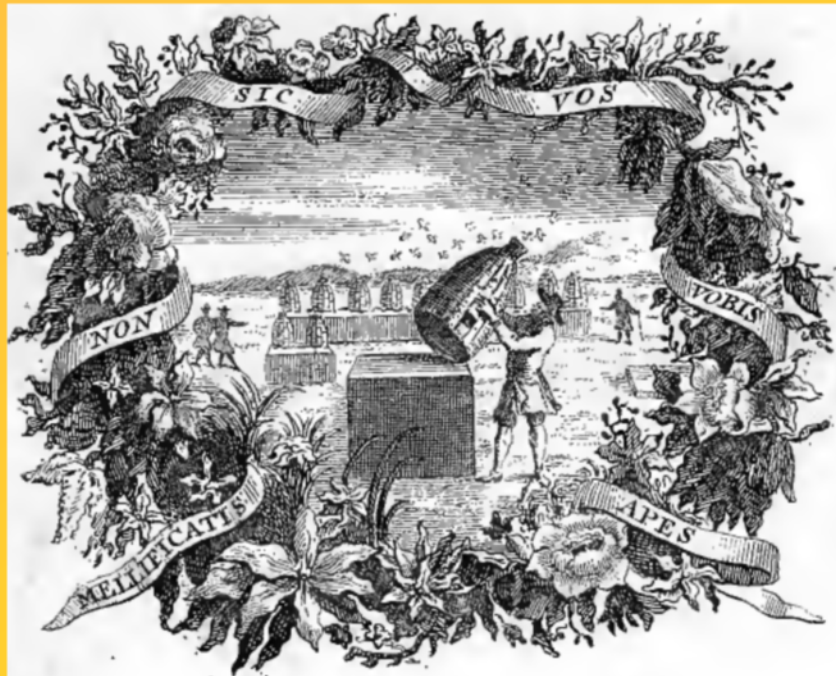


# Rapin's History of England



**Book 16 (Vol. 2)**

**The Reigns of Edward VI, and Queen  
Mary; Containing the Space of about  
Twelve Years**

**The History  
of  
England  
Written in French  
By  
Mr. Rapin de Thoyras**

**Translated from French**

**By**

**N. Tyndal M. A. Vicar**

**Of**

**Great Waltham**

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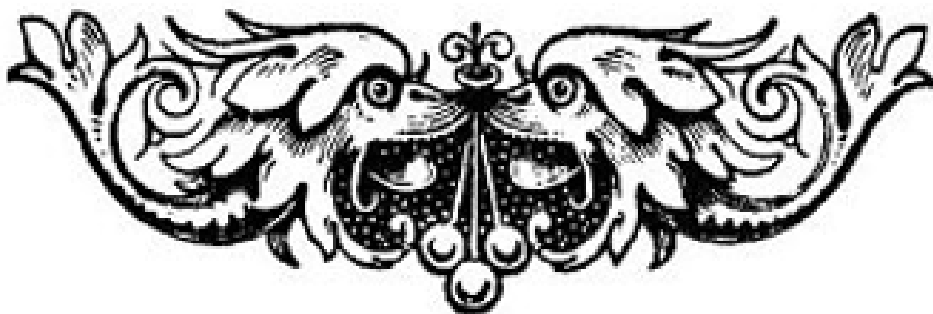
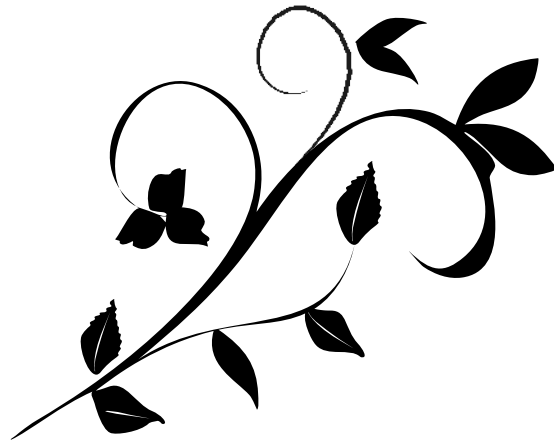
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**1733**



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# Book Sixteen

## King Edward VI, and Queen Mary



**Queen Mary Watching The Burning of Crammer**



**Marriage of Mary and Philip**



**Edward The VI**

**Born 12 October 1537 - Died 6 July 1553 (aged 15)**

A handwritten signature of Edward VI in cursive script, written in black ink on a white background. The signature reads "Edward" with a large initial "E" and a flourish at the end.

**Signature**



**Queen Mary**

**Born 18 February 1516 - Died 17<sup>th</sup>  
November 1558 ( aged 42)**

*Marye the queene*

**Signature**



**Interior scene of the royal couple with Mary seated beneath a coat of arms and Philip**



## BOOK XVI

### The Reigns of Edward VI, and Queen Mary; Containing The Space of about Twelve Years

#### Chapter I EDWARD VI

##### His disposition and good qualities. 1547



**EDWARD VI, ONLY SON AND SUCCESSOR TO HENRY VIII,** was nine years and three months old when he ascended the Throne by the death of the King his Father. His majority was fixed to the eighteenth year of his age, by the late King's will, but he died before he came to it, after a short reign of six years and five months. The history therefore of these six years, as may be easily judged, will not be so much the history of the King himself, as of his Governors and Ministers.

There was reason to hope extraordinary things from this young Prince, had it pleased God to bless him with a longer life. He had an excellent memory, a wonderful solidity of mind, and withal, he was laborious, sparing no pains to qualify himself for the well governing of his Kingdom. At eight years of age, he wrote Latin letters to his father. French was as familiar to him as English. He learnt also Greek, Spanish, and Italian. After that, he applied himself to the liberal sciences, wherein he made an astonishing progress[1]. Cardan, who saw him in his fifteenth year, speaks of him as of the wonder of the age. The testimony of this (Italian) philosopher was the less suspicious, as it was after the young Prince's death that he published his praises, and in Italy, where his memory was odious.

#### He Is Informed of His Father's Death

As soon as Henry VIII, had resigned his last breath, the Earl of Hertford, and Sir Anthony Brown, were sent by the council, to give young Edward notice of it, and to bring him to London. He was then with his sister the Princess Elizabeth at Hertford, from whence the deputies conducted him to Enfield. Here they inform him of the King's death (1547), and pay their respects to him as to their Sovereign. After that, they attended him to the Tower of London, where he was received by the council in a body, and proclaimed King the same date the 31<sup>st</sup> of January, 1547.

On the morrow, the Council met to settle the form of King Henry's Government during the King's minority. There was not much to be debated. The Parliament had empowered the late king, not only to settle the Succession by his will, but also to appoint what form of government he should think most proper, till his successor was capable of holding the reins himself. All therefore that was to be done, was to open his will and obey the contents.



There it appeared, that Henry had nominated sixteen persons to be his executors, Regents of the Kingdom, and governors to his son. These were:—

**Thomas Cranmer**, Archbishop of Canterbury.  
**The Lord Wriothesley**, Lord Chancellor.  
**The Lord St. John**, Master of the Household  
**The Lord Russell**, Lord Privy-Seal.  
**The Earl of Hertford**, Lord Chamberlain.  
**The Viscount Lisle**, Lord Admiral.  
**Cuthbert Tonsal**, Bishop of Durham.  
**Sir Anthony Brown**, Master of the Horse.  
**Sir William Paget**, Secretary of State.  
**Sir Edward North**, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations.  
**Sir Edward Montague**, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.  
**Judge Bromley**.  
**Sir Anthony Denny**, Chief Gentlemen of the Privy  
**Sir William Herbert**, Chamber.  
**Sir Edward Wotton**, Treasurer of Calais.  
**Dr. Walton**, Dean of Canterbury and York.

As for Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, I have observed in the late reign, that though he was at first among the regents, his name was struck out.

The King empowered these sixteen, or the major part of them, to execute his will, and to administer the affairs of the Kingdom, as they should judge fit. Upon this general clause, which gave the regents an unlimited power, were afterwards built many alterations, which seemed contrary to what Henry had ordained. He gave them however no power to substitute others in the room of such as should die, but it rather appeared, his intention was that the vacancies should not be filled up.

This Consequence was naturally drawn from his commanding the Princesses his daughters, not to marry without the written consent of those of the executors who should then be alive. It might also be inferred from thence, that he intended none of the regents should be deprived of their dignity.

Besides the Sixteen who were to exercise the Sovereign authority during the King's minority, Henry appointed a Privy-Council who should be assisting to them, namely:—

**Henry Fitz-Alan**, Earl of Arundel.  
**William Parr**, Earl of Essex.  
**Sir William Petre**, Secretary of State.  
**Sir Richard Rich**.  
**Sir John Baker**.  
**Sir Ralph Sadler**.  
**Sir Thomas Seymour**.  
**Sir Richard Southwell**.  
**Sir Edmund Peckham**.  
**Sir Thomas Cheney**, Treasurer of the Household.  
**Sir John Gage**, Controller.  
**Sir Anthony Wingfield**, Vice-Chamberlain.

### **Characters of Some of The Regents and Councillors**

The late King's will being thus known, the Council resolved to execute it in all its points, and that very day the regents, as well as the councillors, entered upon their offices. I have already

said, the History of this Reign relates more to his governors, than to Edward himself; and therefore it will be necessary to give the characters of such of the regents and councillors as had the greatest share in the affairs of those days.

## **Of Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury**

The character of Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury is sufficiently known by what has been said of him in the foregoing reign. I shall only add two things. The first, that he did not much love to meddle with state affairs, for which he was not very proper, by reason of certain maxims of candour and sincerity, which he followed, and which were very opposite to those generally observed in the government of states.

The second thing concerning Cranmer is, that he was extremely zealous to promote the Reformation. Since he was no longer restrained by such a master as Henry, he was so far from concealing his opinions, that he even laboured with all his power to establish them by public authority. He was as it were the first mover of every thing that was done with regard to the Reformation.

But his zeal was tempered with a maxim which he believed absolutely necessary, namely, to proceed by degrees, and retrench first the gross abuses, that the people might be gradually accustomed to these changes, before the tenets of greater consequences were touched. Besides that this course seemed to him the most natural, he went upon another reason no less important, and which it will be proper briefly to explain.

It has been seen in the late reign, that Henry VIII. Left not his Subjects free to approve or reject the alterations he had been pleased to make in religion. There was an absolute necessity of conforming to them, or of resolving to part with estate, liberty, and Life itself. Hence the Church of England abounded with Multitudes, who outwardly embracing the established opinions, were not however inwardly persuaded of their Truth.

This was the case of several bishops, and many dignified clergymen. But it was the inferior clergy that were chiefly infected with this hypocrisy. Most of these were no other than monks for whom the Court of Augmentations, and the possessors of the abbey-lands had procured benefices to ease themselves of the burden of maintaining them, to which they were obliged when the monasteries were suppressed,

These men were still wedded to the errors that were intended to be reformed. Cranmer thought it necessary therefore to gain a little time, in order to change the clergy, by filling the vacant livings with persons well inclined to the Reformation. Herein he met with great opposition from the zealous, who wished to bring the Reformation to perfection at once, without attending to this worldly wisdom, which they believed little agreeable to the spirit of the true religion.

## **Of Chancellor Wriothesley**

**The Lord Chancellor Wriothesley**, was of a quite contrary character to that of Cranmer, and moreover his religious opinions were entirely repugnant to the Reformation. He was extremely ambitious, very conceited of his own merit, haughty, imperious, and very angry that his advice was not always followed. This made him extremely troublesome in the council, where no one could oppose his opinion without being liable to be treated with bitter and offensive language. But he shewed his heat and passion chiefly on occasion of religious matters. Though he had outwardly complied with the late King's innovations, he was however firmly attached to the Romish religion. Of this he had given evident proofs i.e. the affair of Ann Askew, in his project to ruin the Queen, and on many other occasions.

Wherefore such of the regents as desired to promote the Reformation, were to expect from him perpetual opposition. Since the Duke of Norfolk's imprisonment, the Chancellor was considered as the head of the Romish party. Accordingly, he looked upon the reformers, and Cranmer in particular, as his enemies; as on their part, they could not without extreme grief to see him in a post which enabled him to countermine their designs. Happily for them, their party was strongest, among the regents, and in the council

## Of The Earl of Hertford

**Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford**, was of a noble ancient family which came from Normandy with William the Conqueror. Henry VIII. having married Jane Seymour, after the tragical death of Ann Bullen, Sir Edward Seymour Brother to the new Queen, was presently after created Lord Seymour, and Viscount Beauchamp, and then Earl of Hertford. From that time he had always an honourable post at court, as well during the Queen his sister's life, as after her death.

Henry VIII. ever expressed a great esteem for him, and employed him in several military expeditions, which he discharged in such a manner as increased his master's regard and affection. He was humble, affable, civil, courteous, and guided in all the transactions of his life, by the principles of honour, virtue, and religion, which are seldom found in the men of the world. In a word, he had many noble qualities, and few faults. Among these is reckoned by some an immoderate ambition. But very likely, this ambition was rather an effect of his zeal for religion, than a natural failing, as will hereafter appear. It is said also, he had no very able head, and therefore was deemed more proper to execute than advise.

In the late reign he adapted himself to the King's religion, because it was very dangerous to oppose it. He was not the only person that took that course. To this reproach all the English are liable, who lived in that Reign, excepting some few of both parties, who suffered death for resisting the will of that imperious monarch. However, the Earl of Hertford was inwardly a Protestant, and consequently a great friend of Cranmer.

This drew upon him the hatred of the contrary party, and particularly of the chancellor, who had already attempted to destroy him. He always shewed a very great zeal for the Reformation, and to him and Cranmer is properly due the glory of every thing that was done in favour of religion during the reign of Edward VI. At King Henry's death he was Lord Chamberlain. He was one of the regents named in that Prince's will, and, what still increased his power, he was uncle to the new King.

## Of Dudley, Viscount Lisle

**John Dudley, Son of Edmund Dudley**, put to death in the beginning of Henry the Eighth's Reign, for having been Henry VII's instrument in his oppressions of the people. Henry VIII. feeling some remorse for Dudley's death, was pleased, and, it may be, thought himself bound, to make his son a sort of reparation, by creating him Lord Dudley, and afterwards Viscount Lisle. So the father's downfall proved the son's rise.

After Henry VIII. had given him a place in his favour, he made a considerable figure at court. He was honoured with several employments, and always behaved to the King's satisfaction. He signalised himself chiefly in the wars by his bravery and conduct. He served twice as Lieutenant-General under the Earl of Hertford, in Scotland and Picardy, and had the honour of having a great part of the success ascribed to him, though he commanded not in chief. Afterwards, being Governor of Boulogne, he repulsed, by a vigorous sally from the upper town, the French, who were now masters of the lower town.

The next year he commanded, as admiral, the fleet designed against France, and after the French had refused to fight, made a descent upon the coast of France, and carried away a great booty. In a word, he was considered as one of the best generals then in England. In all probability, had Henry VIII. lived any longer, he would have pushed his fortune farther, since with the qualifications of a soldier, he had also those of a good courtier. But on the other hand, for his morals, he had nothing worthy of commendation. He was excessively addicted to his pleasures and even ran sometimes into shameful debaucheries.

Besides, he was not very scrupulous with regard to honour and virtue. As his ambition was boundless, he did not stick to make use of any means to accomplish his ends. It may easily be judged, that a man of this character had not the concerns of religion much at heart. As long as Henry VIII. was alive, he kept exactly within the bounds prescribed by that Prince. Afterwards, in the reign of Edward VI, he openly declared for the Reformation, because it was then the only way to please the King, and advance his fortune.

Nevertheless, he must have shown, when among the Romish party, that he was not their enemy, since the court of France believed him very far from being a Protestant. This is at least what Thuanus affirms in his history. Hence it may be presumed, he considered religion only as a means to raise himself, and had made it a rule to follow that which was most in vogue. Wherefore how zealous soever he appeared for the Reformation, he was never looked upon as one of its protectors, because he was thought to act only out of policy. The figure this Lord made during the reign of Edward VI, obliged me to dwell the longer upon his character.

## Of Tostal

**Cuthbert Tostal Bishop of Durham**, was reckoned a person of great abilities. He had been employed by Henry VIII. in several embassies, commissions, and negotiations, and at length promoted to the See of London, and afterwards to that of Durham, the richest and most considerable in the Kingdom, by reason of the dignity of Palatine annexed to it. As long as Henry VIII. lived, Tostal conformed like the rest, to the religion of the Sovereign, but it was perceived he was very sorry to see the religion he had possessed from his youth, change by degrees.

He would have gladly consented to the reforming of some of the most notorious abuses, but was of opinion the King went too far. Meanwhile, for fear of incurring the Royal displeasure, he submitted to what was enjoined. He was however considered as one of the chief favourers of the old religion, and so much the more formidable to the reformers, as he was able and learned.

Nevertheless Cranmer had a friendship for him, on account of his mild and peaceable temper, which afforded hopes of his being reclaimed.

## Of Paget

**Sir William Paget Secretary of State**[2], was a very able politician, and for religion, was of the principles of the reformers. By which means he had contracted a strict friendship with Cranmer and the Earl of Hertford.

It will be entirely needless to speak of the Lord St. John, the Lord Russell, or the rest of the Regents, because they were wholly guided by the others. But it will be necessary to mention some of the members of the Privy Council, who were to assist the regents.

