hours, which Audley (the Lord Chancellor) sanctioned, and in which Cranmer personally pronounced the sentence,—some say on the ground of a pre-contract with the Earl of Northumberland, which he on his oath denied—some on the ground that Henry had cohabited with Mary Boleyn, the sister of Anne,—that marriage was declared null and void which Cranmer himself had solemnized, and which had been declared valid by an Act of Parliament then remaining on the Statute-Book.' His lordship adds, in bitter but just irony, which points to the true explanation of the whole shameless proceeding: 'It is well that Henry did not direct that Audley should officiate as executioner, with Cranmer as his assistant; for they probably would have obeyed, sooner than have given up the Seals or the Primacy.'

Cranmer continued equally pliant and serviceable to Henry in the difficulties and troubles which he had with future queens.

Jane Seymour, twelve days after giving birth to a son, who became Edward VI., had the felicity of making her exit out of this world by a natural death; and Henry, though very diligent in search

of a fourth wife, had to remain a widower for the space of two years. He proposed to several, but his eligibility had rather fallen in the matrimonial market. The Duchess-Dowager of Milan, for example, replied to his proposal, that if she had two heads, one should be at the service of his Majesty ; but having only one, she declined his offer. At length he was accepted by the Princess Anne, daughter of John, Duke of Cleves, one of the Protestant princes of Germany. Cromwell's commendations of Anne, and Holbein's flattering miniature of her, made Henry believe that she was very handsome. But the first sight he had of her most painfully disappointed him ; and though he proceeded with the marriage, so disgusting to him were her clumsy person and coarse manners, that in a few months he broke out in violent upbraiding of Cromwell for the imposition he had practised on him, and imperiously commanded him to devise some method by which he might be separated from so unlovely a companion.

Before he had discovered the device wanted, Cromwell had lost his head on Tower Hill. Cranmer at first wrote in his behalf ; but his servility to the enthroned butcher he carried so far, that he afterwards gave his vote against his friend ! But 'where there's a will there's a way ;' and the way taken was, to raise doubts as to the validity

of the union between Henry and Anne. A servile Parliament anticipated Henry's wishes by requesting him to investigate the case. It was referred to the 'judgment and determination of grave, learned, honest, and pious ecclesiastics, viz. the Archbishops and Bishops;' and, to 'the unspeakable disgrace of Cranmer and the other prelates, whether inclining to the old or the new religion, they declared to the House of Lords that they had examined into the affair of the marriage, by virtue of the King's commission directed to them, and that both by divine and human law they found it invalid;' the reason being twofold,—that Henry had married the princess without the inward consent of his own mind, and there had been a pre-contract between her and the young Prince of Lorraine! A bill founded on this report speedily passed both Houses of Parliament, and received the royal assent. Anne had meekness and wisdom enough to acquiesce, and to say that she would be content with being a humble servant and sister to Henry, in place of his wife; and thus his fourth queen was conveniently disposed of.

The fifth Queen was Catherine Howard, niece of the Duke of Norfolk, with whom Henry had fallen deeply in love before his release from Anne of Cleves, and whom he married immediately after. For a year his connubial bliss was perfect;

for which he had publicly rendered thanks in his own chapel, and had ordered the Bishop of Lincoln to prepare a form of thanksgiving for it, to be used in all churches and chapels throughout the kingdom, when, lo! it was pretended to be discovered that, both prior to her marriage and after it, Catherine had led a most abandoned life. Cranmer divulged the dread secret to the astounded King; and, avoiding going into the sickening details of his conduct in the case, suffice it to say that, in getting up evidence against the Queen, he laboured so diligently and so cunningly as to secure the object desired. That object was Catherine Howard's destruction. This Henry desired; and now, as always, there was no lack of instruments to do his will. On the ground of infidelity to his bed, Parliament attainted Catherine of high treason; and on the 13th February 1542, she and Lady Rochford, who had been condemned as an accomplice, were executed within the Tower. Dereham and Culpepper, the Queen's alleged paramours, had been hanged some time before.

An impartial historical writer well remarks: 'The Protestants were as ready to believe in the guilt of the Papist Catherine Howard, as the Papists had been to believe in the guilt of the Protestant Anne Boleyn. Since the triumph and

firm establishment of the Reformed doctrines, sympathy and admiration have been incessantly demanded for the unfortunate mother of Queen Elizabeth ; but no Protestant tears have been shed for the still more unhappy Catherine Howard. Yet an attentive examination of documents, contemporary histories, and traditions, will convince every impartial mind that the frailties and guilt of Catherine were no more substantiated and proved than were the guilt and frailties of Anne ; and that, in the case of both ladies, the tyrant and his slaves bade defiance to all law and justice. A living and distinguished Roman Catholic historian turns Anne Boleyn into a wanton, and Catherine into an innocent martyr. Alas for the slow progress of truth and impartiality ! Are these, and other historical subjects of still greater weight, always to be treated of with the same angry passions and the same wilful blindness to evidence ? Is prejudice to hold for ever the scales ? Must every history continue to be one-sided ?'

While the case of Catherine Howard was pending, Cranmer got a terrible fright. The Duke of Cleves proposed to Henry that he should take back to wife his sister Anne, and sent ambassadors to England on this fool's errand. Cranmer trembled lest he should be suspected



of complicity in the heinous offence of attempting to impose on his master so loathed a helpmate, wrote the King a most characteristic letter, and refused to have anything to do with the Cleves ambassadors, 'unless it please the King's Majesty to command him !'

Henry's sixth and last Queen was Catherine Parr, daughter of Sir Thomas Parr, and widow of Neville, Lord Latimer. She was a well-informed and pretty decided Reformer, and exposed herself to imminent peril by talking a little too freely of her views to her royal consort. She made, indeed, a miraculous escape from the fate of so many of her predecessors; and she did so by administering to her sovereign lord large doses of ingenious flattery. By these she lulled his rising suspicions and dispelled his gathering ire, and saved Cranmer the task of finding pretexts for pronouncing her marriage to Henry invalid, and bringing her to the block.

Notwithstanding the infirmity with which we have been taxing him, Cranmer was a sincere friend of religious reformation, and an active promoter of it, as far as he thought he could safely be so under Henry, 'a most religious king,' as he described him. He was zealous, as we have seen, for the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue, and for the circulation of them

among the people. He rejoiced in the dissolution of the monasteries, those strongholds of Popery, though he disapproved of the secularization of their revenues. Reform in the doctrine of the Church made but little way in Henry's reign. But the beginning, or at least the promise of it, is discernible in the sort of symbolic books issued by his authority:—King Henry's *Primer*; his *Articles to establish Christian Quietness*; *The Institution of a Christian Man*; and even the greatly deteriorated version of the latter, which appeared under the title of *The Erudition of a Christian Man*. The doctrine of all these is a strange medley, a rude compound of Christian truth and antichristian error; 'a mingle-mangle, a hotch-potch,' as Latimer described it. But we owe it to Cranmer that the doctrine of them is not pure, undiluted Popery. Any element of Protestantism in it is to be traced, directly or indirectly, to him.