**The Earl of Arundel**, a Lord of an antient family, was not very well pleased to be only among the counsellors, whilst several who were his inferiors were invested with the dignity of regents.

On the other hand, he was not inclined to the Reformation. These two reasons were the cause, that he willingly entered into all the intrigues tending to produce any change, either in Religion or the Government of the State. But he had the misfortune always to labour for others.

**William Parr Earl of Essex**, Brother to the Queen dowager, was a person of slender merit. He made however some figure in this reign, and was often employed, because he had the address to be attached to the prevailing party.

**Sir William Petre**, Secretary of State, was expert in the discharge of his office. He was become almost necessary, and therefore had a great share in the most secret transactions of the court[3].

**Sir Richard Rich**, a Lawyer by profession, was a good courtier, who by his pliant temper found means to become Lord-Chancellor[4].

**Sir Thomas Seymour** the King's uncle, and younger brother to the Earl of Hertford, thought himself unhappy in being only a counsellor, whilst the King had made his brother a regent. He imagined, his being uncle to the King, should have procured him more honour. He had a boundless ambition, joined to a high conceit of himself. Wherefore the rank given him by the late King in his will, not being capable of satisfying him, he had a mind to mount higher, which occasioned his downfall, as will hereafter appear.

## **The Election of A Protector is Moved Feb. 1<sup>st</sup> 1547**

The form of the government was no sooner settled according to Henry's last will, but a change was proposed. Some of the regents obverted, it could not but be very troublesome for the people, and particularly for foreign ministers, to be forced to apply to sixteen persons of equal authority, and moved, that one should be chosen to be head and president, with the title of protector.

They added, that by this means affairs would be more speedily dispatched, and yet nothing changed in the established form of government, because the person to be raised to that dignity should do nothing without the consent of the major part of the rest.

The Lord Chancellor Wriothesley easily perceived this motion was made to his prejudice. As by his office, he was next to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who did not much follow secular affairs, he was in hopes of becoming the head of the regency. But he saw plainly, if a protector were elected, the choice would not fall on him, but this dignity would be conferred on the Earl of Hertford the King's uncle, who was not his friend.

Wherefore he strenuously opposed it, declaring, the regents had no power to depart from the late King's will, authorized by Act of Parliament. But matters were so well laid beforehand, that, notwithstanding his opposition, it was resolved immediately, that one should be raised over the rest, and called, the protector of the King's Realm, and the governor of his person.

However, it was with the express condition, that he should do nothing without the consent of the other regents. Then the choice fell, as it was easy to foresee, upon the Earl of Hertford, who probably had caused this motion to be made by his friends.

Indeed it was very natural to chuse for protector the King's uncle, and the person of the whole Kingdom the most concerned for his preservation. Notwithstanding, it was thought by many, the regents had made a false step in the very beginning of their administration, for the reason alleged by the Lord Chancellor.

It might however be said in their excuse, first, that they had given no particular authority to the protector, and consequently the form of government established by the late King was not altered. Secondly, that the will empowering the regents, or the major part of them to administer the young

King's affairs as they should judge proper, whatever was resolved upon by a plurality of voices, was deemed agreeable to the late King's will.

Whilst all things necessary for Henry VIII's funeral, and the new King's Coronation were preparing, the regents were intent upon an affair which concerned them in particular, or at least the principal of them. Henry had resolved before he died, to confer new honours on several of the regents and counsellors.

He had even settled the revenues or pensions he designed to give these new Lords, to enable them to support their dignities. But as some had refused them because they thought these pensions too small, the affair was suspended, both by reason of this objection, and of the King's sickness and death. However, he had ordered in his will, that whatever he had promised should be made good.

This was sufficient to put the regents upon performing the aforementioned engagement, especially as the benefit was chiefly to redound to themselves. But as the late King's intentions and promises appeared not in writing, recourse was to be had to the testimony of those to whom he had opened his mind, who deposed what they had heard from his mouth.

Upon their testimony therefore, the Earl of Hertford was made Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Essex, Marquis of Northampton, Viscount Lisle, Earl of Warwick, the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, Sir Thomas Seymour, Lord Sudley, Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield[5], had the title of Barons, with the names of their families[6].

**1547 AD]** As Henry VIII. had not left his coffers full, expedients were to be devised to find the revenues and pensions assigned to the new Lords. No better was found than to alienate five or six thousand pounds a year of the chantry lands. These promotions, with the revenues annexed, were not universally approved, because they were all in favour of the regents themselves or the counsellors.

## **The Protector Made Lord Treasurer and Earl Marshal**

Many thought, these Lords showed too much avidity at the beginning of their regency, and that they ought to have staid till the King was of age. The protector especially was liable to much envy, by procuring for himself the two great offices of Lord Treasurer and Earl Marshal, vacant by the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk. The first was conferred on him the 10<sup>th</sup> of February, and the other the 17<sup>th</sup> of the same month[7].

The same day his last Patent was dispatched, his brother Thomas Seymour, just created Baron of Sudley, was made High Admiral of England[8]. Thus, about a fortnight after Henry's death, the Seymour's family was raised to such greatness, that it was hardly possible to make any addition to it. Happy, had they been contented! But we shall see hereafter, that by endeavouring to rise still higher, the two brothers fell into a gulf of misfortunes, which might have been avoided by a small share of moderation.

## **Henry VIII's Funeral**

Henry the eighth's funeral obsequies were performed with great pomp and magnificence at Windsor[9]. He had himself ordered his body to be there interred. The day before, his corpse was brought to Richmond[10], and as the motion caused some watery matter to run through the coffin, it was reported to be blood, and that a dog, licked it up. This was said with design to verify the friar's prediction, who told Henry in a sermon, that the dogs should lick his blood as they had formerly licked Ahab's. But besides that several affirmed, it was not blood which ran from the coffin, the report that a dog licked it up, was entirely groundless.

## Edward VI Crowned

The ceremony being over, Edward's Coronation was solemnised the 20<sup>th</sup> of February, with the usual formalities[11]. The Lord Russel acted as High Steward, by virtue of a Patent which empowered him to exercise that office for that day only. Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, had acted the day before as High Constable by virtue of a like Patent, which limited the exercise of his office to the 19<sup>th</sup> of February, the day preceding the Coronation, from sun rising to sun setting. Probably, the office of High-Constable was necessary only for certain preparatives, since it was to end before the ceremony of the Coronation[12].

On the Coronation day, a general pardon was granted to all persons, excepting the Duke of Norfolk, Cardinal Pole, Edward Courtney, eldest son of the Marquis of Exeter, and three others [13].

## The Chancellor's Disgrace

I have before observed, that the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, the new Earl of Southampton, was ambitious, proud, and haughty, very troublesome in the council, and moreover, a great enemy to the reformation and the reformed. All these reasons made the protector and most of the regents wish to be rid of him. They were so happy, as that he himself afforded them a plausible pretence.

Resolving to apply himself chiefly to state affairs, he had on the 18<sup>th</sup> of February put the Great Seal to a commission directed to the Master of the Rolls, and three Masters of Chancery[14], empowering them to execute the Lord Chancellor's office in the court of chancery, in as ample a manner as if he himself were present. This being done by his own authority, without any warrant from the Lord Protector and the other regents, his enemies failed not to improve this occasion to ruin him.

Complaint of what he had done being brought before the council, it was ordered, that the judges should give their opinions in writing. Their answer was:—

**THAT** the Chancellor being only entrusted with his office, could not commit the exercise thereof to others, without the consent of the King, or the regency:

**THAT** by so doing he had by the common Law forfeited his place, and was liable to fine and imprisonment at the King's pleasure.

This answer being communicated to him in full council, he fell into a great passion with the judges, and even talked very haughtily to the regents, the council, and the Protector. He told this last in particular, that he held his chancellorship by an undoubted authority, since he held it of the King himself, whereas it was a great question whether he himself was lawfully Protector. But this haughtiness, instead of composing his affair, only served to render it worse.

His submission might have lessened his punishment, but by his passion and heat he gave the council occasion to treat him with the utmost severity. He was immediately confined to his house, with a command not to stir till further orders. Then it was debated what his punishment should be. It was not doubted that he might be deprived of the Chancellorship. But as to the Regency, the point was not so clear, because it was uncertain whether the late King had placed him among the regents as chancellor, or as a private person, like several others who were in no office.

For this reason it was not thought proper to turn him out of the regency; but to render it useless to him, he was left under an arrest, and the Great Seal taken from him, and given to (Sir William Pawlet) Lord St. John, till another chancellor should be appointed. So the Earl of Southampton continued in his confinement till the 29<sup>th</sup> of June[15], when he was discharged of his

imprisonment, upon entering into a recognizance of four thousand pounds, to pay what fine they should impose on him.

After the Protector was freed from this troublesome enemy, he thought only of engrossing the sole management of affairs, and to be Protector indeed, whereas hitherto it was but an empty title, without any peculiar authority.

To attain his ends, he represented to the regents and council, that several persons doubted whether they could by their sole authority name a Protector: That the French ambassador in particular had insinuated a distrust, that he could not safely treat with him, without knowing first: whether he was duly authorized, since his title might be contested for want of authority in those who had conferred it. Upon this foundation, he desired[16] that he the King might be allowed to prepare Letters Patent, under the Great Seal, establishing him Protector of the Realm, and governor of the King.

His request appearing reasonable, it was granted, and probably he was left to draw the Patent, wherein it is very likely, he used some deceit. What gives occasion for this suspicion, is, that the Patent assigned him prerogatives un-thought of by the regents, when they made him Protector. There was no mention of the condition upon which he had been chosen.

On the contrary, the King gave him full authority to do everything as he in his wisdom should think for the honour, good and prosperity of his person and realms. Moreover, he appointed him a council, giving him power, with so many of them as he should think proper, to annul and change what they thought fitting; restraining the council to act only by the Protector's advice and consent.

### **Remarks on The Protector's Proceedings**

It is true, this council consisted of the same persons which before composed the regency and council, except the Earl of Southampton. But whereas fifteen of them were before regents of the Kingdom, executors of Henry's will, and governors to the young King, they were now become by this Patent only mere counsellors to the Protector, each according to the rank his office or birth gave him, without the Protector being obliged to follow their advice.

Very likely, as I said, the Protector used some fraud on this occasion. And indeed, it is by no means probable, the other regents should so lightly consent to be deprived of all their authority. Nay, we shall see hereafter an evident proof that they had no such intention. Those historians who have endeavoured to vindicate all the Duke of Somerset's actions, in order to preserve to him the character of a true reformer, have very lightly touched upon this point, whereas his enemies have enlarged on it, to show he was possessed with ambition.

However, as the fact is certain his motive only can be the subject of conjecture, some ascribed it to his excessive ambition; others believing he aspired to become master of the government only to promote more effectually the Reformation; It is at least extremely probable that Cranmer and such of the regents as favoured the Reformation, were convinced the Dukes advancement would be very advantageous to religion.

### **Somerset Becomes Absolute Master of The Government**

After the patent was drawn, and the Great Seal put to it the Protector had all the power. He governed with an absolute authority, without being clogged by the advice of the council, since he was obliged only to consult those that were devoted to him. But on the other hand, this proceeding, with some others of the like nature, drew upon him the envy and hatred of many, and particularly of the nobility, who made him at last feel the effects.



There was certainly much to be said again this Patent, which destroyed the form of the government established by Henry VIII, pursuant to an act of Parliament which the King himself had not power to annul.

The day before, two new treaties were concluded with France. The first was a renewing of alliance between Francis I. and Edward VI, without prejudicing the antient alliance between France and Scotland, and the treaties between the Emperor and England. The second concerned the articles which had not been explained in the late treaty of peace, namely, the bounds of the territory of Boulogne, and the fortifications the two Kings were making near the place.

As to the bounds, they were easy to be settled, because as England was to keep Boulogne but eight years, it was not very material whether its territory was a little more or less extended. As to the fortifications, there was more difficulty. Whilst the late peace was negotiating, Henry VIII. finding it would be in his power to prescribe almost what terms he pleased, ordered the Governor of Boulogne to begin fortifying Bouleberg, Blackness, and Ambleteuse.

At the same time he gave instructions to his plenipotentiaries, to insert in the treaty that neither of the two Kings should be allowed to make new fortifications in or about Boulogne, but only to finish such as were begun. This was done according to his desire.

However, since the treaty, the French had attempted to fortify St. Etienne, Portet, and la Pointe. Whereupon disputes arose between the ambassadors appointed to settle the limits of Boulogne. But as the two courts were equally desirous to avoid all occasion of rupture, it was at length agreed, that the English might continue the works begun:—

**THAT** the French should have the same liberty with regard to the fortifications of St. Etienne, but should discontinue those at Portet and la Pointe.

## **Death of Francis I**

This treaty, and the other which renewed the alliance between the two crowns, were signed at London the 11<sup>th</sup> of March. But Francis died the 31<sup>st</sup> of the same month, before he had ratified them, leaving Henry II. for his successor.

Upon news of Francis's, death, an express was sent to Nicholas Wotton ambassador in France, with a commission to receive the new King's ratifications, and see him swear to the treaties. But the Court of France was entirely changed by Henry II's accession to the Crown. The Cardinal of Lorrain, and his brother the Duke of Guise, managed every thing as they pleased, and it was not their interest, the King should preserve a good understanding with England.

Besides that they were strongly addicted to the Romish religion and the Pope, they were contriving means to hinder England from employing her arms to accomplish the marriage between Edward and the young Queen of Scotland their niece. They persuaded therefore Henry II, that it was his chief concern to recover Boulogne at any rate, for fear the English should make use of that place to confound his future projects.

Henry liking their policy, refused to ratify the treaties, and disowned the ambassador sent by his father to London to conclude them. So, there not only remained an occasion of quarrel between the two crowns with respect to the limits of the territory of Boulogne, and the new fortifications; but also in refusing to confirm the alliance, Henry showed his intention to break the peace.

This was the first ill effect of the death of Francis I. and Henry VIII. But it was not the only one. Germany as well as England suffered by the loss of these two Kings. The Protestants, who had been ill used by the Emperor in the last campaign, found themselves wholly deprived of the

assistance, they expected from France and England. Henry II's ministers did not think proper, he should be engaged in a war with the Emperor in support of the Protestant religion. But as policy seemed to require that he should oppose the Emperor's progress, they intimated to him the expediency of first recovering Boulogne; after which, it would be still time enough to protect Germany, in case the Emperor grew too powerful there. As for the court of England, there was no likelihood that during a minority, they would undertake to support the Protestants, especially as France refused to be concerned with them.

Meanwhile, the Princes of the league having sent to Edward for aid, fifty thousand crowns were privately given them, with great caution, for fear of offending the Emperor. It is very true, the Protector was inclinable to support them: But it was not yet convenient to do it openly. The Reformation was to be put upon a good foot in England, before any thoughts of protecting it in foreign Countries.

Henry the eighth's death was a sort of crisis for England with regard to religion. It was observed in the history of his reign, that he steered a middle course in that respect. He reformed some things, but left others untouched.

In general, the Reformation he had begun, may be said to concern only the articles which were directly or indirectly contrary to his temporal Sovereignty or ecclesiastical supremacy. He was so rigorous, that he would never allow his subjects to differ in opinion from him, or at least not to show it openly. So all were under constraint, there being scarce any one but what believed more or less than himself.

As soon as he was dead, every one took the liberty to speak his thoughts upon religion, though the laws made in his reign were still in force. But some change was expected. If on one hand the reformed built their hopes on Cranmer and the Earl of Hertford, the contrary party flattered themselves that Chancellor Wriothesley, Tonstal, and some others, would use their utmost endeavours to restore religion to its antient state, or at least would hinder the Reformation from making farther progress.

The Earl of Hertford's promotion to the protectorship, and the chancellor's disgrace, gave the reformed all the advantage, who seeing themselves supported by the Protector and the Archbishop of Canterbury, entertained great hopes that the work of the Reformation would visibly advance. This gave them the boldness openly to show their sentiments, and even publicly to preach them [17].

On the other hand, the contrary party finding the time was not favourable, strove to persuade, that religion should be left in its present state till the King was of age. They said, since no alterations could be made but in the King's name, as supreme head of the Church of England, it was necessary at least to stay till he was able to judge of them himself. But the reformers agreed not to this principle.

They maintained, on the contrary, that the Royal Authority was the same, whether the King was a minor or not. They opposed their adversaries maxim the more strenuously, as it influenced not only the affairs of religion but the Government itself.

The party of the reformers was so strong, that it was very difficult for their enemies to resist them. The King himself was at their head. Though he was yet of an age wherein men hardly begin to make use of their reason, he had made very great progress in the study of religion, by the care of Dr. Cox his preceptor, who was in the sentiments of the reformers.

The Duke of Somerset, Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, Holgate Archbishop of York, Holbeach Bishop of Lincoln, Goodrich Bishop of Ely, Dr. Ridley, and Latimer who was discharged of his imprisonment, were the chief supporters of this party. These were properly

whom Dr. Burnet calls in his history, the Reformers. In the other party were the Princess Mary, Wriothesley Earl of Southampton, Tonstal Bishop of Durham, Bonner of London, Gardiner of Winchester, with many other bishops, and the major part of the inferior clergy, consisting, as I have observed, of the suppressed friars, who had been recommended to livings.

But it is certain, though this last party was as numerous as the other, they were far excelled by them in learning and capacity. Besides, the government was in the hands of their adversaries. There was another thing which very much lessened the power of this party. Most of them had made it a rule to oppose to their utmost the intended alterations, but when effected, to pay them afterwards an outward compliance.

This conduct, though beneficial to particular persons, was however detrimental to the whole party, as it intimated they only loved their religion when attended with temporal blessings. The bishops and the rest of the clergy were properly the establishers of this maxim, out of fear of losing their benefices.

### **Resolution to Push The Reformation**

The present juncture being so favourable for the Reformation, the Protector, and such of the council as were of his sentiments, resolved to improve it. To that end they ordered a general visitation of all the churches, and appointed visitors, with power to abolish certain gross abuses introduced into the Divine Service, and particularly with regard to images[18].

With this visitation commenced the execution of the design already formed, of perfecting the Reformation, which was properly but just, begun in the late reign. As Dr. Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, has given as full account of these matters as can be desired, in his excellent *History of the Reformation in England*, it will be needless to descend to particulars, which will be seen with much more satisfaction in the work of that illustrious author.

So, without speaking hereafter of religion any farther than will be necessary for the understanding of the history, I shall confine my self chiefly to the political affairs of this reign[19]. The first that offers in the year 1547, is the war with Scotland.

### **The Affairs of Scotland With England**

Henry VIII. had left his affairs with Scotland in such a situation, that the agreed marriage between Edward and the young Queen of Scotland, was to be relinquished, or the treaty executed by force of arms. The party, against the marriage in Scotland was so powerful, that the others durst hardly discover their contrary sentiments.

If the affair had been to be decided by the two Kingdoms, in all appearance Scotland would have been forced to submit. But the King of France took care not to abandon the Scots. He was highly concerned to hinder the King of England from becoming master of Scotland. Herein his sentiments agreed with those of the two Lorrain Princes, brothers of the Queen Dowager of Scotland. It was this that most troubled the Protector, especially as Henry II. had now declared he would assist the Scots to the utmost of his power.

Meanwhile, the projected marriage was so advantageous to England, that it well deserved some endeavours to accomplish it. Besides, Henry VIII. had so expressly ordered, before he died, that all possible means should be used to effect it, that the Protector thought he could not be excused from taking some steps, to show he intended to execute his orders. He resolved therefore to carry war into Scotland.

Indeed, it was a very extraordinary way of wooing the young Queen for Edward. But in this the Protector and the Council followed Henry VII's maxim, who ever flattered himself, that the inconveniences and dangers of a war would at last oblige the Scots to execute the treaty. To that end therefore they resolved to make war upon Scotland, and not with design to conquer the Kingdom.

Every thing being prepared, and the Protector ready to go and command the army, the French ambassador desired him to consent to a negotiation, to try to conclude a peace before hostilities were begun. The Protector, who was willing to manage France, complied with his request, and the conferences began the 4th of August.

## The Protector Enters Somerset

Tonstal, who was first plenipotentiary[20], had orders to yield every thing, provided the Scotch commissioners had power to agree to the marriage, otherwise he was to break off the congress. This condition rendered the negotiation ineffectual, because the Scots had nothing like it in their instructions. So the Protector departing in August, entered the territories of Scotland the 2nd of September, with an army of fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse[21], having the Earl of Warwick for Lieutenant-General.

He took some castles in his march, and particularly the castle of Broughty[22] near the Tay's mouth, where he left a garrison of two hundred men. A few days after, he came within sight of the Scotch army, thirty thousand strong[23] with thirty pieces of cannon, who expected him on the field of Pinkey near Musselburgh.

The Duke of Somerset, as I said, had undertaken this war against his will, and only to avoid the blame of not endeavouring to procure for his young master an advantageous marriage. The fight of the enemies army, superior to his own, increased not his desire to decide the affair by way of Arms. Wherefore, to avoid so dangerous a decision, he wrote to the Earl of Arran Regent of Scotland, desiring him to consider the great quantity of innocent blood which was going to be shed. And to show that he was ready himself to come to an agreement, he made this offer:—

**THAT** he would retire to England with his army, if the Scots would agree that the young Queen should be bred up in Scotland till she came of age, and give security that she should not till then be contracted to any foreigner.

This proposal might have been accepted without any detriment, either to the Queen or the Kingdom of Scotland. In the first place, this condition hindered not the Queen from marrying a Scotch Lord. Secondly, the worst that could happen to the Scots, was to be, when their Queen was of Age, in the same situation they were in at present.

Lastly, the King of England or the Queen might die in this interval, and of course the death of either ended the quarrel. But the French faction was so prevalent in the council of Scotland, that this advantageous offer was proudly rejected. Nay, a rumour was spread among the Scotch troops, that the Protector of England would not hearken to a peace, unless the Queen was put into his hands.

The two armies were parted by the River Eske. The English were encamped about two miles on the south side, and the Scots along the banks, on the North. So if the Scots had been willing to avoid a battle, probably, the English would never have attempted to pass the river in their fight.

Meanwhile, the Protector, having formed the design of approaching the Scots, and gaining a rising ground on the left which commanded their camp, moved forward with his whole army. But the Scots having notice of It, immediately passed the river and possessed themselves of that post. The Protector having missed his aim, marched to the right, towards the sea, in order to

encamp on a little hill not far from the river. This made the Scots imagine, he was approaching the sea, to put his ordnance and baggage on board the fleet, which was entered the Frith, that he might retreat the more easily.

The whole Scotch army were so possessed with this notion, that they considered the English as already vanquished by fears. Meanwhile, the Protector had posted himself on the hill, and made some entrenchments before his camp. This confirmed the Scots in their opinion, that it was only a feint in order to retire in the night. So, resolving to hinder the English from executing this imaginary design, they advanced in good order to join battle.

The moment the Protector had received intelligence of their march, he drew up his army, part on the hill, and part on the plain, and expected them without stirring. He had placed his artillery in an advantageous place that commanded the whole plain, and on the other side, his fleet was near enough to fire upon the enemy in flank. Nay there was a galliot, which being lighter than the rest of the ships, came very near the land, and extremely annoyed the Scotch army[24].

It was on the 10<sup>th</sup> of September that the two armies engaged. I shall not relate the particulars of this battle. Besides that the historians agree not in the principal circumstances, there are but few capable of giving a just account of what passes on these occasions, and of pointing out the chief causes of the gain or loss of a battle.

It belongs only to generals themselves to be good historians on such subjects. I shall content myself therefore with reciting the success of this here. After a very obstinate fight, the Scots were routed, leaving fourteen thousand dead on the place, and fifteen hundred prisoners in the hands of the English, of whom eight hundred were gentlemen.

This great loss threw all Scotland into the utmost consternation. The regent and the Queen after garrisoning the Castle of Edinburgh, retired to Sterling with the remains of their army, abandoning thus the frontiers to the ravages of the English. A few days after the Protector took Leith, and the English fleet commanded by the Lord Clinton, burnt several seaport towns in the county of Fife, with all the Ships in their Harbours. Then, the English army marched to Edinburgh, and entering without opposition, plundered the city.

## **The Protector Improves Not His Victory**

Such a terror seized all Scotland, that if the Protector had improved his success, by besieging the castle of Edinburgh, it is hardly to be doubted, he would have forced the regent to relinquish the young Queen, or subdued the Kingdom. But affairs which concerned him in particular, made him relinquish his enterprise, just as he was going to reap the fruits of his victory. Whilst he was employed in Scotland, his brother the admiral caballed against him in England, and had now made such progress that the Protector was upon the point of being ruined, at the very time he was causing the King's arms to triumph.

The advice he received made him think, he could not too speedily return to court, in order to break his brother's measures. This was the real motive of his hasty return, which however was coloured with other pretences.

The 18<sup>th</sup> of September he departed for England, having employed but sixteen days in his expedition, from his entrance into Scotland, and if we may believe the English writers, lost but sixty two men in all[25]. In his return, he marched through the counties of March and Tiviotdale, and leaving a garrison in the castle of Hume, ordered Roxborough to be repaired, where he left Sir Ralph Palmer Governor.

The Protector's glorious campaign in Scotland, put the nation in mind of several noble actions performed by him in the late reign. This gained him great applause from the people[26], but

withal the envy of the nobles, who, if Sir John Hayward is to be credited, had no great esteem for him.

This contrast between the nobles and people was very prejudicial to him. It induced him to rely too much on the people's favour, and to raise himself above the rest of the nobles, both by an external pomp, and by assuming the sole administration of affairs. As by the King's Patent, he was not obliged to follow the advice of the council, he generally consulted only his creatures, and neglected the rest, as if there were no such men.

This behaviour seemed at first a little strange in one, who, very far from being naturally proud and haughty, was rather humble, modest, and civil. No other reason can be given, but his great zeal to promote the Reformation. This was, doubtless, what made him think it necessary to remove from the administration those who were not led by the same zeal as himself, in order to lessen the opposition, as much as possible.

Besides, he had passed the best part of his life in the court of Henry VIII, where he had seen the authority Royal carried to the greatest height, and as Henry had succeeded by the way of rigour, he deemed it requisite to follow much the same maxims. The Reformation was certainly the sole object, the Protector had in view, and all his proceedings, in the public affairs both foreign and domestic, tended properly to that point.

## **Bonner and Gardiner are Sent to Prison**

The commissioners, appointed to visit the churches, having made their report, it was found, that all the bishops had complied with the orders of the council, except Bonner of London, and Gardiner of Winchester. These had given an advantage against themselves, not only by direct opposition, but by cavils, which plainly shewed how averse they were to all reformation. They insisted chiefly upon the forementioned maxim, that it was not lawful to make any alterations in religion during the King's minority.

As this principle might have had pernicious consequences, with respect to the government, it was made a pretence to send them to prison[27], notwithstanding their seeming, but very equivocal, submission. The truth is, as several acts in favour of the Reformation were intended to be passed in the next Parliament, which was summoned to meet the 4th of November, the reformers were very glad to be freed from the troublesome opposition of these two prelates.

The Princess Mary was also displeased with the instruction given to the visitors, and the design of advancing the Reformation. She writ upon this occasion to the Protector expressing her dislike of all the changes which were in the making, and of those which were deigned to be made during the King's minority. The Protector sent her a very strong answer, and did not think himself obliged to conform to her sentiments.

Some days before the Parliament met, the Lord Rich was made Chancellor[28]. The 3<sup>rd</sup> of November, the day before the opening of the Parliament, the Protector, by a Patent under the Great Seal, was warranted to sit in Parliament on the right hand of the throne, under the cloth of state, whether the King was present or not, and moreover was to have all the honours, privileges, and prerogatives that any of the uncles of the Kings of England, or any protectors had ever enjoyed, (with a *non-abstante* to the Statute of Precedence).

This proceeding was a clear evidence that the Duke of Somerset's intention was, not only to be superior to all, but even to destroy by degrees the very remembrance of the form of government established by Henry VIII. Though he had not forgot to cause this Patent to be approved by the council, before it was sealed, that was not sufficient to justify him entirely.

It was well known the King did nothing but by his direction; That the council was at his command, and that it would have been very dangerous for the councillors, directly to oppose a Patent which concerned him in particular.

The Parliament being met the 4th of November, passed several material acts, relating some to the state, and others to religion. It is very certain, the number of those who desired a reformation, was very great in the Kingdom. However, it must not be imagined that then, any remark on more than at this day, whatever the Parliament did was agreeable to the general opinion of the nation.

The representatives of the Commons were chosen, as they are at present, without any instructions concerning the points to be debated in Parliament, nay, without the people's knowing any thing of them. Thus, the House of Commons had, as I may say, an unlimited Power, to determine by a majority of votes, with the concurrence of the Lords, and assent of the King, what they deemed proper for the welfare of the Kingdom.

There was no necessity therefore, in order to obtain what the court desired, of having the universal consent of the people, but only the majority of the voices in both Houses. Hence it is easy to conceive, that the court used all imaginable means to cause such members to be elected as were in their sentiments. This is now, and ever will be, practised till some cure is found for this inconvenience. I call it inconvenience, because it happens sometimes that the Parliament passes Acts contrary to the general opinion of the nation.

Of this one may be easily convinced, by what passed in the Parliaments held under Edward VI, and Queen Mary his sister. In the reign of Edward, popery was entirely rooted out, and under Mary it was wholly replanted. In one or other of these reigns therefore the Parliament must have acted contrary to the opinion of the people, since it is not possible to believe, that a whole nation should have thus changed, in an instant, from white to black.

I don't pretend, by this remark, to weaken the proceedings of Edward VI's Parliament in favour of the Reformation; what I advance is levelled as much against that of Queen Mary, as against this. My design is only to observe, that the determination of a Parliament is not always a convincing proof of the approbation of the whole English Nation.

The reasons therefore which may be drawn from the pretended content of the nation, represented in Parliament, either for or against the Reformation, seem to be of very little weight. Each of the two parties will always say, and perhaps very justly, that the Parliament which opposed them, was a Parliament devoted to the King and the ministry.

The present Parliament was, in all appearance, directed by the Duke of Somerset, since it so readily favoured all his designs. I shall content myself with relating the substance of the chief acts passed this session, without insisting much upon them, because Dr. Burnet has spoken of them so accurately and fully in his *History of the Reformation*, that it would be needles to repeat what he has said.

The first Statute repealed several acts passed in the late and some former reigns: namely:—

I. All Acts declaring any thing to be treason but what was in the Statute of 25<sup>th</sup> Edward III. This Statute of King Edward had long served for the standard of treason, till during the civil wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster, and particularly in the reign of Henry VIII, the list of treasonable offences was very much increased. Therefore, the Parliament very justly reduced these offences within their old bounds, that the subjects might not be liable to so many rigours.

II. This Statute also repealed all Acts, declaring that to be felony, which was not so before the rupture with the Pope[29]. And,

**III.** The Act. which made the King's proclamations of equal authority with Acts of Parliament. If this statute had continued, Parliaments would have become useless.

**IV.** Two Acts concerning the Lollards[30].

**LASTLY,** By the same Statute, the law of the six articles was also repealed.

By another, (article of the same Statute) the King's ecclesiastical supremacy was again confirmed, with several penalties upon those who should call it in question. It was likewise declared high-treason in any of the heirs of the crown, nominated in Henry VIII's will, and in their abettors, to endeavour to break the succession of the crown settled by that prince.

It was also enacted. That all should enjoy the benefit of the Clergy[31], and the privilege of sanctuary, (as before Henry VIII's Reign) excepting only such as were guilty of murder, poisoning, burglary, robbing on the high-way, stealing of cattle, and stealing out of churches and chapels.

An Act passed in Henry VIII's time, empowering his successor to annul Laws made during his minority till his four and twentieth year, was likewise explained; and it was declared, that this Act should only take place for the future, and not for the past[32].

With regard to religion, several acts were made, which caused very great alterations. First, private Masses were abolished, and the cup was given to the people in the communion[33].

Another act gave the King power to nominate to the vacant sees by his Letters Patents, and so abolished the way of chousing bishops by *Conge d' eslire* [34], which was only a mockery, since these pretended elections were all made by the direction of the court.

The jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts was also very much abridged, by taking from them the cognizance of matrimonial and testamentary causes, which were removed to the civil courts [35].

### **Statute Against Vagabonds**

Then the Parliament passed a very remarkable Act against vagabonds. It was enacted, That if any person should any where loiter without work, or without offering himself to work three days together, he should be adjudged to be a slave (for two years) to him that should present him to two justices of peace, and be marked with the letter "V" imprinted with a hot iron on his breast.

This law was thought very severe in a country like England where slavery seems inconsistent with the privileges of the people. But herein the court, by whom the Parliament was governed, had an eye only to the monks, who being gone from their monasteries, little inured to labour, could not think of working for their livelihood.

These men spent their time in going from house to house, to cabal against: the government, and inspire the people with the spirit of rebellion. So the court judging it to be an effect of their idleness, and that if they betook themselves to some Employment, they would at length lose this habit, resolved to make them work, how unwilling soever they might be. Mean while, as the law was general, it occasioned great murmurs among the people. Wherefore it was never rigorously executed, and even repealed by another Parliament.

Lastly, the Parliament gave the King all the lands designed for the maintenance of chantries, chapels, and Colleges, which were not possessed by Henry VIII, and all revenues given for obits, anniversaries, lights in the churches, together with all guild lands[36] which any fraternity enjoyed on the same account. This act did not pass without great difficulty. Cranmer himself



opposed it to the utmost of his power[37], not from a desire to keep these endowments for the uses intended by the donors, but because he hoped to meet with some favourable opportunity to convert them to other uses beneficial to religion, whereas being once in the King's hands, the church was deprived of them for ever. But all opposition was in vain.

The Nobles gaped, as I may say, after the Church lands, which they obtained of the court upon very easy terms. Besides, the executors of the late King's will, wanted these lands to pay his debts and legacies. It is true, there was a clause in the act, importing, that these lands should be converted to the maintenance of grammar schools and preachers; but it was never put in practice[38].

The parliament ended with a general pardon, in which general were excepted the prisoners in the tower, and those who had absented themselves out of the Kingdom. As Gardiner was not in the tower, he enjoyed the benefit of the Pardon.