The reform which took place in Henry's time in the rites and ceremonies of the Church was more palpable, and must also be put to Cranmer's credit. When Henry, in 1536, sent a message to Convocation, commanding it to proceed to the reformation of the rites and ceremonies of the Church, Cranmer argued strenuously in favour of the royal behest. He took an active part in advising and carrying out measures, in the next two

years, which sensibly abated some of the grosser superstitions of Popery which had been rampant in the land. A considerable reduction was made in the number of holidays; saint-worship was rather discouraged; and the temptations to it, in images, relics, shrines, and pilgrimages thereto, were removed. 'One of the orders given to the visitors was to make a minute examination of all the relics and images in any of those houses to which pilgrimages were wont to be made. "In this," says Burnet, "Dr. London did great service. From Reading he writes, that the chief relics of idolatry in the nation were these: an angel with one wing, that brought over the spear's head that pierced our Saviour's side. To which he adds a long inventory of their other relics, and says there were as many more as would fill four sheets of paper. He also writes from other places, that he had everywhere taken down their images and trinkets." Some of the images were brought to London, and, for the purpose of exposing the juggling impostures of the monks, were broken up at St. Paul's Cross in the sight of all the people. The rich shrines of our Lady of Walsingham, of Ipswich, of Islington, and many others, were now brought to London, and burned by order of Cromwell.

'The abolition of images and pilgrimages oc-

cupied a principal place in a new set of instructions which Cromwell issued to the clergy in 1538.'

In cherishing the infant Reformation, Cranmer did what he could to raise men of kindred views and spirit with himself to high and influential places in the Church. It was under his patronage that Latimer was made Bishop of Worcester, and Thaxton Bishop of Salisbury; and several other like promotions were effected through his influence.

But we have now reached the point at which Henry's apparent movement in the direction of Protestantism was arrested. From various causes, Cranmer's influence at Court began to decline, and that of Gardiner, the able and crafty Bishop of Winchester, to rise; which it did steadily, till, on the death of Cromwell, he became the chief counsellor of the Crown. In this altered state of things, Henry's course was retrograde rather than progressive. As if to make amends for having gone too far in the small reforms which we have indicated, he sought occasion to make some grand exhibition of his inviolable attachment to the old faith; and he soon found one in the case of Lambert, a person in priest's orders, and teacher of a school in London. Reported to be unsound on the sacrament of the altar, Cranmer summoned him before him, and convicted him of heresy for dissenting from a sermon which he had heard in

defence of the corporeal presence in the Eucharist. Like all his contemporaries, Cranmer regarded heretics as fuel for the fire ; and the denial of transubstantiation was yet with him one of the worst heresies. This was the last tenet of Popery which he renounced.

From the judgment of the Primate, Lambert appealed to that of the King ; and his court for hearing the appeal Henry held in Westminster Hall, with great pomp, and in the presence of a large and most imposing assembly. The Bishop of Chichester opened the proceedings, stating that, from the fact of this appeal having been taken, his ' Majesty was inclined to credit a report which had reached his ears, that credulous people were persuaded that he had embraced the new doctrines lately circulated in Germany. True it was, he had found the tyranny of Rome intolerable, and had therefore shaken it off ; he had discovered monks to be the drones in the beehive, and had expelled them ; he had abolished the idolatrous worship of images, and given to his people the power of reading God's word, which had hitherto been prohibited by the Church of Rome ; but in all other things he had resolved that, during his reign, there should be no further change, and this resolution he was now prepared to enforce.' It was a fine opportunity for Henry

displaying not only his zeal for orthodoxy, but his theological erudition and his dialectic powers; and he made the most of it. And parasites did not fail to persuade him, that 'he had got so much reputation to himself by it, that it would effectually refute all aspersions which had been cast on him as if he intended to change the faith; neither did they forget to approach him on his weak side, and magnify all that he had said as if the oracle had uttered it, by which they said it appeared that he was indeed a Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head of the Church.' The following paragraph is from Tytler's *Life of Henry the Eighth*, and it opens all the glimpse of the proceedings of the court on Lambert's appeal which we can afford to give:—

'The Bishop (of Chichester) having concluded his oration, Henry rose, and, looking sternly on the accused, exclaimed: "Ho! good fellow, what is thy name?" The prisoner, kneeling, replied, "his real name was Nicolson, although of many he was called Lambert." "What!" said the King, "have you two names? I would not trust a man with two names, were he my own brother." Waiving this, however, the monarch came to the main point in debate. "What sayest thou as to the sacrament of the altar? Wilt thou agree to the doctrine of the Church, or wilt thou deny

that it is the body of Christ?" at which word he lifted his cap. The other then proceeded, but with less vigour and resolution than had been expected, to declare his reasons against admitting the real presence. Henry replied; then came Cranmer; and for five hours the disputation lasted, the King being his principal opponent; whilst the Archbishop and nine other prelates pressed their arguments upon the prisoner. Lambert, however, was not convinced; and the day being past, and torches beginning to be lighted, it was judged time to conclude the disputation. "What sayest thou now," exclaimed the royal disputant, "after these solid reasons and instructions brought forward by such learned men? Wilt thou live or die?" "I commit myself," replied he, "into the hands of your Majesty." "Then," said the King, "commit thyself into the hands of God, and not into mine." "My soul, indeed, I do commend into the hands of God," was the reply of the meek but courageous prisoner; "but my body I wholly yield unto your clemency." "Then," said the King, "if you do commend yourself unto my judgment, you must die, for I will not be a patron unto heretics." Cromwell was then desired to read the sentence. It condemned him, "as an obstinate opponent of the truth," to be led to the stake; and he was accordingly executed a few days afterwards. "As

touching the terrible manner and fashion," says Foxe, "of the burning of this blessed martyr, here it is to be noted that, of all others that have been burned and offered up at Smithfield, there was yet none so cruelly and pitilessly handled as he. For after his legs were consumed and burned up to the stumps, and that the wretched tormentors and enemies of God had withdrawn the fire from him, so that but a small fire and coals were left under him, these two that stood on each side of him, with their halberds, pitched him upon their spikes as far as the chain would reach; and he, lifting up such hands as he had, and his finger-ends flaming with fire, cried unto the people in these words: 'None but Christ, none but Christ;' and so, being let down again from their halberds, fell into the fire, and gave up his life."'

One of the results of the growing ascendancy of Gardiner was the passing, in 1539, of the infamous Act for abolishing diversities of opinion in religion. It was called the Law of the Six Articles, because it established—(1) the doctrine of the real presence in the Eucharist; (2) communion in one kind; (3) the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity; (4) the utility of private masses; (5) the celibacy of the clergy; and (6) the necessity of auricular confession. It was also called the Bloody Statute, because of the penalties by which



those Six Articles were enforced. Those who spoke, preached, or wrote against the first Article were to be judged heretics, and burned, without being allowed to recant, and were to forfeit their real and personal estate to the King. Those who preached or obstinately disputed against the other Articles were to suffer death as felons, without benefit of clergy; and those who were, in word or in writing, to declare against them, were to be prisoners during the King's pleasure, and to forfeit their goods and chattels for the first offence, and to suffer death for the second. All incumbents were to read this Act in their churches once a quarter. Cranmer honoured himself by the strenuous opposition which he offered to the enactment of this statute, though he did not, like Latimer and Thaxton, resign his see when it was adopted; and he would have honoured himself still more had he rested his opposition on the sacred ground of religious liberty; but the idea of liberty, or even of toleration, never dawned on him. The statute bore upon himself very directly and uncomfortably; and this, doubtless, had its own influence in rousing his hostility to it. He had, as we have stated, married a wife on the Continent; and if he was not to be one of the first victims of this barbarous law, he must part with her; and he did so, sending her and the

children she had borne him back to her relatives in Germany.

For a while after the passing of the Bloody Statute, Smithfield blazed more than ever with the flames in which heretics were consumed. Henry fed them with Reformers who rejected any of the theological tenets of Popery; and Papists who refused to own him to be the Supreme Head of the Church of England, he, at the same time, hanged or beheaded and quartered. To point to a single illustration: In August 1542, Barnes, Garret, and Jerome, distinguished preachers among the Reformers, having been 'committed to the torments of the merciless fire,' the royal savage, to show his impartiality against offenders alike of the old and the new religion, had Powell, Abel, and Featherstone, three Papists, hanged and quartered for denying his ecclesiastical supremacy. 'On this occasion, as on some others, they were coupled together, a Catholic with a Protestant, on the same hurdle, and so drawn to Smithfield, to the horror of both sects. A Frenchman is said to have exclaimed, "Good God, how do people make a shift to live here, where Papists are hanged and anti-Papists are burned?" In the next month the Prior of Doncaster and six others were hanged for defending the institution of the monastic life, a crime now become as capital as the greatest.'

It was not to be expected that, with such new life and energy, Popery would long allow the free circulation among the people of its greatest enemy, the word of God. Accordingly, Henry's Preface to the *Erudition of a Christian Man*, published in 1543, bore that the reading and studying of the Old and New Testaments, though necessary to those who were ordained to teach, was not so necessary to those who were taught. Soon after, Parliament enacted 'that the Bible should not be read in public; that it should not be read aloud in any private families, except such as were of noble or gentle degree; that it should not be read privately to oneself, except by men who were householders, and by females who were well-born. By any other women, or any artificer, apprentice, journeyman, servant, or labourer, the opening of the book was unlawful, and an offence to be punished with one month's imprisonment!' This occasioned another weak compliance of Cranmer, and involved him in very melancholy inconsistency. 'Cranmer and *all* the bishops, whether Papists or Protestants, or half-and-half, concurred in these regulations!'

When Gardiner and his party thought themselves sufficiently strong for effecting Cranmer's destruction, they set themselves to compass it. They concocted a charge of heresy against him,

spread out into a long series of articles, which they got the prebendaries of his own cathedral to father, and to send to the Privy Council. Henry, estimating duly their affected zeal for orthodoxy, resolved at once to thwart their plot against Cranmer. Ordering his barge, he proceeded to Lambeth; called to the Archbishop, as he appeared on the steps by the water-side to welcome his sovereign, 'Oh, my chaplain, now I know who is the greatest heretic in Kent!' and drew out of his sleeve the articles of impeachment against him, many being among his accusers whom he had laid under the deepest obligations to him. The Primate, falling on his knees, implored the appointment of a commission to thoroughly expiscate the case. The King answered: 'A commission there shall be; but the Archbishop of Canterbury shall be at the head of it, with such clergy as he may be pleased to appoint. A friendly, or at least an impartial commission was appointed; and, setting to work promptly and vigorously, brought to light the whole of the dark design hatched against the Primate. Gardiner and the prebendaries had to humble themselves in the dust before their intended victim, who forgave them, and dismissed them with an admonition,—a fine instance of that mildness and clemency to his enemies which gave rise to the

current saying about him, 'Do my Lord of Canterbury an ill turn, and he will be your friend as long as he lives.'

Sir John Gostwick was fain to perform like humiliation before Cranmer. In his place in Parliament he attacked him for speaking heretically of the sacrament of the altar. Hearing of the attack, the King exclaimed in a rage: 'Tell that varlet Gostwick that he hath played a villainous part to abuse in open Parliament the Primate of the realm. If he does not instantly acknowledge his fault to my Lord of Canterbury, I will make him the poorest Gostwick that ever bore the name. What! does he pretend that, being in Bedfordshire, he could hear my Lord of Canterbury preaching in Kent?' Sir John was terror-struck, fled to Lambeth, cast himself on the Archbishop's mercy, and begged him to use his influence to allay the tempest of the royal ire.

On the death, in 1545, of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Henry's brother-in-law, the most powerful of all Cranmer's friends, his enemies made yet another attempt to accomplish his destruction. They complained to the King that he and his fellow-Reformers had so infected the land with their unsavoury doctrines, that three-fourths of the people had become abominable heretics; and that the plague could not be stayed so long as Cran-

mer was at large, and a member of his Majesty's Council. Henry affected to listen to them, and to consent that the Primate should be thrown into the Tower ; but that very night he sent for him to Whitehall, and apprised him of the complaint, and of what had passed between him and the complainers. Cranmer professed his readiness to go to the Tower, provided he had liberty to defend himself against his accusers ; when Henry ejaculated, 'O Lord God, what simplicity is yours ! Know you not this, that no sooner shall you be in the Tower than the knaves will come forward to arraign you, who, while you are at liberty, will not dare to show their face ? No, no ; not so, my Lord of Canterbury. Go you to the Council tomorrow, and when you appear before them, demand to be confronted with your accusers. Should there be a moment's hesitation, produce this ring, the sight of which will instantly bring the matter before me.'