I just mentioned the reason which obliged the Protector to quit Scotland and return to court, with a precipitation very detrimental to the King's affairs. But it is necessary now to speak a little more largely of it, before I conclude the year 1547, because it was during this session of the Parliament that this affair broke out.

Among all the enviers of the Protector, there was not one more passionate against him than his brother, admiral Thomas Seymour. He was a hot, proud, and haughty man it is true, he was reckoned to have more sense than his brother, and to be more capable of managing great affairs. But this opinion might proceed from the party he had made among the nobility, who loved not the Protector. However this be, the admiral could not bear the difference the King had put between him and the Duke of Somerset, though they were both uncles to the young King.

He thought himself, by his birth and natural endowments, as worthy as his brother of having a share in the administration of the government. Presently after Henry's death, he gave proofs of his ambition, in making his addresses to the Princess Elizabeth. But finding he was not likely to succeed, he turned to Catherine Parr Queen dowager, and so won her heart, that he privately married her, without communicating it to the Duke his brother, who was now invested with the Protectorship.

This marriage was so quickly after Henry's death, that if the Queen had bred so soon as she might have done, there would have been room to question whether the child was the King's or the admiral's. Having kept his marriage private for some time, he found means, unknown to the Protector, to procure a letter from the King, recommending him to the Queen for a husband. Whereupon he declared his marriage, without using any ceremony with his brother. And here began their quarrel.

But the Protector, who was a man of great moderation, prevented their quarrel from breaking out, though he was still extremely displeased with his brother. The admiral's envy was greatly increased by the Duke his brother's promotion, who from a nominal, was become a real, Protector. This Envy, added to his natural disposition, carried him at length to form the project of supplanting him, by insinuating himself into the King's favour, and making a party among the nobility.

There is no doubt, the Protector's secret enemies cherished the admiral's ambition by the praises they gave him in his ill opinion of the Duke his brother. He began his cabals about Easter, with gaining the King's servants to his interest, that they might continue their young master in a good opinion of him. By their means he so ordered it, that the King frequently came to his house to see his mother-in-law. Here it was that he diligently made his court, and even furnished him with money for his privy purse, and for small presents to his domestics[39]

This pleased the young King, who found himself freed from the trouble of asking his governor for money, and of being accountable to him for what he did with it. All this could not be done without the Protector's knowledge. He taxed his brother with it, who denied all, but in so haughty a manner, that it was easy for the Protector to perceive, he had not much regard for him. He was unwilling however to come to an open quarrel, hoping in time to reclaim him.

The Protector was no sooner in Scotland, but the admiral renewed his cabals with less reserve than before. He distributed money to several persons, and never ceased making his court to the King. Nay, he obtained, unknown to his brother, a new and more ample Patent for the office of Lord Admiral, with an addition of two hundred marks to the salary. Sir William Paget, who was devoted to the Protector, and perhaps had orders to watch the Admiral, seeing how he increased in favour with the King, thought himself obliged to talk with him about it.

But the admiral's answer not satisfying him, he sent the Protector notice of it, and upon this intelligence it was that he ended his campaign in Scotland so abruptly, to return to court and break his brother's measures.

### **The Admiral Tries to Supplant His Brother and Gain The King to His Side**

The Protector's arrival was not capable of interrupting the admiral's projects. He rather hastened the execution the more, not to give his brother time to prevent him. He had gained some of the Privy Counsellors, several Lords of distinction, and many members of Parliament. In fine, he persuaded the King, that the two offices of Protector and Governor of his person gave the Duke of Somerset too much authority, and that it was proper to part them, and confer the second on him, in order to balance the Protector's power.

The young King was much better pleased to have for governor an uncle, who had all the condescension possible for him, than one who was not so complaisant, and kept him more in awe. So his age not allowing him to make other reflections, he writ with his own hand a message to the House of Commons, desiring them to make the admiral the governor of his person.

The admiral was to carry this message himself: But his contrivance was discovered before he could execute his design. The council hearing of it, sent some Lords, to reason the case with him, and prevail with him to proceed no farther. But the Lords did not bring back the satisfaction that was expected. On the contrary, instead of regarding their remonstrances, he answered with threats [40].

### **His Designs Discovered**

Whereupon, he was sent for next day by order from the council, but refused to come. At last, he was threatened to be thrown out of all offices, sent to the tower, and prosecuted upon the act of Parliament, which made it death for any person to disturb the government. This menace frightened him. He plainly saw, though he had the King on his side, the young Prince who was but just entered into his eleventh year, would not have resolution enough to support him, contrary to the advice of the Protector and council.

Nay, it was hinted to him, there was no likelihood, the Parliament would hearken to a message from a minor King, but would doubtless suppose him to have been surprised. He chose therefore to submit himself to the Protector and council, and to be reconciled to his brother, who desired only to reclaim him by fair means. However this reconciliation was not perfect.

Quickly after he shewed, he had not relinquished but only put off, his design till a more convenient season. And indeed, he never ceased endeavouring both by himself and by those

whom he had gained, to infuse into the King a dislike of the Protector and his other ministers, This made the Protector set spies about him, to be informed of his proceedings, considering him as a very dangerous enemy.

## The Affairs of Germany

This year the face of affairs in Germany was entirely changed. The Emperor defeated and took prisoner John Frederic Elector of Saxony[41], and declared his cousin Maurice Elector, who at the same time took possession of the Electoral Dominions. After this disaster, the Landgrave of Hesse finding himself unable to maintain the war, made the best terms he could with the Emperor, and came to him upon the faith of a safe-conduct, which expressly ran that he should not be liable to any imprisonment.

But by a gross fraud, instead of the German word *emig*, which signifies any, the word *ewig*, which signifies perpetual, was inserted. By this base artifice he was detained a prisoner, to be released at the Emperor's pleasure.

The imprisonment of the two heads rendered the Protestant party very weak, and the Emperor's triumphant.

The Archbishop of Cologne, who had embraced the Protestant religion, was forced to renounce his dignities of Archbishop and Elector of the Empire. After that, the Emperor made sundry alterations tending to destroy the Reformation, or rather, under the pretence, to render himself absolute in Germany. For this cause the Pope himself grew jealous of him. As, after his victory, his ambassadors were imperious at Trent, the Pope ordered the council to be removed to Bologna, under the feigned pretence of the plague being at Trent.

Hitherto Germany had served for sanctuary to many Protestants persecuted in other countries. But since the Emperor's victory, they were no longer safe there. For which reason many came into England, where they saw the Reformation to be in a prosperous way. Among these were Peter Martyr[42], Bucer, Ochinus, Fagius, to whom Edward gave pensions and benefices, as appears in the **Collection of The Public Acts**.

Though Henry II. had refused to ratify the two treaties concluded at London in March, the English however, as I observed, continued the fortifications of Bullenberg, pursuant to an article of the Treaty of Peace. But after several complaints from France, Henry sent so rough a message by his ambassador, that the Protector, rather than hazard a quarrel with France, ordered the works to be discontinued, before the Fort was finished.

In the beginning of the year 1548, the council made several alterations with respect to religion. By an order[43], the carrying of candles on Candlemas day, of ashes on Ash Wednesday, of palms on Palm-Sunday, with the rites used on Good Friday and Easter day, were forbidden[44]. Moreover, it was left to the people's choice to go to confession or to neglect that practice, hitherto deemed an indispensable duty.

Some days after, it was ordered that all images in general should be removed from the churches [45] As England was then divided into two parties, some approved, and others censured these changes. But the Council, in spite of all opposition, caused their orders to be confirmed by the King's proclamation, in virtue of his supremacy. Only Gardiner Bishop of Winchester openly opposed these changes, upon the maxim that no alteration in religion could be lawfully made till the King was of age.

He was not the only person that tried to instil this notion into the people. All those of his party endeavoured the same things but had not the courage to do it publicly. Whereupon he was commanded to appear before the Council, and as he offered to submit to whatever should be

proscribed him, he was ordered[46] to preach at St. Paul's upon certain points, whereof one of the chief was, that the King's authority was the same during his minority as when of age. He preached; but so little to the Council's satisfaction, that it was resolved to send him to the tower.

**1548 AD]** This severity produced a great effect, in that all the friends of the Romish Church resolved to conform, at least outwardly, to what should be enjoined by public authority, when they saw one of their chief supporters was not spared.

Meanwhile, the war with Scotland gave the Protector great uneasiness. He clearly saw, it was ridiculous to think of accomplishing the King's marriage with the Queen of Scotland by the way of arms, in spite of the Queen dowager, the Regent, and the Council. Moreover, he knew France was preparing to send them a powerful aid. And therefore he perceived it would be very difficult to succeed in this undertaking: besides that this war would very likely occasion a rupture with France.

In short, nothing was more repugnant than a war to his design of perfecting the work of the Reformation. He would have been glad the Regent of Scotland had accepted a ten years truce, which he offered him. But the Scots would not hearken to it, because France had promised them a powerful aid. The Protector therefore was forced to resolve, even against his will, to continue the war. But as he would not command the army himself, he gave the conduit thereof to Francis Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, whom he appointed his Lieutenant.

On this occasion he plainly shewed, he meant to stretch the prerogatives of the Protectorship as far as possible, since he would have the Earl take his commission of him. However, as the patent obtained the 12<sup>th</sup> of March last year, did not so clearly give him the power of nominating his Lieutenants, he ordered another to be prepared, wherein his prerogatives were more fully explained and enlarged.

In this, the King said, that having by his letters patents of the 12th of March appointed his uncle, the Duke of Somerset, Protector of the Kingdom and governor of his person, his intention was, that the clauses therein contained should be understood in the amplest sense, and the most favourable to the Duke: That however, as the generality of the terms might occasion some doubts, he declared that he constituted him his Lieutenant General and Captain General throughout his whole dominions, with power to order his subjects to take arms whenever he should think proper and to appoint lieutenants to command in his place, both by sea and land.

It cannot be denied, all this was very contrary to the establishment of the late King, and consequently to the Act of Parliament by which it was previously authorized. All the favours granted by the King to any but the Protector, could be justified by the advice of the Protector and council: But those done to the Protector himself, must have been ascribed wholly to the persuasions of the person who received them.

Nay, in extraordinary favours, this rendered in some measure the King's patents ridiculous, who was made to say, he granted them to the Protector, by the advice of the Protector himself.

## **The Regent of Scotland Besieges Broughty**

Meantime, in the beginning of the spring, whilst the court of England was considering whether the war with Scotland should be continued, the regent of that Kingdom had opened the campaign with the siege of Broughty Castle[47], which employed him three months in vain, though it was but an inconsiderable place.

On the other side, whilst he used all his Forces in this siege, the English took the castle of Hadington, and fortified it with all speed. By means of this place, situated in one of the most

fruitful Counties of Scotland, they made excursions to the very gates of Edinburgh, which was but twelve miles from thence. They took Lauder also, and made some works there.

## **They Resolve to Send The Queen into France**

About the end of May, the Scots received from France an aid[48] of six thousand men French and Germans, commanded by Dese d' Espanvilliers. After these new troops were a little refreshed, the regent joined with them eight thousand Scots, and with these forces the two generals besieged Hadington[49]. During this siege it was that, after several conferences between the French and the Scots, the resolution was taken of sending the young Queen of Scotland to France, Many Scots however very much disliked that resolution.

They affirmed, when the Queen should be in France, there would be no way to make peace with the English, whereas, without any prejudice either to the Queen or Kingdom, the ten years truce offered by the English might be accepted. This argument was combated by others, who maintained, that the aim of the English in this war being only to marry the Queen to Edward, they would have no farther inducement, to continue it, when once that expedition was destroyed.

Nevertheless, it was easy to see that, by delivering the Queen to the French King, they were going to be at the mercy of their ally. But besides that the French declared, France would not engage to assist Scotland upon any other terms, the Queen Mother was extremely desirous her daughter should be at the court of France, where the Princes of Lorrain her brothers bore an absolute sway.

Besides, all the clergy earnestly pressed the sending of the Queen into France, out of fear of her being forced at last to be delivered to the English, and that their religion would be destroyed by her marriage with Edward. In short, to win the Regent, the King of France promised to confer on him the title of Duke of Châteleraut; with twelve thousand livres a year in land.

All these things produced the resolution of sending the Queen into France, in the same ships that had brought the auxiliary troops. But to avoid meeting the English fleet, these ships sailed round Scotland, by the north[50], and landed the Queen in the province of Bretagne. Meanwhile, admiral Seymour, who commanded the naval forces himself, made several descents in Scotland, where he was always repulsed with loss, and at last, returned to England without much damaging the Scots.

## **The Earl of Shrewsbury Raises The Siege of Hadington**

At length, the English army, seventeen thousand strong[51], entered Scotland, under the command of the Earl of Shrewsbury. At his approach, the French and Scots raised the siege of Hadington, and retired[52]. So, the General easily supplied the place with provisions, and then, marching to the enemies, who were intrenched in an advantageous post, offered them battle. But after staying about an hour in their fight, finding they would not stir from their entrenchments, he led back his troops into England.

It is hard to guess what could be the motive of this abrupt retreat, which gave the Scots an opportunity to make great progress during the rest of the campaign[53]. The English army was no sooner retired, but Dessé attempted to surprise Hadington. He was now at the gates, and just entering the place, when a French deserter who had fled thither, fired one of the great cannon, which being discharged among the thickest of the French troops, so discouraged them, that they retreated with precipitation.

From thence Dessé went and fortified the village of Leith, now become a very considerable Town, His design was to retake Broughty castle; but receiving express orders to make an inroad

into England, he advanced as far as Newcastle, without meeting any resistance, and returned loaded with spoil. It is not known what was become of the English army, led by the Earl of Shrewsbury into Scotland, and consisting part of English and part of Landsquenets.

These last were German troops who had served the Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse, and having no leader in the Empire, had offered themselves to the Protector, who had entertained them in his service. This had raised great murmurs against him, the English being impatient of seeing in the Kingdom foreign troops, who are generally too much devoted to the King. It was easy to perceive, the Protector's aim was to strengthen himself personally with the aid of these foreigners.

Before the end of the year, the Queen dowager of Scotland complaining to the court of France of Dessé's conduct, who behaved with great haughtiness, and abused the Scots[54], caused him to be recalled, and de Thermes was sent in his room. The new general was accompanied with Montluc Bishop of Valence, who, being returned from his embassy at Constantinople, was sent to be Chancellor of Scotland. But the Scots were so displeased to see the best office in the Kingdom in the hands of a foreigner, that the King of France recalled him. They began to repent sending their Queen into France, where they saw the French shew less regard for them.

During the year 1548, the Pope and Emperor had great quarrels about the translation of the council. The Emperor, as I observed, used the pretence of religion to render himself absolute in the Empire. The Council, assembled at Trent, a city of Germany, as the Protestants had required, furnished him with a colour to compel them to submit to its decrees.

He was not sorry, they refused to comply with them; but desired they should have no other reasons than those which they drew from religion itself, because then the pretence of constraint remained entire. But by the translation of the council to Bologna, a city of Italy, and belonging to the Pope, this same pretence was taken away, because the Protestants had cause to complain, that the decrees of the diets were not executed.

On the other side, the Pope finding the Emperor was become almost absolute in the Empire by the success of one campaign, grew jealous of his power, fearing it would reach likewise over all Italy, and be very detrimental to the Holy See. For this reason, he was very glad to have him always at variance with the Protestants of Germany, that his affairs there might hinder him from forming new projects. These different interests were the cause that the Emperor and the Pope could not agree. The Emperor protested against the translation of the council to Bologna, and the Pope rejected the protestation.

Soon after, the Emperor intending to shew the Pope, he could be without him, ordered articles of agreement to be drawn, which were called the Interim, because the form of religion contained therein, was to last only till a general council should meet in some town of Germany. The framers of these articles, by the Emperor's order[55], took care to set them forth in the smoothest terms possible. But, in the main, they contained the doctrines of the Romish Church, though a little disguised.

The only considerable softening were, that marriage should be no bar to priest's orders, and the communion given in both kinds to those who desired it. This work being finished, the Emperor summoned a diet to Augsburg, where the interim was proposed. The Elector of Mentz, without any order, did, in all the Princes names, give the Emperor thanks for it; which he interpreted as the assent of the whole Diet; and after that would not receive the protestations of several towns of the empire against the interim.

The Pope himself was extremely displeased with it, because without consulting him, the Emperor had presumed to dispense with the marriage of priests, and communion in both kinds. This occasioned many troubles in Germany, and obliged numbers of divines and others, who disliked

the interim, to abscond or retire elsewhere, not to be exposed to the victorious Emperor's resentment, who was bent at any rate to have his interim universally received. At this Diet, Maurice of Saxony was solemnly invested with the Electorate, of which John Frederic had been deprived.

## **Parliament Forwards The Reformation**

Whilst the Emperor was labouring to destroy the Reformation in Germany, it daily made fresh progress in England. The Parliament which met the 24<sup>th</sup> of November[56], was almost wholly taken up with matters of religion. By an Act made this session, priests were allowed to marry. Another confirmed the new liturgy, about which commissioners, appointed for examining and reforming the several offices, had been employed all the summer.

This new liturgy retrenched divers abuses, both in the communion service, and all the other offices, and gave the whole a turn favourable to the Reformation. It is the same the Church of England makes use of at this day, excepting a few alterations[57].