Early next morning the Archbishop was in attendance on the Council. They were not ready to admit him, and he was kept waiting among the attending servants in the anteroom, a whisper of which usage was carried to the King. When he was at length admitted to the Council, and the complaint against him had been heard, he asked to be confronted with his accusers. To this no

attention was paid. When he was about to be removed to the Tower, he produced the ring which the King had given him. Filled with consternation, and covered with confusion, they betook themselves to the royal presence, where they were rated soundly. 'Ha, my lords!' said the King, 'I thought that I had a wise and discreet Council; but now I find that I am deceived. How have you handled here my Lord of Canterbury? What make ye of him? Is he a slave, that ye shut him out of the Council chamber among serving-men? Would ye be so handled yourselves?' After discharging at them other taunts and gibes, he said, with much emphasis and solemnity: 'I would have you well understand that I account my Lord of Canterbury a faithful man towards me as ever was prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am in many ways beholden; and therefore' (laying his hand on his breast), 'by the faith I owe unto God, whosoever loveth me will on that account regard him.' Abject apology and deprecation followed, and protestations that they were to commit the Primate to the Tower only because they felt assured that, after trial, he would come forth with increased reputation and glory; to which Henry scornfully and indignantly replied: 'Well, I pray you use not my friends so. I perceive now well enough how

the world goeth among you. There remaineth malice among you one to another. Let it be avoided out of hand, I would advise you.'

Of Cranmer's personal habits and manner of life at Lambeth, we are told that it was his delight, when public business permitted, to spend three-fourths of the day in study, as he had been wont to do at Cambridge. His usual hour for rising in the morning was five. The next four hours were given to reading and devotion. From nine to dinner (probably about noon) was dedicated to public business, the reception of suitors, and matters connected with his ecclesiastical office. If any of these were not overtaken before dinner, they were despatched after it. If not so employed, he spent an hour or two at chess, or in looking on others playing that game. He then went to his study, and pursued his literary labours, not sitting in a chair, but standing at a desk. The interval from five to supper was occupied partly in hearing the Common Prayer, and partly in walking or in some other recreation. At supper he was often only an onlooker, conversing with the guests who were enjoying his hospitality. An hour of gentle exercise or of cheerful pastime followed ; and at nine he returned to his study, where he remained till he retired to rest.

This economy of time was one of the great



secrets of his eminence and usefulness. As has been said of him, 'He was not a bright or ready man, not inventive, utterly without imagination; but his judgment was strong, his powers of analysis great, and his resources were not only boundless, but effectively produced when allowed to produce them in his own way. This was so well understood by Henry the Eighth, that when he was desirous of having any doubt or question solved, "he would," says Morice, Cranmer's secretary, "but send word to my lord over night, and the next day the King would have in writing notes of the doctors' minds, as well divines as lawyers, both old and new, with a conclusion of his own mind; which he could never get in such readiness of any one, no, not of all his clergy and chaplains about him, in so short a time. For, being thoroughly seen in all kinds of expositors, he could incontinently lay open thirty, forty, sixty, or more somewhiles, of authors. And so, rendering the notes of them altogether, would advertise the King more in one day than all his learned men could do in a month. . . . And therefore it was that the King said on a time to the Bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), the King and my Lord of Winchester defending together that the Canons of the Apostles were of as good authority as the four Evangelists, contrary to my Lord Cranmer's

assertion: 'My Lord of Canterbury,' said the King, 'is too old a truant for us twain.'"

Though as fickle in his attachments as he was violent in his resentments, Henry continued to the last a fast friend of Cranmer. This great monarch was a very pitiable object in the closing months of his life. His body was a woeful burden. In consequence of the gluttonous habits in which he latterly indulged, it had swollen to such a size that it could not pass through an ordinary door; and it was so weighty and unwieldy, that it had to be moved from one room to another by means of machinery, or by the assistance of numerous attendants. His mind was almost as diseased as his body. 'The old issue in his leg had become an inveterate ulcer, which kept him in a constant state of pain and excessive irritability. It was alike offensive to the senses and dangerous to life and property to approach this corrupt mass of dying tyranny. The slightest thing displeased him, and his displeasure was a fury and a madness, and nothing on earth could give him a wholesome, pleasurable feeling.'

On the 27th January 1547, the physicians in attendance on him gave their opinion that his end was near, and wished their apprehensions to be made known to the sufferer. One courtier after another shrank from the task. At length Sir Anthony

Denny, approaching the bed, and leaning over his Majesty, whispered to him that death was at hand, and recommended him to turn his thoughts to Heaven, and to seek from the mercy of God in Christ an entrance into it for the soul which was about to quit the falling tabernacle. He thanked Sir Anthony for his fidelity, acknowledged his many and great sins, but expressed the hope of pardon and salvation through Christ. A conference with some divines was then suggested to him. 'With none other,' said he, 'but the Archbishop Cranmer; and not with him yet. I will first repose myself a little, and, as I then find myself, will determine accordingly.' After an hour's sleep or stupor, he felt that he was going, and commanded that the Archbishop should be sent for immediately. He was at Croydon, and posted to Court with all speed on receiving the royal summons; but before he arrived the King was speechless. He knew him, however, and took him by the hand. Cranmer spoke a few wise, tender, and earnest words of counsel to him as a dying man, and besought him to give a sign if he had hope in his death. The King responded by grasping the Archbishop's hand as hard as he could, and expired a few moments after, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign.

In his testament, Henry had appointed a regency of sixteen persons, to be governors of his son Edward VI. and of the kingdom till Edward should complete his eighteenth year. Most of those persons were favourably disposed to the Reformed doctrines, and Cranmer was placed at the head of them. He interfered little with civil things, but he took the lead in ecclesiastical affairs; and, as has been said, 'it was in a great measure owing to his exertions that the reformation of the Church of England was nearly advanced to that point where it still rests. That this reformation should then have been left so incomplete, is less surprising than that it should scarcely have been resumed for two hundred and fifty years.' The young King's sympathies were strongly on the side of reformation; and, as the basis of all the measures taken to further it in his reign, the spiritual supremacy of the Crown was recognised and confirmed, and Cranmer took from Edward a new licence for the exercise of all his ecclesiastical functions. The Archbishop was already further advanced in his views as a Reformer than he himself had been well aware of while he was under the repressing and numbing influence of Henry's capricious and iron tyranny. Now, however, he was in a condition to act on his own convictions, and to carry out the objects that were dear to his

heart; and he set himself to do so with alacrity and energy. As Burnet expresses it, 'Being now delivered from the too awful subjection that he had been held under by King Henry, he resolved to go on more vigorously in purging out abuses.' If he did not move quite so fast or go quite so far as some wished, he nevertheless accomplished, in a short period, a mighty and blessed religious revolution in England; and, looking at the fearful odds with which he had to contend, something might be said for the policy on which he and his friends acted; which was, in the words of Burnet, 'to carry on the Reformation, but by slow and safe degrees, not hazarding too much at once.'

In the first year of the reign of Edward, the whole system of the Papacy in England was undermined, and the foundation laid for a Church, Protestant both in doctrine and in worship. Cranmer and his associates began with a general visitation of the dioceses of the kingdom; the visitors having put into their hands a body of injunctions, which they must publish wherever they went, and which must be obeyed, on pain of excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation, as the Ordinaries, whom the justices of the peace were commanded to assist, should answer to the King. While the most eminent preachers of the Reformed

doctrines were dispersed over the kingdom with the visitors, the right of all other clergymen to preach was in effect taken from them, unless they obtained a licence from the Primate or from Protector Somerset. All monuments of idolatry must be removed out of the walls and windows of churches. The people were not to despise any of the ceremonies not yet abrogated; but it was ordered that they 'should be taught to beware of the superstitions of sprinkling their beds with holy water, of ringing of bells, and of using blessed candles for driving away devils.' Images were yet somewhat tenderly dealt with, and private persons must not touch them; but curates were directed 'to take down such as they knew were abused by pilgrimages or offerings to them.' Of course, the partisans of the old religion could not obey such injunctions as these. Bonner, Bishop of London, and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the two most formidable Popish zealots whom Cranmer had to contend with, opposed them, and were put out of the way by being committed to the Fleet.

Parliament, which met in November 1547, repealed both the old laws against the Lollards and the intolerant Acts of the last reign, including the Statute of the Six Articles; ordered that the communion should be given in both kinds to the laity as well as the clergy; and appointed that

all collations to bishoprics should in future be made by direct nomination of the Crown. The free use of the Scriptures was again allowed ; and a bill, which Cranmer strongly opposed, passed both Lords and Commons, 'making over to the Crown all the chantries, colleges, and free chapels throughout the kingdom that yet remained unconfiscated.'

This was a good stroke of reforming business for the first year of Edward ; and it was vigorously prosecuted in succeeding years. The law of celibacy was repealed, and the clergy were permitted to marry. Auricular confession was no more required. All images were removed from the churches. Prayers for the dead were no longer offered. Though the cup was given to the laity, the mass was not yet abolished, but the Epistle and Gospel used in the service were appointed to be read in English ; and it was enjoined that on every Sunday and holiday, a chapter of the New Testament should be read at matins, and a chapter of the Old Testament at vespers,—an order exchanged, in 1549, for the reading of two lessons from the Old and New Testament respectively, immediately after the Psalms, at morning and evening prayer. Preaching was revived. It had in a great measure fallen into disuse, and any of it that remained was mostly a mockery of

the ordinance. Till the clergy should be better qualified for the performance of this great duty, Cranmer had the Homilies prepared, to be read by incumbents who could not themselves preach ; and three of the Homilies, those on salvation, faith, and good works, were his own composition. Most important service in diffusing the elements of Christian knowledge among both old and young was likewise done by *A Short Instruction into Christian Religion ; being a Catechism set forth by Archbishop Cranmer in MDXLVIII.*

In the same year a committee of bishops and other divines was appointed to revise all the Offices of the Church. They prepared a uniform Order for the communion, according to the rules of Scripture and the use of the Primitive Church. Next year, they were charged to compose a new Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer, to supersede the old Latin Mass-Book ; which they had ready in a few months, and in which they included the new Communion Office. This book Cranmer afterwards revised ; and in the changes made upon it he omitted various ceremonies savouring of superstition, as the use of oil in baptism, the anointing of the sick, the mixing of water with the wine, and several others. He disapproved, too, of the clerical habits which it prescribed ; and kneeling at the sacrament he explained, with the view



of preventing it from being confounded with the idolatrous worship of the wafer. 'The new book contained very little that was not in the old one ; but was principally distinguished from it by its omission of many forms that were held to be superstitious, and by its being throughout in English. The chief addition was the Litany, which was the same that is still in use, except only that it contained originally a petition for deliverance from the Bishop of Rome, which was struck out in the reign of Elizabeth.' This production Parliament, in 1548, sanctioned, under the title of 'The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England ;' and ordered it to be used by all ministers in the celebration of divine service.

Bonner and Gardiner were irreconcilably opposed to these changes, and were thrown into the Tower, where they were kept in close custody till the end of this reign.

In 1550 Cranmer published his *Defence of the True Doctrine of the Sacrament*. This treatise Gardiner keenly attacked, with all the learning and subtlety of which he was master. Cranmer answered him promptly and vigorously ; and both the treatise and his vindication of it show that, by this time, he was quite purged from the Romish

doctrine of transubstantiation, which had taken a very strong and tenacious hold of his mind.

The doctrines of the Reformed Church of England had not yet been authoritatively settled and declared. This Cranmer had postponed, till other changes should pave the way for its being more easily and satisfactorily accomplished. Many were of opinion, as Burnet tells us, that the Reformers ought to have begun with doctrine. 'But Cranmer, upon good reasons, was of another mind, though much pressed by Bucer about it. Till the order of bishops was brought to such a model that the far greater part of them would agree to it, it was much fitter to let that design go on slowly, than to set out a profession of their belief, to which so great a part of the chief pastors might be obstinately averse.' But Gardiner, Bonner, Heath, and Day having been all disposed of (the latter two had been deprived and imprisoned), and Ridley, Coverdale, Hooper, and other zealous friends of the Reformation having been raised to the episcopal bench, the preparation of the Articles of religion was proceeded with in 1551, and finished by the beginning of 1552; and they were forthwith published by the King's authority. They were the work of Cranmer and Ridley, chiefly of the former. The Articles were then forty-two in number; but in the reign of Elizabeth

they were revised, very slightly altered, and reduced to thirty-nine; the matters omitted in the revised version relating to the resurrection of the dead, the imperishable nature of the soul, millenarianism, and universal salvation.

The Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England are Protestant, purely Protestant. It is her Liturgy and her Homilies that still retain such pieces of the old leaven of Popery as the sacramental character of marriage, baptismal regeneration, and the real presence in the Eucharist. Her Articles are also Calvinistic, thoroughly Calvinistic; and she requires subscription to them *ex animo* by all who are admitted into holy orders and ecclesiastical benefices.

These things show the magnitude of the reforming work which Cranmer accomplished. He was assisted in it by two classes. The first class was the English Reformers, who, having taken refuge in foreign countries from Henry's persecutions, returned on Edward's accession, imbued with the Protestantism of the places where they had been sojourning; among whom were Coverdale, Hooper, Philpot, and Rogers. The second class was the learned foreigners, who, persecuted on the Continent, now sought refuge in England, bringing their Protestantism with them; among whom were Peter Martyr, Bucer, Aless, and Fagius, whom

the Primate entertained at Lambeth, and afterwards settled in professorships—Martyr at Oxford, and Bucer and Fagius at Cambridge. By intercourse with such eminent men, and by correspondence with Osiander, Melancthon, and Calvin, his own views on doctrine were gradually brought into entire harmony with those of the Reformed Churches on the Continent, which he ardently desired to see united with one another and with the Church of England. The differences which then divided them were almost wholly on matters of ritual or ceremony ; on which it has been often boasted that the Church of England, in her moderation, occupied middle ground between Rome and Geneva—with what success and safety her condition in our own day may be left to decide.