The Protector and the Archbishop of Canterbury were the chief supports, and most zealous promoters of the Reformation, though always in pursuance of the maxim they had established, namely, to advance by degrees. Whatever reasons they had thus to proceed, the zealous of the reformed party were not pleased with it, because they were afraid that, by some sudden and unexpected revolution, the work would be left unfinished.

They knew the Protector was hated and envied by the nobility, and that all the Romish party had a mortal aversion for him. This was sufficient to create a dread, that his enemies would at length prevail over him; the administration, he was entrusted with, being of such a nature, that it was almost impossible not to render himself in some measure obnoxious. They had the more reason to be alarmed, when they saw him forced to arrest his own brother, who had now formed a party to supplant him.

## **Project of The Admiral Against The Protector**

Though the admiral had already endured a great mortification, he ceased not however his practices against the Protector, in spite of the warnings which were given him from time to time, that they would in the end prove his ruin. The Queen his spouse dying in September last year 1548[58], he resolved to renew his addressees to the Princess Elizabeth. But he did not meet with that encouragement from the Princess that he had expected.

After all, though he could have obtained her consent, that would not have been sufficient without the approbation of the Protector and the council. The late King's Will expressly debarred her from the succession, if she married without the consent of the executors. So the admiral having no hopes of succeeding in this project, turned his thoughts another way, to try to gratify his ambition. It is pretended, he formed a design to carry away the King, (to his House of Holt in Denbighshire), displace the Protector, and seize the Government himself, and for that purpose had now lifted ten thousand[59] men in several places.

However this be, it is certain he spoke openly against the Protector, charging him with enslaving the Kingdom by means of the foreign troops in his service. It is also said, that the Protector being informed of all his proceedings, shewed extreme patience towards him, refusing to come to extremity, till he saw plainly one or other must necessarily be ruined. But to speak the truth, one cannot rely upon what the historians say of the admiral's private designs, or of the Protector's forbearance.

The reason is, as some make it their business to blacken the Protector's reputation as much as possible, so others strive to vindicate all his actions. Thus much is certain, the admiral was not satisfied with his condition, but fought to supplant his brother, and put himself in his place. But one cannot be so positive of the means he intended to use to execute his designs.

At last the council being informed he was contriving something against the government, signed a warrant to send him to the tower[60]. After that, commissioners were appointed[61] to receive the depositions of those who appeared as witnesses against him. These commissioners reported to the council[62], that the admiral was accused of forming, with several others, a conspiracy against the government[63], and of committing many misdemeanours in the discharge of the admiralty: That he was charged with protecting pirates, (who gave him a share of their robberies) and with refuting Justice, whether to private persons or to Princes themselves, who complained to him of these outrages, by which the King was in danger of a war.

## **The Admiral is Sent to The Tower**

It is said, before he was brought to his trial, the Protector endeavoured more than once to persuade him to resign his office, and withdraw from court; but to no purpose. So his accusation was drawn, consisting of thirty three articles, upon which some of the council were ordered to go and examine him. But he refused to answer demanding an open trial, and his accusers to be brought face to face. Next day, all the Privy-Council went in a body to the tower to examine him. But he refused to answer, insisting upon his first demand, which was not thought proper to be granted.

It is strange, that, as the particulars of his charge were manifestly proved, if any credit is to be given to the council book, not only by witnesses, but by letters under his own hand, he should however be denied an open trial, and to have his accusers brought face to face. And yet he was a Peer of the Realm, Lord High-Admiral of England and uncle to the King.

**1549 AD]** At last, finding he could not obtain this favour, or rather Justice, he desired the articles of his accusation might be left with him, and said, he would answer to them when he had considered them. But even this was denied him.

I don't know whether it was lawful then to leave with the party accused the articles of his charge, and to allow him time to examine them. But as for the bringing his accusers face to face, it is evident that could not be refused without injustices, though this pernicious custom had been introduced in the late reign. Nay, it seems, it ought to have been abolished during a minority, or practised against any other rather than against an uncle to the King.

## **His Accusation is Brought Before Parliament**

However, the Council having made their report to the King[64], it was debated, whether the Admiral's affair should be brought before the Parliament, and a Bill put in for attainting him, to which all the counsellors agreed, the Protector himself not excepted. Herein their design was doubtless, to take care of the King's reputation, and to cast the odious part of the prosecution upon the Parliament.

The King, who believed his uncle guilty, consented also, that he should be delivered to the justice of the Parliament. Before the two Houses proceeded against him, some of their members[65] were ordered to go and take his defence. He gave an answer to the first three articles, and then stopped on a sudden, and would not go any farther. This being reported, the Bill of Attainder very easily passed the House of Lords[66].

But there was much more opposition in the House of Commons. They could not forbear exclaiming against attainders in absence, and the irregular manner of judging the accused, without



confronting them with the witnesses, or hearing their defence. Perhaps they would have thrown out the Bill upon this single consideration, if the King had not sent them a message, that he did not think the Admiral's presence necessary, and that it was sufficient they should examine the depositions produced in the House of Lords[67].

After the King had thus made known his will, the Commons in a full House of four hundred, passed the Bill, not above ten or twelve voting in the negative. Very probably, they were convinced of the truth of the depositions, and, the point in question being only an irregularity, which was even become a custom, did not believe it a proper reason to put a stop to it. However this be, the Royal Assent being given to the Act, the Admiral was beheaded the 20<sup>th</sup> of March[68].

### **The Protector's Conduct is Very Much Censured**

This tragedy was not acted without giving occasion to severe censures upon the Protector's conduct. It was said, if the Admiral was guilty, it was only against his brother whom he would have supplanted, and probably, it was this same brother who was his adversary, and had brought him to the scaffold. It was added, the council would never have proceeded so rigorously against the Admiral, if they had not thought it agreeable to the Duke his brother, or been afraid of displeasing him by a denial.

The young King himself, then but twelve years old, would never have been induced to compel, as I may say, the House of Commons, to overlook the irregularity of the proceedings, if he had not been solicited by the Protector to take so unusual a step. It is therefore very difficult to justify the Duke of Somerset prosecuting his own brother to death, for crimes committed against his person only. And indeed, it was never clearly proved, that he had formed any ill design either against the King or the state, as he protested to his last breath.

But this is not the only time that plots against the ministers have been reckoned high treason. For my part, I cannot help suspecting, that they who then thought of ruining the Protector, feigning to be his friends, moved him with all their power to be revenged on his brother, and were ready to serve as instruments of his vengeance, to render him odious. Some say, the first occasion of the quarrel between the two brothers, sprung from the Duchess of Somerset's envy at the Queen-dowager, wife to the admiral, of whom she pretended to take place as the Protector's Lady.

But it is unlikely she should be so void of sense, or so ignorant of the customs of England, as to dispute the precedence with the Queen-Dowager[69].

Before the Parliament broke up, a subsidy was given the King to assist him in the conquest of Scotland, which is called in the Act, a part of his dominions. Then the Houses thanked him for the great happiness they enjoyed under him, and for applying all his endeavours to the advancement of the true religion. The clergy also granted him a subsidy [70], after which the Parliament was on the 14<sup>th</sup> of March prorogued to the 4<sup>th</sup> of November[71].

Presently after, the council appointed commissioners to go and establish the new liturgy in all the churches. It was every where received without opposition, except at the Princess Mary's, who would never submit to this Change.

The King and Council seemed resolved to compel her. But upon the Emperor's intercession, it was thought advisable, for reasons of State, to promise to leave her undisturbed for some time. He pretended afterwards, that the promise was made without any limitation.

At this time, the Council being informed that several German Anabaptists were come into England, and fearing, they might spread their errors, commissioned Cranmer and some others to search after and try these people[72]. An unfortunate English woman, Joan Bocher, commonly

called Joan of Kent, who had suffered herself to be seduced, shewing an invincible obstinacy, was pronounced a heretic, and as such delivered over to the secular arm, and sentenced to be burnt.

But when the King was moved sign the warrant for her Execution, he could not be prevailed with to do it. He thought the sentence was very unjust and cruel. Archbishop Cranmer, who had a great influence over him, was employed to persuade him to sign. At length, the young King, silenced rather than convinced by Cranmer's reasons[73], set his hand to the warrant, with tears in his eyes, telling him, if he did wrong, since it was in submission to his authority, he should answer for it to God.

Whatever the Archbishop's arguments were, it may be affirmed, this was not one of his brightest actions. He would doubtless have done better, not to have concerned himself in such an affair, so little becoming a Protestant bishop. Accordingly this proceeding has been often objected to him, and even served for foundation to, very disadvantageous reflections upon the Reformation and the reformed. Two years after, a Dutchman was also burnt on the same account{74}.

## **Complaints of The Nobles Against The People**

Whilst all England seemed to receive with submission whatever came from the Court, the leaven of discontent was fermenting in the Kingdom, and upon the point of producing great alterations. The chief cause proceeded from the people's not being able to gain their livelihood with the same ease as formerly.

This affected all in general, as well of the new as of the old religion. But the priests, the suppressed Monks, and they who were still addicted to the Romish religion, took occasion from thence to inflame the discontent universally spread among the common people, in order to incite them to a rebellion.

Besides, the Duke of Somerset's enemies were not sorry that the people appeared dissatisfied with the government. But before I speak of the insurrections in several parts of the Kingdom during the course of this year, it will be necessary to make known the causes.

## **Occasion of These Complaints**

After the suppression of the abbeys, there were great numbers of Monks dispersed in the Kingdom, who were forced to work for their living, their pensions being either ill-paid, or not sufficient for their subsistence. So, the work being divided among so many hands, the profit became less than before. Moreover, whilst the monasteries stood, their lands were let at easy rents to farmers, who, to cultivate them, were obliged to employ a world of people.

But after these lands were fallen into the hands of the nobility (and gentry), the rents were much raised, whence the farmers, to make them turn to better account, were forced to employ fewer hands, and lessen the wages. On the other side, the proprietors of the land finding, since the last peace with France, the woollen trade flourished, took to breeding sheep, because wool brought them in more money than corn.

To that end, they caused their grounds to be enclosed. Hence arose several inconveniences. In the first place, the price of corn was increased, to the great detriment of the meaner sort of people. In the next place, the landlords, or their farmers wanted but very few people to look after their flocks in these enclosures. consequently great numbers lost the means of getting their livelihood; and the profit of the Lands, which before was shared among many, was almost wholly engrossed by the landlords. This occasioned numberless complaints and murmurs among the common people, who saw they were like to be reduced to great misery. Nay, several little books were

published, shewing the mischiefs of these proceedings. But the nobility and gentry still continued the same course, without regarding the consequences.

The Protector openly espoused the cause of the poor people, whether to mortify the nobles, by whom he was not beloved, or because he foresaw the mischiefs which might arise from the discontent of the Commons. In 1548, the inhabitants about Hampton Court complaining to the council concerning a park enclosed there by Henry VIII, the Protector gave them content, and the Park was entirely laid open.

The last year, he had appointed commissioners to examine whether those who had purchased the abbey lands kept hospitality, and performed all the conditions on which these lands were sold to them[75]. But he met with so many obstacles in the execution of this order, that it had no effect.

Meanwhile, the Protector increased the hatred of the nobility and gentry, whose interest it was to continue these abuses. Nay, it happened in the last session of the Parliament, that the Lords passed an act for giving every one leave to enclose his grounds if he pleased. But the Bill was thrown out by the Commons; and yet the lords and gentlemen went on enclosing their lands.

This bred an universal discontent among the people, who imagined, there was a settled design to ruin them, and reduce them to slavery. Whereupon the common people rose in Wiltshire, and Somersetshire, but Sir William Herbert dispersed them, and caused some to be hanged. About the same time, there were the like insurrections in Sussex, Hampshire, Kent, Gloucestershire, Suffolk, Warwickshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, and Worcestershire.

## **The Protector Tries in Vain to Redress The People's Grievances**

The Protector perceiving the flames were kindling all over the Kingdom, sent to let the People know he was ready to redress their grievances, and by that means stopped their Fury. To perform his promise, he brought the affair before the council, hoping some expedient would be found to satisfy the malcontents. But he met with so great opposition, that he thought himself obliged to take care of it by his sole authority.

So, contrary to the mind of the whole council, he published a proclamation, against all new enclosures, and granted a general pardon to the people for what was past. He moreover appointed commissioners with an unlimited power to hear and determine causes about enclosures, highways, and cottages. These commissioners were much complained of by the nobility and gentry, who openly said, it was an invasion of their property to subject them thus to an arbitrary power.

## **The People Rise Again**

Nay, they directly opposed the commissioners when they offered to execute their commission. For this reason, the Protector, who every where met with opposition, was not able to redress this grievance so fully as he desired. So, the people finding the court did not perform what the public was promised, rose again in several places, and particularly in Oxfordshire, Devonshire, Norfolk, and Yorkshire. Those in Oxfordshire were immediately dispersed by the Lord Gray[76]

The insurrection in Devonshire was more considerable and dangerous. That county abounding with people, who had only complied outwardly with the alterations in religion, the priests and monks ran in among them, and fomented the rebellion to the uttermost of their power. They first came together on the 10<sup>th</sup> of June, and in a short time grew to be ten thousand strong. The Protector neglected this affair at first, in the expectation that this might be as easily dispersed as were the other insurrections.

At last, finding they persisted in their rebellion, he sent the Lord Russel with a small force to stop their proceedings. That Lord, who found himself too weak to attack them, kept at some distance[77] and offered to receive their complaints, and send them to the council.

## **The Rebels Demands**

But this proceeding, which demonstrated a fear of them, served only to encourage them the more. At the same time they set at their head Humphrey Arundel, a Cornish gentleman, who was come to join them. Meanwhile, to shew they had not taken arms out of wantonness, they sent to the King's general their demands, which plainly shewed, religion was the chief motive of their rebellion. They were comprised in these fifteen articles:—

- I.** That all the General Councils, and the antient Canons of the Church should be observed.
- II.** That the Act of the six articles should be again in force.
- III.** That the Mass should be in Latin, and the priests alone should receive,
- IV.** That the sacrament should be lifted up and worshipped, and those who refused to do it should suffer as heretics.
- V.** That the Sacrament should only be given to the people at Easter in one kind.
- VI.** That baptism should be administered at any hour and at all times.
- VII.** That Holy bread, Holy water, and palms be again used, and images set up, with all the other antient ceremonies.
- VIII.** That the new liturgy should be laid aside, and the old offices as well as the processions restored.
- IX.** That all preachers before their sermons, and priests in the Mass, should pray for the souls in purgatory.
- X.** That the people should be forbid to read the Bible.
- XI.** That Dr. Moreman and Mr. Crispin should be restored to their Livings.
- XII.** That Cardinal Pole should be restored, and made of the King's Council.
- XIII.** That every gentleman might have only one servant for every hundred marks of yearly rent belonging to him.
- XIV.** That the half of the abbey lands should be taken from the possessors, and adjudged to two of the chief abbeys in every county; and all the church boxes for seven years should be given to the said houses, that devout persons might live in them, who should pray for the King and the Commonwealth.
- XV.** That for their particular grievances, they should be redressed, as Humphrey Arundel and the Mayor of Bodmyn should inform the King and the council.

These extravagant demands were rejected with indignation. However, to shew the unreasonableness of them, the Archbishop of Canterbury was ordered to draw an answer to each

in particular. This he did very solidly, not without reproaching them for being misled by some ignorant persons.

Then the rebels perceiving, the court granted not one of them and reduced them to eight, which were not more agreeable than the former. Nevertheless, to convince the people of the justice of this refusal, the council thought fit to send an answer to these demands in the King's name. But this was not capable of reclaiming the rebels, whose obstinacy grew the more dangerous, as at the same time there were the like risings in Norfolk and Yorkshire, and as the King of France was entering le Boulonnois with an Army. I shall speak of the rebels of the other counties after having finished what concerns those of Devonshire.

### **They Besiege Exeter**

The Negotiation breaking off in July, the rebels besieged Exeter[78], where they met with more resistance than they expected, from a place defended only by the citizens. As they had no artillery, they set fire to one of the gates, in order to storm it as soon as the violence of the flames was over. But the inhabitants, instead of quenching the fire, fed it with much fuel, till they had raised a rampart within the gate. The besiegers having missed their aim, wrought a mine: but the citizens found means to countermine, and spoil their powder.

At length, finding they could do nothing by force, they turned the siege into a blockade, in hopes that the want of provision would compel the besieged to surrender. But the citizens endured extreme famine for twelve days, with invincible resolution[79].

Meantime, the Lord Russel who had but a small force, being too near the rebels, would have retired at a greater distance, for fear of being enclosed. But he found they were possessed of a bridge behind him[80], over which it was necessary to pass in order to be out of danger. As there was no other road, he briskly attacked the guard, consisting of two thousand men, and after a slight conflict became master of the bridge[81].

This trial convincing him, they were not so formidable as he imagined, he resolved to attack them as soon as he had received a supply which he expected from Bristol. Shortly after, the Lord Gray joining him with some troops, and Spinola with a body of landsquenets, he marched directly to the rebels[82]. He found a body of them posted on the side of a river, who would have opposed his passage, but attacking them immediately, slew above a thousand, and then continued his march to Exeter.

At his approach, the rebels raised the blockade, and divided themselves into small parties, which were easily dispersed one after another. Arundel their leader, the Mayor of Bodmyn[83], and some others, were hanged soon after. Thus ended the insurrection in Devonshire[84].

### **Ket's Insurrection in Norfolk**

The rising in Norfolk was no less dangerous. One Ket in a tanner headed the rebels, who quickly became twenty thousand strong. The Marquis of Northampton was sent against them with eleven hundred men only[85], too small a number to inspire them with terror. Wherefore he had orders to keep at some distance from them, and try only to cut off their provisions. Ket marching to Norwich was advanced as far as Monshold Hill above that city, where he erected a sort of a tribunal to administer justice as a sovereign, under an old oak, called from thence the oak of Reformation.

This was because these talked only of reforming the state, Religion being neither the cause nor pretence of their rising. Their design was to destroy the Gentry, and put some of their own body about the King to direct and govern him.

The Marquis of Northampton neglecting to observe the orders given him, marched on to Norwich, and even entered the City. But as the rebels had correspondents there, he was attacked the next day, and glad to escape, leaving a hundred of his men dead on the spot[86], with thirty prisoners. This loss obliged the court to end the army deigned against Scotland, under the command of the Earl of Warwick. It was composed of six thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse.

With this considerable body the Earl of Warwick entered Norwich, where he waited for a favourable opportunity to attack the rebels. At last, as they had themselves wasted the country about them, and as the Earl never failed to cut off their convoys of provisions, they were forced to remove. Then it was that the Earl of Warwick closely followed them, and without allowing them time to come to themselves, fell upon them, killed two thousand, and took many prisoners, among whom was Ket their captain, who atoned for his crime on a Gibbet at Norwich[87]

### **The Yorkshire Rebels Accept A Pardon**

At the same time that the malcontents of Norfolk began to rise, those of Yorkshire also took arms; but their number never exceeded three thousand[88]. They committed some outrages at first, but at length accepted the offer of pardon which was sent them. Some of the ringleaders renewing afterwards the sedition, were taken and hanged at York.

During these commotions, the Protector discovered by all his proceedings, that he did not desire to come to extremities with the rebels; whether he was persuaded the people had reason to complain, or was willing to gain their favour, since he was hated by the nobility. Nay, after all the troubles were over, he moved in the council, that there might be a general pardon proclaimed, for restoring the peace of the Kingdom.

But this was strongly opposed. Many of the council were for taking this occasion to curb the insolence of the people. But the Protector, being of another mind, gave out, by his sole authority, a general pardon of all that had been done before the 21<sup>st</sup> of August, and excepted only a few rebel-prisoners. He had power to act in this manner by virtue of his patent, but it inflamed the hatred of the nobles, as well as of a good part of the counsellors, who were vexed to see themselves consulted only for form sake, and that their opinions were of no weight.

### **The King of France Enters Boulogne**

Whilst the court was employed in quelling the insurrections, other troubles unexpectedly arose from another quarter. Henry 11, finding it a favourable juncture, entered the territory of Boulogne at the head of an army, though there had been no declaration of war between the two crowns since the last treaty of peace. Nothing was more express than that treaty, wherein Francis I. and Henry VIII. agreed, that Boulogne should be restored to France in eight years, on payment of two millions of Crowns of Gold to the King of England.

But Henry II was no sooner on the throne of France, than he formed the design of recovering Boulogne before the time appointed, and without paying the stipulated sum. His reason was, that Henry VIII. had unjustly made war upon Francis I. when Francis was employed against the Emperor.

From thence he inferred, he might himself improve a favourable opportunity, to repair the loss sustained by the King his Father. It is not necessary to examine here Henry's grounds, I mean, the pretended injustice done to his predecessor. It suffices to observe, that according to this maxim, the most solemn treaties are to go for nothing.

And yet, it is but too much followed, and as if it was an undeniable truth, it is an inexhaustible source of wars between sovereigns.

However this be, Henry seeing that the commotions in England presented him with a fair opportunity to execute his designs upon Boulogne, took several castles in the Boulonnois. Then, he ordered the Fort of Bullenberg to be attacked, where his troops were bravely repulsed. At the same time there was a sea fight between the French and English near Jersey, each claiming the victory[89], as it often happens in such engagements.

At length, Henry besieged Boulogne in September, and the English believing they could not keep Bullenberg, carried away their canon, and blew up the fortifications. The plague, which seized the French Army, obliging Henry to depart, he left the management of the siege to Gaspar de Coligny Lord of Chatillon, who after some fruitless attempts was forced at last to turn it into a blockade.

## War With Scotland

The War with Scotland was not successful to the English during this campaign. De Thermes, who had succeeded Dessé, took Broughty Castle. On the other hand, the Protector finding himself obliged to employ the army, designed for Scotland, against the rebels of Norfolk, and not daring even to fend that army at a distance from the centre of the Kingdom, resolved at length to demolish Hadington; which was done the 15<sup>th</sup> of September.

## The Protector Thinks of Restoring Boulogne

Meanwhile, the war, begun by the King of France, made the Protector extremely uneasy. He had certain advice that Henry II was entered into a treaty with the German Protestants, and had promised them a strong aid as soon as he had recovered Boulogne. Hence it was easy to perceive, he would make a powerful effort next campaign, and in order to withstand him, England would be obliged to make a considerable armament. But the King's exchequer was very low[90], and there was danger of raising new commotions, in demanding fresh subsidies of the Parliament.

On the other hand, as the Protector was extremely zealous for the reformation, he plainly saw nothing could be more advantageous than the union of France with the German Protestants. But he was sorry, it was to cost the English Boulogne. The Protector also considered, if the war with France should last any time, there was some reason to fear the Romish party would excite troubles in the Kingdom. In that case, he foresaw how difficult it would be to maintain three wars at once[91].

In short, there was another reason which concerned him in particular, and made him desirous of a peace with France, namely, the war might give his enemies too great an advantage, on account of the ill accidents it might produce, whereas a peace enabled him to parry their blows.

He was not ignorant there was a strong faction already formed against him, as well by reason of the enmity at his greatness, and of his disobliging the nobility and gentry in the affair of the enclosures, as because of the injury he had done to many of the counsellors, in depriving them of the dignity of regents, and reducing them to the bare state of privy counsellors.

Among these, the chief were, the Earl of Southampton, who had resumed his place in the council, and the Earl of Warwick, This last was extremely ambitious; he envied the Protector, and esteemed him but little. As of all the Lords who had most access to the court, he thought himself the only person fit to succeed him in the administration of the government; he reckoned, if he could but ruin him, he should infallibly profit by his disgrace. Upon this account, he had formed in the Council itself a strong party, of which the Protector had some knowledge, but which he saw himself unable to ruin at once.

All these considerations made the Protector resolve to propose to the council the restitution of Boulogne to France. He seconded his motion with all the reasons he thought most plausible, adding, that by concluding a peace with France, England would at the same time be freed from

a burdensome, and withal a fruitless war with Scotland, since it was not possible to obtain the end proposed in beginning it.

This proposal was received by the council with marks of indignation, and considered as a real cowardice. It was too nice an affair, for the Protector to determine it by his own authority. And therefore, though he plainly perceived the faction against him would carry it, he was willing his proposal should be debated in form.

## **Paget Sent to The Emperor**

The result of the debate was, that Boulogne should not be restored, but an alliance with the Emperor endeavoured for the security of that place. Paget was appointed for the embassy, because being devoted to the Protector, the ill success which was expected from this negotiation, was deigned to be thrown upon him, in order to blacken the Protector himself.

## **Several Reports are Spread Against The Protector**

The Duke of Somerset's enemies having resolved to execute the plot contrived against him, began with spreading reports to destroy his reputation. It was said, he was more cruel than a wild beast, since he, scrupled not to sacrifice his own brother to his boundless ambition:—

**That** he was the cause of the insurrections this summer, by countenancing the people, and intimating, he thought them unjustly oppressed:

**That** afterwards he favoured the malcontents to the utmost of his power during their actual rebellion, and when their fury was stopped, granted them a general pardon, contrary to the mind of the Council:

**That** to maintain himself in the post he had usurped, he entertained foreign troops, having extorted the council's consent:

**That** he was raising a much larger and more stately palace than the King's, and had pulled down several churches for the sake of the materials, and alienated church lands to bear the charge[92].

**That** he had the boldness to, call himself by the Grace of God, Duke of Somerset, as if he was a Sovereign Prince:

**That** he had kept for himself the money raised by the sale of the chantry Lands:

**That**he had broke through the establishment settled by the late King, by seizing the Regency alone, and excluding the other executors, who had no less right than himself:

**That**he had ill-provided the forts of the Boulonnois, that their loss might render a peace with France absolutely necessary:

**That**he had demolished Hadington in Scotland for the like reason:

**That**he had most presumptuously assumed the government of the Kingdom; and procured the King's letters patents to countenance his ambition:

**That**besides, he used his power tyrannically, rejecting the opinions of the council, and acting in many things by his own authority.



In short, Paget being returned from his embassy, without succeeding in his negotiation, it was rumoured, that he had the Protector's orders to represent the impossibility of engaging the Emperor in the defence of Boulogne, that it might give a colour to the base project of restoring that place.

As it was impossible, all these reports should be published and the Duke not hear of them, and guess the authors, the whole month of September was spent in disputes or and heats; his enemies only seeking an occasion of quarrel to execute what they had resolved.

Meanwhile, the Protector seeing his enemies acting almost openly, was afraid they had formed a design to carry away the King, and to that end corrupted those about him. For this reason, to secure himself against such a design, he placed his own servants about the King[93], with orders to watch narrowly what passed. This proceeding furnished his enemies with the pretence they were seeking.

### **The President and Several Councillors Meet and Resolve Against The Protector**

On the 6th of October the Lord St. John, President of the Council, the Earls of Southampton, Warwick, and Arundel. Sir Edward North, Sir Richard Southwel, Sir Edmund Peckham, Sir Edward Wotton, and Dr. Wotton, met at Ely House in Holbourn[94], and sat as the King's Council. Secretary Petre being sent to them in the King's Protector's name to ask the reason of their meeting, they forced him to stay with them.

Being thus met, they considered the state of the Kingdom, and laid on the Protector the blame of all the pretended disorders, and of the late losses in France, taking for granted, they would not have happened had he followed the advice of the Council. Then they declared, they had that very day intended to confer with him, but hearing he had armed his servants, and many others whom he had placed about the King, did not think they ought to expose themselves to his violence.

This done, they sent for the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London, with the Lieutenant of the Tower, and expressly forbid them to own the Duke of Somerset for Protector. The Lieutenant of the Tower[95]promised to obey. The Mayor and Aldermen answered more cautiously. But in all likelihood most of them were now gained, as it plainly appeared two days after.

Upon the first news of the counsellors undertaking, the Protector removed the King to Windsor, and armed such as he could assemble at Windsor or Hampton Court. This furnished his enemies with a fresh occasion to complain, that he had carried the King to a place where there were no provisions fit for him, so they took care to send him what he might want from London.

The same day, being the morrow after their meeting, seven counsellors, namely, the Lord Chancellor Rich, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and the Lord Chief Justice Montague, came and joined with them. Whereupon they wrote to the King a letter full of expressions of their duty, complaining of the Duke of Somerset's, not hearkening to their counsels, and of his gathering a force about his person, to make him believe they had ill designs against him, though they had nothing in view but his good and welfare. They wrote also to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to Paget, ordering them to see that the King's own servants should attend on him, and not the Duke of Somerset's.

### **They Win The Common Council to Their Side**

On the 8th of October they went in a body to Guild Hall where the common council was assembled. They so declared, they were so far from having any ill designs against the King[96],

that their sole aim was to take him out of the hands of the Duke of Somerset, who considered only his own private interest. Whereupon the Common Council openly declared, they were ready to support them to the utmost of their power.

The Duke no sooner heard that the City of London, lieutenant of the Tower had forsaken him, but he was entirely discouraged. He called together the few counsellors then about the King, and protesting, he had no design against any of the counsellors, offered to submit to the judgment of two of those that were present, and two of those that were at London.

This offer made him lose five counsellors more, who seeing him thus yield, did not think it prudent to expose themselves for the sake of a man they believed already undone. So, though they approved not the proceedings of those at London, they joined with them however next day, being the 9th of October.

These five were, the Lord Russel, the Lord Wentworth, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Anthony Wingfield, and Sir John Baker Speaker of the House of Commons.

### **He is Declared by The Councillors Worthy to Be Protector**

From that day, the Duke of Somerset's affairs daily declined, every one forsaking him when he was seen himself to despair of maintaining his ground. Nay, upon an information to the Privy Counsellors his enemies, that he had said if they intended to put him to death, the King should die first; and boasted, it was in his power to carry the King out of the Kingdom, they declared him unworthy of the Protectorship, though they had no proofs of his speaking these words.

After that they published. a manifesto, to inform the public of the reasons of their conduct. Then, they wrote to the King, that his Royal father having appointed them executors of his will, and Regents of the Kingdom, they had chosen the Duke of Somerset to exercise the office of Protector, with the express condition, that he should do nothing without their advice; which condition he had not observed, but had made himself absolute master of the government.

Therefore, they judged him unworthy of that honour, and prayed his Majesty's leave, to discharge the office committed to them by the late King, and that the forces gathered about his person by the Duke of Somerset, might be dismissed.

### **The King Approves The Counsellors' Proceedings**

Of all the Privy-Counsellors, only the Archbishop of Canterbury and Paget stayed with the King, who seeing the impossibility of withstanding the opposite party, advised the King and the Duke to give the Council the satisfaction they desired. The King consenting to it, the counsellors at London had notice of it by an express.

As they had foreseen the Duke would be obliged to submit, they had already sent Deputies<sup>[97]</sup> to Windsor, with a charge to see that the Duke of Somerset should not withdraw, and that some of his confidants should be put under an arrest<sup>[98]</sup>.

### **The Duke of Somerset is Accused**

On the 12th of October, the counsellors, came in a body to the King, who received them graciously, and assured them, he took all they had done in good part. Next day they proceeded to the examination of the Duke's friends, who were sent to the Tower, except Cecil, who had his liberty. On the 14<sup>th</sup> the Duke of Somerset was called before them, and the articles of his accusation were read to him, the principal whereof were as follows:—

- I.** That he had not observed the condition on which he had been made Protector.
- II.** That he had treated with ambassadors without notifying it to the council, and by his own authority had disposed of governments and bishoprics.
- III.** That he had held a Court of Requests in his own House[99].
- IV.** That he had embased the Coin.
- V.** That he had issued out proclamations in the affair of enclosures, against the mind of the whole council.
- VI.** That he had not taken care to suppress the late insurrections, but had even supported and encouraged them.
- VII.** That he had occasioned the loss of the forts in the territory of Boulogne, by neglecting to furnish them with provisions and ammunition.
- VIII.** That he had endeavoured to instil into the King an ill opinion of his counsellors, by persuading him they intended to destroy him, and had even ordered some persons to put the King continually in mind of it, lest he should forget it.
- IX.** That he had caused the Lords of the Council to be proclaimed traitors.
- X.** That he had maliciously not only put the King in great fear, by carrying him so suddenly to Windsor, but cast him into a dangerous disease.
- XI.** That he had armed his friends and servants, and left the King's servants unarmed; and that he intended to fly to Jersey or Guernsey.

Upon these accusations, to which it was then not a time to answer, he was sent to the tower; those whom he had taken so much pain to humble, being become his proper judges. He could not indeed deny the truth of most of the facts laid to his charge. But the question was, whether they were crimes, for he was accused neither of fraud, nor rapine, nor extortion. But that was to be decided only by the Peers of the Realm, or by the Parliament.

As soon as the Duke was in the tower, an order was made in Council that six Lords should be the governors of the King's person, two of whom were in their course constantly to attend him[100].

Then it was easily seen that the Earl of Warwick had been the chief promoter of the Protector's ruin, since all the other Counsellors suffered him without opposition to take upon him the principal administration of the government, though without any title which might give him a particular authority.

The enemies of the Reformation gloried in the Protector's fall. They were persuaded, the Earl of Warwick was in his heart more Catholic than Protestant, and his first union with the Earl of Southampton confirmed this belief. Accordingly Bonner and Gardiner, who were then in the Tower, writ to him a hearty congratulation, upon his having freed the nation from the tyrant so they called the Duke of Somerset.

It was even thought for some time, that the Duke of Norfolk was going to be released. But the Earl of Warwick was not yet fully known. That Lord, who was wholly swayed by ambition, was properly of neither religion. He was far therefore from undertaking to destroy the Reformation,

which had too many friends in the Kingdom. On the contrary, knowing how delirious the young King was to establish it, he openly declared in its favour. Thus the adherents of the Pope and the old religion had not long reason to rejoice at the late revolution at court.

Bonner, Bishop of London, had been deprived and imprisoned sometime before this turn. He was known to be strongly addicted in his heart to the Romish religion, and to pay only an outward compliance to what was established by public authority, whilst by a doubtful behaviour he plainly showed his dislike of these alterations.

They who were then at the helm, resolved therefore to put him to a trial, which could not fail either to give them an advantage against him, or make him forfeit the esteem and trust of his party. He was summoned before the Council, and after a declaration of the causes of complaint against him, he was ordered to preach on a Sunday at St. Paul's Cross, and to prove in his sermon certain points, whereof this was one of the principal:—

**That the authority of a King was the same when he was in minority, as when of full Age.**

He preached on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September before a numerous audience, and touched upon all the points that were enjoined him, except the last. Besides, he brought in some things which gave offence to the court. Whereupon the King appointed judges to examine the matter[101]. Dr. Burnet says, he behaved before the judges more like a madman than a bishop. However, he was deprived[102] and sent to the Tower.