There was yet another work to which Cranmer and his associates devoted not a little time and attention—the reform, namely, of the ecclesiastical or canon law. A collection of canons, drafted by a first commission on the subject, and sent to a second for revision, was intended to be a complete code of Protestant canon law. The collection was published, but had not been sanctioned when Edward died, and, owing to the events that followed, the project was never resumed ; but the draft is valuable for the light which it sheds on the opinions, on many points, of the fathers of the

English Reformation. To point to only one instance: their canons were in principle as intolerant as those of the Church of Rome, from the tyranny of which they had just made their escape. People were to be as much under their jurisdiction in religion, and were to be as amenable to them for their faith and worship, as they had been to him 'who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped.' As Hallam says, 'Tolerance in religion, it is well known, so unanimously admitted at least verbally, even by theologians in the present century, was scarcely considered as practicable, much less as a matter of right, during the period of the Reformation. The difference in this respect between the Catholics and Protestants was only in degree, and in degree there was much less difference than we are apt to believe. Persecution is the deadly original sin of the Reformed Churches—that which cools every honest man's zeal for their cause, in proportion as his reading becomes more extensive.' Rome burned those whom she thought heretics; and Cranmer's canons provided that those whom he thought heretics should be burned too. A question has been raised, whether he was for burning *all* heretics; to which we think it sufficient to answer, that he seems to have contemplated no change in this respect on the previously existing

law. When his canons were drawn up, the writ *de hæretico comburendo* was in force ; and there is no hint that he designed to abolish or alter that writ.

Cranmer's practice illustrates the intolerance of his principles, and of the canons which he wished to see legalized. A commission, of which he was the head, was appointed to examine and search after all Anabaptists, and other heretics and contemners of the Book of Common Prayer. Before this commission was brought Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent. On the incarnation of the Saviour she had imbibed and disseminated some strange, mystical notions—erroneous, we dare say, if they were intelligible ; heresy, if they were not nonsense. Adhering to her opinions in spite of all the efforts of the Commission to get her to renounce them, she was condemned as an obstinate heretic, and delivered over to the secular power. Edward shrank from signing the warrant to burn her. Cranmer employed all his casuistry to remove the scruples of the young King ; the latter asking, 'What, my lord ! would you have me to send her quick to the devil in her delusion ?' and the latter pleading that fundamental errors, those 'subversions of the Apostles' Creed, were impieties against the Almighty, which the Prince, as God's substitute, ought to extirpate, in the same manner as the

King's substitutes were bound to punish offences against the King's person!' Edward at length consented, with tears in his eyes, to put his hand to the paper; protesting, however, that if the act was wrong, Cranmer must answer to God for it, as it was done only in submission to his advice and importunity. To obviate, if possible, the necessity of the execution, Cranmer laid siege to the condemned woman in her cell, plying her with every imaginable argument and motive to induce her to abjure her heresy. But he made no impression on her, so that there was no alternative but to consign her to the flames. Next year a Dutchman, named Von Paris, who lived in London, and practised the profession of a surgeon, was brought before the same Commission, charged with denying the divinity of Christ. The panel admitted the charge. He confessed himself an Arian, who held that Jesus Christ was only a creature, though the first and highest of creatures. He was sent to the stake, and endured death at it not only with firmness, but in a sort of rapture, 'hugging and caressing the faggots that were consuming him,—a species of resolution [Hume makes it 'frenzy'] of which there were many instances among the martyrs of that age.'

Even Mary, the sister of Edward and the heir-presumptive to the throne, ran imminent risk of

suffering the same fate. She was an avowed and resolute Papist ; and in 1549 the Popish worship which she practised had been made unlawful. She was saved that year by the interposition of her kinsman, the Emperor Charles v., in deference to whom the new law, proscribing her worship, was not for the present enforced in her case. But next year she was in as great danger as ever ; and when it was bruited that she meant to quit the kingdom, a fleet was sent to sea to prevent her escape. Soon after, her two chaplains were indicted. Three months after that, she herself was brought before the Council ; and her royal brother Edward expended, to no purpose, all his theological lore and all his persuasive art to effect her conversion. Next day, the German ambassador delivered a message, to the effect that, if the Princess was not indulged in the free exercise of her religion, his imperial master would immediately declare war against England. Cranmer, who had a wonderful faculty for reconciling duty and interest, both in his own case and in his master's, now discovered and advised Edward that, 'though to give licence to sin was sin, yet to suffer and wink at it for a time was excusable !' Edward on hearing this gave way ; 'yet not so easily,' says Burnet, 'but that he burst forth in tears, lamenting his sister's obstinacy, and that he must suffer her



to continue in so lamentable a way of worship as he esteemed the mass.' Nor was she even yet suffered to do so without molestation. 'The chief officers of her household were commanded to prevent the use of the Romish service in her family, and, on their refusal to comply, were committed to the Tower. After that, the Lord Chancellor and the chief members of the Council were sent to hold a conference with her on the subject, at her residence of Copthall, Essex; but she continued, as before, immoveable.'

On the death of Edward, and the establishment of the 'Bloody Mary' on the throne, which took place in 1553, Cranmer foreboded his fate. He, above all others, had brought the divorce question between Henry and Catherine to the issue to which it had come, and which made Mary illegitimate. He had been the father of the Reformation, which Mary abhorred. And to all previous counts against him, fell to be added his joining, however reluctantly, in the attempt that had just been made to divert the succession to the crown from Mary to Lady Jane Grey. Under the apprehensions which these things naturally excited, he now directed his steward to pay all his debts, remarking, 'In a short time, perhaps, we may not be able;' and this being done, he said, 'I thank God I am now mine own man, and with God's help

am able to answer all the world, and all worldly adversities.'

The Duke of Northumberland and his two sons, the Earl of Warwick and the Marquis of Northampton, were the first who were brought to trial for abetting and supporting Lady Jane Grey's pretensions to the throne—Cranmer and other accomplices sitting in judgment on them, and condemning them to suffer the death of traitors. But this had no influence to avert Cranmer's own doom, which he himself hastened by contradicting the calumnies which represented him as now beginning to return to Rome, and by offering, at the same time, to vindicate against all gainsayers the Reformation accomplished in Edward's reign. In November 1553 he was arraigned for participating in the attempt to alter the succession to the crown, and found guilty. Mary pardoned his treason, but ordered him to be detained in the Tower on the perilous charge of heresy. About this time friends strongly advised him to save himself by fleeing from England, but he would not. Having been the prime mover in the changes for which vengeance was now to be taken, he felt that it became him to stand his ground, and to brave the consequences, whatever they might be. He was very desirous of a private audience of Her Majesty, whom in other days he had laid under deep

obligations to him ; but she was resolute that he should never see her face.

After lying for a while in the Tower, he was summoned before the Convocation, which met in St. Paul's, but was adjourned to Oxford, the chief subject on which he was to be examined being the sacrament of the altar. Ridley and Latimer were already his fellow-prisoners in the Tower. In March 1554 the three were taken to Oxford, and on the 14th April were brought from their prisons to St. Mary's Church, and interrogated on transubstantiation, and the efficacy of the mass as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the quick and the dead. 'They were allowed to debate these points in public, and if they could convince their mortal enemies, then their prison gates would be opened. But the orthodox controversialists did not give themselves the trouble to preserve even the appearance of fair play ; they would allow their opponents no books, no time for preparation, nor would they let them argue together. Cranmer was to face alone their entire battery on the 16th of April, Ridley on the 17th, and Latimer on the 18th. On the day appointed Cranmer appeared before the Consistory, assembled in the Divinity School, and, with more courage than had been expected from him, he proceeded to support the tenets which he had taught. But

there were many voices to one; the doctors called him unlearned, unskilful, ignorant; and the Oxford scholars very generally hissed and hooted and clapped their hands whenever he advanced any opinion they disliked.' The other two witnesses were treated similarly on the following days; and on the 28th of the month the three were condemned as gross and obstinate heretics.

Their persecutors made more haste than speed. In their impatience for the life of their victims, they forgot their own canons, according to which Ridley and Latimer could not be tried for heresy till the Pope's authority was formally re-established in England, which it had not yet been; and according to which Cranmer, the Metropolitan, could not be tried except by a commission appointed by the Pope, and which could only take evidence in the case, and refer it for judgment to Rome. A new trial had therefore to be gone through; but it had, of course, the same issue. On the 16th of October 1555, Ridley and Latimer were led forth to the stake, which was erected in the ditch on the north side of Oxford, over against Balliol College. A Dr. Smith, who had renounced Popery in King Edward's time, but who, as is usual with trimmers, was all the more zealous for it now, preached the execution sermon, which was a

vehement philippic against the heretics. They were then stripped and fastened to the stake, both evincing a calmness and a courage which even the fire could not ruffle or shake. Latimer, stooping and shrivelled with age, and hardly able to stand with infirmity, played the hero to perfection ; thus addressing his companion, when he saw a friend throwing down at his feet a bag of gunpowder, with the view of shortening his sufferings : ' Be of good comfort, Mr. Ridley, and play the man ; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out.'

Of the commission appointed by the Pope to try Cranmer anew, with all due canonical formality, the chief commissioner was Cardinal de Puteo, who did not come to England, but authorized Dr. Brokes, Bishop of Gloucester, to act as his substitute and representative. Brought before his judges, Cranmer saluted Drs. Martin and Story, the royal proctors, but not Dr. Brokes, the Papal Commissioner ; and when taxed for this studied omission, he explained that he had taken a vow never in any way to acknowledge the Pope's authority in the realm of England. We cannot detail the proceedings. They partook largely of the nature of a debate on the matters in controversy between Papists and Protestants. On one subject his anta-

gonists rather gravelled Cranmer. Who was the supreme head of the Church of England? Henry VIII. had made himself such, with Cranmer's approval. In enacting the supremacy of the Crown in all causes, and over all persons, ecclesiastical as well as civil, he had stepped into the Pope's shoes, and assumed his prerogatives. This supremacy of the Crown Cranmer felt so difficult of defence, that he was driven to deny it, and to support the denial by what looks very like a quibble. 'Christ,' he said, in reply to Dr. Martin, 'is the supreme Head of the Church of England, as He is of the whole body of the Universal Church.' 'Why,' said Martin, 'you made Henry VIII. the supreme head of the Church.' 'Yea,' replied Cranmer, 'of all the people in England, as well ecclesiastical as temporal.' 'And not of the Church?' asked Martin. 'No,' rejoined Cranmer, 'for Christ is the only Head of the Church, and of the faith and religion of the same. The King is head and governor of his people, which are the visible Church.' So that the Crown's headship over the Church of England meant nothing more than that the Crown was the head and governor of the people of England, which were the visible Church of it. Was it so in Cranmer's days? and is it so yet? Does the Crown claim no authority over the Church in regard to 'the faith and religion of the same'? Does it not

give law to the people composing that Church in matters of faith and worship?

The Commission closed its proceedings on the 13th of September, having agreed on the report on the case which they should send up to Rome. On the 7th of that month Cranmer had received a citation to appear at Rome within eighty days, to answer for himself before the sovereign Pontiff; which the Pontiff knew very well that he could not do, being kept in close custody at Oxford. Four days after the expiry of the eighty, Cranmer was deprived of his archbishopric, and excommunicated, at the instance of Cardinal de Puteo; and by and by the Pope's judgment on the case was received. It declared Cranmer guilty of contumacy for not obeying the citation to appear at Rome, and guilty also of heresy and other enormities; for which causes he was to be excommunicated (which de Puteo had anticipated), and Bonner, Bishop of London, and Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, were to degrade him, and deliver him to the secular power.

The degradation was done in St. Mary's on the 14th of February 1556, according to the form in the Pope's pontifical. They first arrayed him in a coarse imitation of all the robes worn by an archbishop at his installation, with a mock mitre on his head, and a mock crosier in his hand. Bonner then addressed the assembly thus: 'This is the man

that hath ever despised the Pope's holiness, and now is to be judged by him. This is the man that hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church. This is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament of the altar, and now is come to be condemned before that blessed sacrament hanging over the altar. This is the man that, like Lucifer, sat in the place of Christ upon an altar to judge others, and now is come before an altar to be judged himself.' They next disrobed him: Thirlby, gently and tenderly; Bonner, with 'coarse brutality and scornful jests.' 'Last of all they stripped him of his gown to his jacket, and put upon him a poor yeoman beadle's gown, both bare and slovenly made as one could see, and a townsman's cap on his head, and so delivered him to the secular power.'