It was doubtless with joy that a pretence was found to be rid of such a bishop, who embarrassed the reformers. The Earl of Southampton was no less deceived in his expectations than the rest of his party. He imagined, that having been one of the principal instruments of the Duke of Somerset's ruin, he should be rewarded for this service with the office of high treasurer, or at least restored to that of Lord Chancellor. But he found himself much mistaken.

Rich still kept the Great Seal, and the treasury was given to the Lord St. John, who, some time after, was also created Earl of Wiltshire[103]. It was not the Earl of Warwick's interest, to advance to any high post so intriguing a person as the Earl of Southampton, who, besides, was looked upon as the head of the party against the Reformation. He would thereby have lost the King's favour, whom it was his business to persuade, that religion was not concerned at all in what had passed with regard to the Duke his uncle.

## **The Earl of Southampton Quits The Court and Dies**

So, without a moment's hesitation, he forsook not only the Earl of Southampton, but also all the Romish party, who had flattered themselves with seeing some great change in religion.

Southampton was so full of indignation to be thus slighted, that he could not forbear caballing against the Earl of Warwick: but perceiving Warwick was informed of his proceedings, and knowing his revengeful temper, relinquished his projects. Shortly after, he withdrew from Court without taking leave, and lived at one of his manors, where he died with grief and vexation. Some even say, he poisoned himself[104].

Meanwhile, the war with France made the Council very uneasy. Henry II. it was plain, was resolved to besiege Boulogne, and it was justly feared that place was not tenable. Whilst the Duke of Somerset was alone burdened with that encumbrance, his enemies would have it to be cowardice to resign Boulogne to avoid a war, wherein they hoped to find an occasion to ruin him.

But when they had the Government in their hands, they found difficulties in that affair, which they would not own, so long as they thought the event would be laid to his charge. They resolved

therefore to send a second embassy to the Emperor[105], to persuade him to take Boulogne into his protection, imagining Paget had magnified the difficulties.

But the ambassadors found the Emperor very cold and constantly alleging his alliance with France. He even told them, that so long as religion continued in England in its present state, the English could not expect much assistance from him. This answer determined the council to make peace with France. We shall see presently the effect of this resolution[106].

The Parliament met the 4th of November, without the Duke of Somerset's disgrace occasioning any change in the affairs of religion. It was still the same Parliament the Duke of Somerset had called, and the council had still the same, maxims with respect to the Reformation, the Earl of Warwick's policy not suffering him to make any change.

The Parliament began with a severe act against unlawful assemblies, in order to prevent any more insurrections. But by another act, the statute against vagrants, as too severe and contrary to the liberties of the nation was repealed and a law made in the late reign revived.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> of January 1550, a Bill of attainder against the Duke of Somerset, with a confession signed by his own hand, was read in the House of Lords. But as some of the Lords suspected this confession to be extorted, four temporal Lords and four bishops were sent to know the truth from his own mouth[107].

Next day, they made their report, that the Duke thanked the House for their kindness, and owned he had freely subscribed the paper, after having confessed the contents before the King and council. He protested however, he had no ill intention against the King or State. Whereupon, he was fined by act of Parliament in two thousand pounds a year of land, with the forfeiture to the King of all his goods, and the loss of all his places.

**1550 AD]** Many thought his confession very strange, and much censured so abject a proceeding. But it was doubtless because they wished he had taken another course, which would not have failed to prove fatal to him. It is certain, among the articles of his accusation, there were several which could be justified only by the intention, which would have been little serviceable to him in the House of Peers, most of whom were not inclined to favour him.

For instance, to mention only the chief article, could he deny that, contrary to the condition on which he was made Protector, he had degraded as it were the other regents, and reduced them to bare counsellors? It is true, he might have alleged the King's Patent. But it was the Patent of a minor King, not eleven years old, who, looking upon him as his governor, acted only by his advice, as it was said in the very Patent which conferred his authority on him.

Wherefore, the Duke could never have cleared himself upon this article, nor upon several others. Consequently his only remedy was to own himself guilty of all, and cast himself upon the King's mercy. Besides, it concerned him highly to get out of prison on any terms, since it was very dangerous for him to remain any longer in the hands of his enemies. He was very successful in this course.

They who wished his destruction seeing the King had been very hardly prevailed with to consent to his trial, thought it was not yet time to push their hatred any farther, till they had ruined him in the King's favour. He came therefore out of the tower the 6th of February, giving a bond of £10000 for his good behaviour, and ten days after he had his pardon. Thus his fall was not so great as his enemies expected. He forfeited however much of the esteem he had acquired among the people, who not diving into the reasons of his conduct, could not help thinking him guilty, since he had confessed all. But the King judged otherwise, since on the 6th of April following, he gave him a place again in his Council[108].

## **Parliament Confirms The New Liturgy**

Meanwhile, the Parliament knowing, the friends of the Romish church drew from the Duke of Somerset's fall consequences which might breed ill effects, thought it proper to confound their hopes. To that end an act of Parliament was made, confirming the new liturgy, and ordering all missals, breviaries, &c. to be delivered to such as should be appointed to receive them, and all the Prayers to the saints to be dashed out in all the primers set out by the late King.

## **Parliament Orders Images to be Burnt**

Moreover, those who had any Images he even told them, that so long as religion continued in and taken out of churches, were required to burn or deface them before the last of June[109]. Then the Parliament was prorogued on the 1<sup>st</sup> of February, after granting the King a subsidy[110], which was followed by a general pardon, in which the prisoners of the tower were excepted. It was during this session that the eldest sons of peers were first permitted to sit in the House of Commons[111].

After the late revolution at court by the Duke of Somerset's disgrace, the Earl of Warwick had not forgot himself. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of October last, he was made Great Master of the King's Household, a new title introduced by Henry VIII, instead of that of Steward of the Household, when he conferred this office on the Duke of Suffolk[112].

But it was not so much by his posts that the Earl of Warwick was grown powerful and considerable, as on account of his directing the council, who acted only by his advice. Some of the counsellors looked upon him as their friend, others as the head of their party, and some were afraid of offending him. What he had lately done with regard to the Duke of Somerset, demonstrated how dangerous it was to have him for Enemy.

Notwithstanding all his greatness, the Earl of Warwick was not a little embarrassed concerning the affair of Boulogne. He had himself most exclaimed against the Duke of Somerset, for proposing to resign that place, and ridiculed all his reasons, and yet for these same reasons, he resolved at length to do what he so much blamed in another.

But not to appear inconsistent with himself, he chose to cause the restitution of Boulogne to be moved and resolved in council, and to appear himself to be no farther concerned, than to comply with the opinion of the majority. It is not very difficult for one that directs an assembly, to procure what resolutions he pleases without acting openly. But the difficulty consisted in the dishonour of making the first step, and the danger of showing a desire to conclude a peace with France.

The Earl of Warwick soon found an expedient to avoid this inconvenience, by employing one Guidotti, an Italian merchant, who lived at Southampton. This man coming to Paris on some pretence, insinuated himself into the constable's family, who was the King's chief favourite.

In his conversation with some of the constable's officers, he said, he verily believed the court of England might be easily brought to restore Boulogne for a sum of money.

The Constable, to whom this was told, presently guessed the meaning. He spoke himself to Guidotti, and charged him to intimate to some one of the Council of England, that the King of France had rather end the affair of Boulogne by a treaty than by arms. Whereupon Guidotti made several journeys to London and Paris. At last he set the matter in so fair a way, that the courts, being equally desirous of ending it, agreed to send plenipotentiaries to some place in Picardy, to treat of a peace and the restitution of Boulogne[113].

Monsieur de la Rochepot of the House of Montmorency, Gaspar de Coligny, afterwards admiral, and two more, were appointed by France ; and the court of England made choice of the Lord

Russel, Paget now made a Baron[114], Secretary Petre, and Sir John Mason. Their instructions were a clear evidence, that the council would have a peace at any rate. The substance of them:—

**I.** That as to the place of congress, they were not to appear very difficult. But, if possible, they were to have it at Calais or Boulogne.

**II.** They might offer the restitution of Boulogne.

**III.** But then they were to demand that the young Queen of Scotland should be sent home, to consummate her marriage with the King of England.

**IV.** That the fortifications of Blackness and Newhaven should be demolished.

**V.** That the pension promised by Francis I. to Henry VIII should be continued, and all arrears paid. But if they could not obtain the first, they were to be satisfied with the arrears.

**VI.** That as for Scotland they should affirm, England could not treat without the Emperor's concurrence. But if the Emperor would agree to it, the King of England would restore all the places he held in Scotland, except Aymouth and Roxburgh.

**VII.** That if the French spoke any thing of the King's marrying Henry his daughter Elizabeth, they should answer, they had no instructions upon that head, and should insist upon the King's being so young.

The Plenipotentiaries meeting near Boulogne[115], those of France said plainly, it was not to be expected that the King their master would send back the Queen of Scotland, since he designed her for his son the Dauphin:

**That** as for the [perpetual] pension, Francis I. promised it when forced by his affairs, but the King his son never intended to be tributary to England:

**That** however, they were ready to treat about the restitution of Boulogne for a sum of money:

**That** moreover, the King their master did not mean, the English should keep any one place in Scotland.

This was talking imperiously. But Henry II. Had discovered the intentions of the council of England, and was resolved to improve the occasion to cause to vanish the grating claim of the Kings of England to the crown of France, or at least to the perpetual pension promised by Francis I. in lieu of that claim.

Some time after, the English ambassadors received fresh instructions, empowering them to conclude a peace upon terms less difficult to be obtained than those first demanded. However, as the court of England would not absolute desist from the pension, an expedient was found, with which that court was satisfied, namely, all claims of the two Kings were to remain as before, except such as should be adjusted by the treaty, which was at length signed the 24<sup>th</sup> of March, and was in effect as follows:—

**I.** That the City of Boulogne should be restored to France, with all the ordnance and ammunition found there by Henry VIII, when he took the place.

**II.** That in consideration of Henry's improvements and charges in transporting provisions and ammunition, the King of France should pay the King of England the

sum of four hundred thousand crowns of gold[116], half on the day of restitution, and half before the 15<sup>th</sup> August.

It is to be observed upon this article, that the King of France very carefully avoided mentioning either the pension stipulated in the last treaty of peace; or even what was due to the crown of England since the time of Charles VIII, which had been always increased afterwards by several treaties.

**III.** That for the security of the payment of the two hundred thousand crowns in August, France should give six hostages, and England the like number[117], for the security of the restitution of Boulogne.

**IV.** As to Scotland, it was agreed, that the King of England should deliver to the Queen of Scotland the two forts of Lauder and Douglas, with all the ordnance, except what was brought thither from Hadington.

**V.** That if these two forts remained in the King of England's power, he should be obliged to demolish the fortifications of Aymouth and Roxburgh, which should never be re-built by England or Scotland; But if he restored Lauder and Douglass, he should however be obliged to raze Aymouth and Roxburgh, provided the Queen of Scotland demolished also Lauder and Douglass, and that none of these four places should be ever re-fortified.

**VI.** That the King of England should make no new war upon Scotland, unless he had fresh cause: That is to say, Edward relinquished his marriage.

**VII.** That the King of England's demands, claims, and pretensions, as well upon France as Scotland, and all the King of France's and the Queen of Scotland's upon England, should remain as before.

Thus all the pains taken by Henry VIII to secure a pension, or rather a yearly tribute in lieu of the title he pretended to have to the crown of France, were rendered fruitless by this treaty, which contained, in favour of England, only an indeterminate reservation of the claim which had occasioned the effusion of so much blood since the Reign of Edward III.

There remains to the Kings of England only the empty title of King of France, none of Edward VI's successors having ever seriously thought of prosecuting their pretended right.

The Treaty being brought to London to be ratified, the Earl of Warwick feigned sickness, not to be obliged to sign a peace he had so much exclaimed against. But this was only to impose on the public, since he had signed all the orders and instructions, by virtue whereof the ambassadors had concluded it.

The restitution of Boulogne opened the eyes of the people, with respect to the conduct of those at the helm. They who had now delivered up that place for four hundred thousand crowns, in lieu of the two millions Francis had promised to pay, were the same who some months before had reviled the protestor for only intending to restore it. The Earl of Warwick, who had the chief direction of affairs, and whose interest, it was to procure the people's affection, seeing them a little enraged, thought proper to divert them, by giving them some satisfaction in other respects.

To that purpose, he called to a strict account those who had managed the King's money, or been guilty of misdemeanours in the exercise of their offices. He had also in this another motive; namely, to pay the King's debts, which were considerable. In this inquisition, his chief friends who had served him as instruments to ruin the Duke of Somerset, were least spared.



The Earl of Arundel was fined in £12000, payable in twelve years. Southwel was put in the fleet, and the rest made their compositions with the court as well as they could. As there were few but what were guilty of some misdemeanour, this inquiry established the Earl of Warwick, every one fearing he would find means to be revenged of those who expressed not great submission [118].

In the course of this year there were some changes in the bishoprics. The See of Westminster, vacant by the resignation of Thirleby, was united to that of London, and given to Ridley Bishop of Rochester[119]. Thirleby had the See of Norwich, Poinet that of Rochester[120], and on the third of July, John Hooper was made Bishop of Gloucester[121]

### **Polydore Virgil Retires into Italy**

This year, Polydore Virgil, an Italian, who had been forty years in England, had leave to go and spend the residue of his days in his own country. The King permitted him to enjoy his preferments [122], in consideration of his having employed the best part of his life in writing the History of England[123].

Before we proceed to the next year, it will not be improper to mention what had passed in foreign countries.

### **Pope Paul III Dies - Cardinal Pole Elected Pope**

Paul III dying the 13<sup>th</sup> of November 1549, the cardinals who entered the conclave the 29<sup>th</sup> of the same month, agreed in few days to raise Cardinal Pole to the Papal throne, and even came in the night to his chamber to adore him according to custom. But he desired them to defer the ceremony till it was day, telling them it ought not to be a work of darkness. This scruple, unheard of till then, seemed to them so extraordinary, that some imputed it to stupidity. Others were afraid, if Pole was Pope, he would reform the court of Rome, and the college of cardinals in particular.

### **Cardinal Pole Replaced Julius III**

However this be, from that moment they thought of electing another Pope. After which, being divided into three factions, they could not agree upon the person till the February following, when they chose the Cardinal de Monte, who took the name of Julius III[124].

### **The Affairs of Germany**

In Germany, the Emperor having opened the diet of the Empire about the end of July, would have obliged all the Protestants to submit to the determinations of the council, now removed back to Trent. Maurice Elector of Saxony strongly opposed it, but with so much caution and regard for the Emperor, that he did not lose his favour. On the contrary, the Emperor agreed, that the diet should declare him general of the army of the Empire, to end the war by the siege of Magdeburg, the only Protestant town which still held out. Maurice had great designs, which the Emperor knew not, till it was too late to hinder the execution.

### **Affairs of Scotland**

Scotland enjoyed a great tranquillity after the conclusion of the Peace[125]. James Hamilton Earl of Arran in Scotland, and Duke of Chateleraut in France, still governed the Kingdom as Regent. But he was himself governed by the Archbishop of St. Andrews his natural brother, a man of a very lewd and infamous life. Let us return to England, and see what passed there during the year 1551.

## **Affairs of Religion**

**1551 AD]** After the conclusion of the peace with France and Scotland, the principal affair in the Kingdom was that of the Reformation, which the young King wished to bring to as high a degree of perfection as possible. He was kept in this disposition by Cranmer, and the rest of the reformers.

The Earl of Warwick appeared also very forward to complete this work, because he thereby insinuated himself more into his young master's favour. The constant maxim of the Romish party, was to oppose with all their power any intended alterations, before they were established by Law. But they complied with them, at least outwardly, when there was no remedy, till a favourable opportunity should offer to throw off the mask.

It was not possible to be rid of these hypocrites at once, because they gave no advantage by their outward behaviour. But they were narrowly watched, that their false steps might be improved. By this means Bonner was put out of the way last year, and by the same method Gardiner was this year deprived on the 18<sup>th</sup> of April[126].

### **A Confirmation of Faith Prepared**

During all the rest of the year, chosen commissioners were preparing a Confession of Faith[127], which was the last mortal wound to be given to the old religion. Some places of the new liturgy were also corrected[128]; But the Princess Mary refused to submit to these or the former changes. She continued to have Mass said in her house, and thereby drew upon herself great mortifications from the council and the King himself, who seemed resolved to force her to a compliance.

### **The Princess Mary Refuses The Confirmation of Faith**

She was so alarmed at it, that she formed a design to withdraw out of the Kingdom, by means of some vessels which the regent of the Low-Countries was to send upon the coast of England. But but the design being discovered, the execution was prevented, though it should seem that Princess would have occasioned far less trouble and embarrassment, had she been out of the Kingdom.

In all appearance, the project of excluding her from the succession was not yet formed, neither was the King's death thought so near as it was.