According to the usual course followed in such cases, it now only remained that Cranmer should be given to the flames. But his enemies were not to be satisfied with the burning of his body. They must 'seek the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name.' He was known to be soft, timid, and pliant, compared with many who passed through the same fiery trials. Of late, he had been making application to Mary in terms somewhat abject. He had also been receiving in his cell visits from Popish emissaries, and had been listening to them



as if he were still open to conviction. Might he not, then, be even yet prevailed with to abjure his heresies? They resolved to try; and they made the trial with the serpent's cunning. Shunning dispute on the matters at issue between them and him, they condoled with him on his woeful condition. They affected a pity for him, than which nothing could have more strongly importuned him to have pity upon himself. They took him to the house of the Dean of Christchurch, where he exchanged the miseries of a prison for every refinement and luxury, and for the most lettered society which Oxford could furnish. In the grounds of that house he was allowed to walk at liberty. He was fond of bowls, and they often asked him to join in a game at them. In short, nothing was omitted that could flatter and gratify him—nothing that could work up his love of life to the highest pitch, and make the horrors of the death to which he was doomed overwhelming to him. Meantime, while thus assailed, he was studiously assured that between him and his lost dignity, or, if he preferred it, an opulent and honourable retirement for the residue of his days, there was only one thing, and that one thing *RECANTATION*. In an evil hour he yielded, and signed scroll after scroll of a document, till the number amounted to six, the tenor of which was, that he renounced and abhorred all

his Reformed principles ; believed in the sacrament of the altar and the other six sacraments, in purgatory, and in all else that Rome held and taught ; and submitted himself to the Church and to the Pope, and to their most excellent Majesties, Philip and Mary, King and Queen of the realm of England, and to all their laws and ordinances.

The triumph of Cranmer's enemies over him was now complete, and his sun threatened to set in the darkest cloud. But happily for him and his fame, and for the great cause with which he was so much identified, his enemies did not know how to use their triumph. They printed his recantation, and circulated it far and wide ; and for fear of his revoking it, should he be suffered to live, they hurried his death. The Queen sent secret orders to Dr. Cole, Provost of Eton College, to prepare his condemned sermon for the 21st of March. Visiting him in prison the evening before, Cole was the first to intimate to him indirectly that his doom was at hand. Before this, his recantation had filled him with profound and pungent remorse ; and he immediately set about preparing to revoke it publicly on the morrow, in the most emphatic manner possible.

About 9 o'clock next morning, Lord Williams of Thames, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, received him at the gate of his prison, and

conducted him to St. Mary's Church, where he was set on a stage erected for him over against the pulpit. Dr. Cole preached, justifying the execution although Cranmer had abjured his errors, as by other considerations, so by this, that God Himself not seldom punishes penitents for sins which He has pardoned. Sermon being ended, Cole asked the audience to join in silent prayer for the doomed man. He asked Cranmer to assure them of his sincerity in his recantation, by repeating it with his own lips, and declaring that he died in the faith of the Church of Rome. The audience complied, kneeling for a few moments as they poured out a silent prayer for him, Cranmer kneeling with them; after which he said: 'I had myself intended to have desired your prayers; my desires have been anticipated, and I return you all that a dying man can give you—my sincerest thanks. To your prayers for me let me add my own.' He then ejaculated a few fervent petitions to God for His mercy; and this done, he drew from His bosom a paper, which he read to the people, the gist of which was an explicit and solemn recall of his recantation, confessing it a heinous sin, which had cost him many bitter tears, and protesting that the fear of death alone had tempted him to commit it. After some good exhortations to the people, and a general profession of his faith, 'Now,' said

he, 'I come to the great thing which so much troubleth my conscience, more than anything that ever I did or said in my whole life, and that is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth, which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life if it might be ; and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished for it ; for when I come to the fire it shall be first burned.

'And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine.

'And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester, which teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, when the papistical doctrine shall be ashamed to show her face.'

Astonishment and confusion seized on all present, accompanied with boundless rage in most ecclesiastic bosoms. The reproaches and execrations darted at Cranmer were provoking him to speak in defence of his real faith which he had just avowed, when Cole cried out, 'Stop the

heretic's mouth, and take him away!' A crowd of friars rushed forward, pulled him down from the stage, and, loading him with revilings, hurried away with him to the spot where Ridley and Latimer had suffered about five months before. When he had prayed, and put off his garments to his shirt, they chained him to the stake ; and most signal was his victory over the death which he had so much dreaded. The pile being kindled, and the fire beginning to burn near him, he stretched out his arm, to put the offending right hand which had subscribed the recantation into the flames ; which, to quote yet once more the words of Foxe, 'he held so stedfast and immoveable, that all men might see his hand burned before his body was touched. His body did so abide the burning of the flame with such constancy and stedfastness, that, standing always in one place, without moving his body, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound ; his eyes were lifted up to heaven, and oftentimes he repeated, "This unworthy right hand!" so long as his voice would suffer him ; and using often the words of Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" in the greatness of the flame he gave up the ghost.'

Thus died Cranmer, on the 21st of March 1556, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and twenty years after he had been raised to the Primacy. It

may be stated that he and Ridley and Latimer were but three of a murdered contemporary host, impressively showing how just the brand is that attaches to Mary's memory. Her reign was mercifully limited to five years; but during these the blood of the Protestant Reformers in England was poured out like water, or, as it would be more correct literally to say, the fire devoured them as stubble. John Rogers, her first victim, suffered in February 1554, about six months after her accession. The last five victims suffered in November 1558, only seven days before her death. Now it is computed that, from the beginning to the end of this fiery period, no fewer than two hundred and eighty persons were burned for their religion in different parts of England. Among these were five bishops, twenty-one inferior clergymen, fifty-five women, and four children. In addition to these, several hundreds were tortured in their bodies and ruined in their estates; many died of hunger in their prisons; and many were driven into exile, or, as the destroyers of the land phrased it, had 'contemptuously gone over the seas.'

At the head of this host was Cranmer; and well might he have said to his Protestant friends, as Paul wrote to the Church at Philippi, 'Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith. I joy and rejoice with you all.' His death

was more fatal to Popery than his life had been. 'Of all the martyrdoms during this great persecution,' says Southey, 'this was in all its circumstances the most injurious to the Roman cause. It was a manifestation of inveterate and deadly malice towards one who had borne his honours with almost unexampled meekness. It sufficiently disproved the argument on which the Romanists rested, that the constancy of our martyrs arose not from confidence in their faith, and the strength which they derived therefrom, but from vainglory, the pride of consistency, and the shame of retracting what they had so long professed. Such deceitful reasoning could have no place here. Cranmer had retracted, and the sincerity of his contrition for that sin was too plain to be denied, too public to be concealed, too memorable ever to be forgotten. The agony of his repentance had been seen by thousands; and tens of thousands had witnessed how, when that agony was past, he stood calm and immoveable amid the flames, a patient and willing holocaust, triumphant not over his persecutors alone, but over himself, over the mind as well as the body, over fear, and weakness, and death.'

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