### **The Earl of Warwick Designs to Remove Mary from The Succession**

This Princess's obstinacy drew upon her the King her brother's displeasure, who from thenceforward lost much of the esteem and affection he had for her. It was this, probably, that inspired the Earl of Warwick with the thoughts of excluding her from the succession, and of forming in favour of his own family the project mentioned hereafter.

It will be necessary however briefly to say here, that this project was, to marry the Princess Elizabeth abroad, to cause Mary to be set aside, and to marry one of his sons to Jane Grey, eldest daughter of Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, and of Frances Brandon, who was the next in the succession, after Henry VIII's two daughters[129].

At this time the sweating sickness broke out in England with great violence, carrying off in twenty-four hours such as were seized with it, in spite of all remedies[130]. If we may believe the historians, this sickness was peculiar to the English nation. It did not seize the foreigners

who were in England, and in other Countries Englishmen only were afflicted with it. For this reason it was called the English sweat.

## **The Earl of Warwick Links Himself to The Family of The Marquis of Dorset**

There is much the same thing to be observed among the Polanders, who are alone subject to a distemper they call plica[131], unknown, as it is affirmed, in all other countries. The Duke of Suffolk, son of Charles Brandon by his second wife, died of the sweating sickness, as did also two days after his brother, who had succeeded him. So, the title of Duke of Suffolk being void, the Earl of Warwick resolved to procure that Honour for the Marquis of Dorset, father of Jane Grey, whom he designed for one of his sons.

He wanted the concurrence of that Lord, to set the crown on his daughter's head, to whom the mother was moreover was to resign her right. It is however very difficult to conceive, that the Earl of Warwick should have formed this project so early, since Edward was in good health, in his fifteenth year only, and very likely to have a numerous issue.

## **Design of Marrying The Princess Elizabeth to The Prince of Denmark**

The Earl of Warwick must therefore have known that the King was to die very soon. And this is what they would insinuate, who made him form his design at the time I am now speaking of, and before the King was seized with his last illness, in order to represent him as the author of his death.

However this be, it is pretended, all this Lord's proceedings, from the death of Jane Grey's two brothers, to the end of this reign, had relation to this project; as, for instance, the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the King of Denmark's eldest son, which he caused to be privately treated, but without effect.

The marriage of the King himself with a daughter of Henry II King of France, which was negotiated and concluded this year, seems directly contrary to the Earl of Warwick's designs, supposing they were already formed.

Wherefore Dr. Burnet says by the way, that this marriage was only to amuse the young King. Hayward, who wrote the *History of Edward VI*, says also, that after the marriage was concluded, Edward thought himself in perfect safety, though indeed he was in extreme danger. But whatever the Earl of Warwick's motive might be, the Marquis of Northampton, the Bishop of Ely, and some other ambassadors were sent with a splendid retinue to carry the Order of the Garter to Henry II, and to propose a marriage between his daughter the Princess Elizabeth, and Edward.

Henry being then at Chateaubriant, the English ambassadors came to Nantes, from whence they were conducted to Court. The Marquis of Northampton, as head of the embassy[132], presented the collar of the Order to the King. Then the Bishop of Ely desired him to appoint commissioners to treat with them about an affair tending to the common good of the two Kingdoms.

## **Treaty About The King's Marriage**

The commissioners being named, the ambassadors proposed the marriage of Edward with the princess Elizabeth, and the treaty was signed at Angers, the 19<sup>th</sup> of July. The Princess's portion was to be two hundred thousand crowns, and her dower as great as any Queen of England had

ever enjoyed. But the marriage was not to be contracted by words of the present tense, till a month after the Princess was twelve years of age.

This hindered it from being consummated, because Edward died before that time. Shortly after, Henry II. sent a noble embassy into England, of which the Marshal de Montmorency was head, with the Order of St. Michael to the King.

Foreign affairs being finished, the Earl of Warwick applied himself to domestic, or rather to his own. He caused Henry Grey Marquis of Northampton, to be created Duke of Suffolk, and himself Duke of Northumberland[133]. William Paulet Earl of Wiltshire and Lord Treasurer, was made Marquis of Winchester[134], and Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke[135]. They who were on this occasion dignified with new honours, were the intimate Friends of the Earl of Warwick, now Duke of Northumberland, who fought to establish himself in the post he possessed of chief Manager of the public affairs, though without any Patent to give him that authority.

## **The Ruin of The Duke of Somerset Determined**

This Lord could not however enjoy a perfect tranquillity, so long as he still saw such a rival as the Duke of Somerset, who might one day be restored to favour, and who was really endeavouring to regain the post he had formerly possessed. Edward was near the time of his majority, and daily increased in the knowledge of affairs.

The Duke of Northumberland had therefore to fear, that when the King should compare his administration with the Duke of Somerset's, he would perceive, the last had been wrongfully deprived of his dignity. Besides, Edward still expressed great esteem for his uncle, and gave him frequent and public marks of it. All this made the Duke of Northumberland very uneasy, who plainly saw, it would be almost impossible to execute his projects whilst he had such an inspector as the Duke of Somerset.

He determined therefore to be rid of this troublesome rival at any rate, and to that end made use of two ways. The first was to ruin him in the King's favour, by means of certain emissaries, who beset him continually[136]. The second was, to cause his enemy such mortifications as should throw him upon actions that would give an advantage against him.

These two ways succeeded to his wish. The King by degrees took a disgust at his uncle, and was thereby disposed to receive any ill impressions against him. On the other hand, the Duke of Somerset could not, without extreme impatience, see himself daily exposed to affronts, the more provoking, as they were done with design to incense him. Few have the prudence or moderation to avoid falling into such snares.

## **Reports Spread Against The Duke of Somerset**

It is pretended, that seeing himself thus pushed, he resolved to kill the Duke of Northumberland at a visit he was to make him. Others say, he intended to have invited him to dinner at the Lord Paget's, and there he was either to kill or poison him. At least the historians thus speak of it, because the report was spread both before and after his disgrace, and even imbibed by the King. And yet, his impeachment had no such thing in it, but ran only, that he intended to secure the Duke of Northumberland's person. However this be, it cannot be denied, he had contrived some plot to be restored to his post, and devised, and perhaps imparted to his confidants, several expedients which were imputed to him afterwards as so many crimes, though he had executed none.

One of these confidants was the person that ruined him, being, in all appearance, bribed by his enemy. This man, Sir Thomas Palmer by name, having been secretly brought to the King, told

him all he knew, and probably, so turned his discourse, as to make the King believe that bare projects or thoughts were fixed and settled designs[137].

However, the King being persuaded, his uncle would have assassinated the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke, consented that he should be brought to his trial. So on the 17<sup>th</sup> of October the Duke was apprehended and sent to the Tower, with many others accused of being his accomplices. Next day, the Duchess of Somerset, with two of her women were also arrested, and after that, the Earl of Arundel and the Lord Paget underwent the same fate.

## **Remarks on The Charges Brought Against The Duke of Somerset**

As soon as the Duke of Somerset was in the tower, his pretended crimes were everywhere published with circumstances proper to impose on the people. Upon these extravagant accusations it is that the historians, Doctor Burnet excepted, have built their accounts of this event. What is most probable, is, that the Duke had projected to get himself declared Protector in the next Parliament, since the Earl of Rutland affirmed it upon oath.

### **The Witnesses Are Not Confronted**

As to the means he intended to use for that end, very likely he had devised several, but not yet fixed upon any, except that perhaps of securing the Duke of Northumberland's person. As the custom of bringing the witnesses face to face had been some time since laid aside, we must be contented with knowing what the witnesses deposed against him, without any possibility however of receiving from, thence an unquestionable proof of the truth of the facts. Every one is sensible, what great alterations the confronting of witnesses is capable of producing in seemingly the most positive depositions.

Palmer deposed, that Sir Ralph Vane was to have headed two thousand men to support the Duke of Somerset's designs, who with a hundred horse[138], was to have fallen upon the guard, that being done, the Duke intended to have gone through the city proclaiming, liberty, liberty and in case he failed to raise the people, to have fled to the Isle of Wight. One, Crane affirmed the same thing, and added, that the Earl of Arundel and the Lord Paget were privy to the conspiracy.

Upon these dispositions, the Duke was brought to his trial before the peers on the first of December, the crimes laid against him being cast into three articles:—

- 1) **THAT** he had designed to seize on the King's person, and the administration of the public affairs.
- 2) **THAT** he with one hundred others intended to imprison the Duke of Northumberland.
- 3) **AND THAT** he had designed to raise an insurrection in the City of London.

These three Articles, to which the Duke of Somerset's crimes were reduced, plainly shew, there was no proof of his having intended to kill or poison the three Lords abovementioned, though the King had been made to believe it, and the people told the same. Of these three articles the first and third were high treason, and the second, concerning the Duke of Northumberland, was only felony.

He positively denied the treasonable articles, and for the other, which was placed the second in the impeachment, he protested, he had never determined to have killed the Duke of

Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke, but had only talked of it without any intention to do it.

It must be confessed, here is a difficulty which is not easy to be resolved. The Duke of Somerset is not accused of intending to kill these Lords, and yet he justifies himself on that head. This seems to intimate, there were some such article in the indictment. And yet, Doctor Burnet, an exact historian if ever there was any, and who affirms, he took the accusation out of the records of the council, sets down but three articles, where there is no mention of these Lords, who even sat among the Peers his Judges.

On the other hand, it will appear presently, that the Duke was condemned for felony, which was stretching the rigour of the law as far as it could go, if he was guilty only of an intention to seize the Duke of Northumberland; whereas if he had really intended to kill these three Lords, there was nothing in his sentence but what was agreeable to an act of Parliament.

It must therefore be said, either the famous historian above mentioned, has not exactly related the articles of accusation, or the peers condemned the unfortunate Duke for a crime he was not legally charged with.

The faithfulness and exactness Doctor Burnet has professed, will not allow him to be accused of such a fraud. But the character of the Duke of Northumberland, and of most of the Duke of Somerset's judges, who for the most part were his professed enemies, give but too much occasion to suspect, that the fear of offending the Duke of Northumberland, or some other motives, prevailed over justice[139].

## **The Duke of Somerset is Accused of Treason but is Found Guilty of Felony**

After the Peers had heard the depositions against the Duke, and his defences, they unanimously acquitted him of treason; but found him guilty of felony. They proceeded, in all appearance, upon a statute made in the time of Henry VII[140], which declared it felony to intend to take away the Life of a Privy-Counsellor.

This was stretching very far that severe law, which perhaps was never executed before, especially upon a Duke, Peer of the realm, and uncle to the King. Besides his charge did not run that he had intended to kill these three counsellors, but only had designed to secure the Duke of Northumberland's person. But what is most strange in this trial, is, that these three Lords sat as judges.

Sentence being given, he asked pardon of the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke, for his ill intentions against them. This asking pardon has made several believe him guilty. But it is a question, whether by these intentions we are necessarily to understand a design to assassinate them.

## **The King is Persuaded That The Duke is Guilty**

When the People who were present at his trial, saw he was returned not guilty of treason, they shouted for joy so loud, that they were heard at Charingcross. But their joy was turned into sorrow when they heard he was condemned of felony. Every one believed the Duke would be pardoned, because his execution was deferred almost two months. But so great care had been taken to preprocess the King against him, that young Edward, who abhorred the crimes he believed him guilty of, was very far from any thoughts of granting him a pardon.

It appears in his journal, that one Bartuile had affirmed upon oath, that the Duke of Somerset had hired him to kill the Duke of Northumberland. That the Duke himself had owned it at his

coming to the tower, though he had denied it at first. But it is very strange, this evidence was not produced at his trial.

Nothing argues his innocence in this respect so much as the indictment itself, which ran, not that he had intended to assassinate the Duke of Northumberland, but only had designed to seize and imprison him. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the King believed him guilty of the first of these crimes, since we see in his letter to Barnaby Fitz-Patrick his favourite, then in France, that the Duke had confessed it after sentence, though he had before sworn the contrary[141].

But the King's belief does by no means prove the facts. It serves also equally to prove that the young King was abused, who even shewed afterwards an extreme sorrow for having consented to his uncle's death. The Duke of Somerset was in hopes however of undeceiving the King.

He had now engaged the Lord Chancellor Rich to be his friend, who through a mistake in the superscription of a note he sent to the Duke, discovered his design to use his endeavours for him. This occasioned the Great Seal being taken from him, and given to the Bishop of Ely[142].

As soon as the Duke had received his sentence, great care was taken to divert and entertain the King with pleasing fights, that he might not reflect upon this strange condemnation. At the same time, all his uncle's friends were carefully hindered from coming near him. At last, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January he signed an Order for his execution.

The Duke appeared calm and undisturbed on the scaffold, and made a speech to the people.

"He affirmed, he had never offended the King by word or deed. He gave God thanks for making him his instrument to promote the Reformation, and exhorted the people to persist therein."

When he had gone so far, he was forced to stop, by reason of an extraordinary noise among the People, which lasted some time. Sir Anthony Brown riding towards the scaffold, and crying to the people to give way, made many believe he was bringing a pardon.

On the other side, a company of soldiers who had been ordered to attend at the execution, coming too late, caused others to imagine they were come to massacre them. This bred a terrible disorder, and fatal to some of the spectators who were smothered to death. When the noise was over, he calmly went on with his speech, and said:—

"He had always been most diligent about his Majesty, in his affairs both at home and abroad and no less diligent in seeking the common good of the whole realm."

Here again he was interrupted by the people crying out. It was most true. Then:—

"He prayed for the King, asked forgiveness of all whom at any time he had offended, forgave all his enemies without exception, and desired the people to bear him witness that he died in the faith of Jesus Christ".

When he had ended his speech he turned to his private devotions; after which he laid his head on the block to receive the fatal blow.

Thus fell the Duke of Somerset, concerning whom opinions have been very much divided. Some have represented him as a very wicked man, capable of committing the most heinous crimes, and others, as a very good Christian. It is easy to see that religion was the sole cause of this diversity. Had it not been for the prejudice. religion begets in most men, his faults would not have been so much aggravated, which after all, were some of the least men are guilty of.

On the other hand, without this same prejudice, there would not have been so much pains taken to colour his ambition, which doubtless was a little too great.

They who have made it their business to vindicate all his actions, have also very lightly touched upon the vast riches amassed by him during his administration. Of this Somerset House now standing in London, is an authentic proof. But then, his enemies have made bare accusations artfully spread among the people, and instilled into the King, to pass for evidenced crimes, though it manifestly appears, by the very articles of his indictments, that he was condemned only for an intention to commit an offence, not against the King or State, but against some private persons.

It may therefore be affirmed, that the faults for which he was pardoned after his first condemnation, were much greater than that for which he suffered death. The people, who are seldom mistaken in their judgment of great men, were so generally persuaded of his innocence, that many dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, considering him as a sort of martyr.

Nay, it happened in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, that a woman seeing the Duke of Northumberland leading to the tower, shook one of these bloody handkerchiefs at him, saying, behold, the blood which thou did cause to be unjustly shed, does now apparently begin to revenge itself on thee.

About a month after this execution, Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, and Sir Thomas Arundel[143], who were said to be the Duke of Somerset's chief complices, were also put to death. But they all protested they had never intended to form any plot, either against the King or any Privy-Counsellor. Vane added, he did not doubt his blood would make the Duke of Northumberland's pillow uneasy to him.

As for Palmer, Crane, and Bartuile, who had served as witnesses against the Duke of Somerset, they were easily discharged. Nay, it was observed, there was a great intimacy afterwards between Palmer and the Duke of Northumberland, which gave occasion to believe Palmer had been corrupted to betray the Duke of Somerset who had honoured him with his friendship.

## **Affairs of Germany**

During the year the state of the Emperor's affairs was changed in Germany, when he least suspected it. Maurice Elector of Saxony, having formed the design of restoring his country to liberty, had secretly negotiated a league with France and the Protestant Princes of Germany. But before he declared himself openly, he had a mind to know what might be expected from England.

To that purpose, he sent ambassadors to Edward, to gain him to his interest, and procure a sum of four hundred thousand crowns, by telling him it was for the preservation of the Protestant religion. The ambassadors were told, the King would most willingly enter into a religious league; but did not mean to be engaged, under that pretence, in a war for other quarrels. That if the Elector of Saxony would confer more particularly with the Protestant Princes, and then send the King ambassadors with fuller instructions and sufficient powers, he should have a more positive answer.

Hitherto Maurice had but coldly followed the siege of Magdeburg. But when his private affairs were settled, he so ordered it, by the help of some friends in the town, that the inhabitants surrendered by capitulation.

Then he broke up his army, who parting into several bodies, quartered in the territories of some Popish Princes, putting them under heavy contributions. The Catholics complained very much of their being exposed to these oppressions. The Emperor alone remained in an entire security, without having the Elector.

## **The Council of Trent**



The council being removed back to Trent, was opened again in May 1551. But a quarrel between the Pope and the King of France interrupting the sessions, they were renewed in September; and though Henry. protested against the council, the legates continued it, and caused several points to be decided which are foreign to our purpose[144].

## **Parliament Passes an Act Enjoining The Confronting of Witnesses**

The Parliament met the 23<sup>rd</sup> of January 1552. The Commons seeing the great abuse of the pernicious custom of condemning people without confronting the witnesses, had a mind to put a stop to it. To that end, a bill was prepared, condemning under divers penalties, those who should write or speak against the King, with a proviso, that none should be attainted of treason on this Act, unless two witnesses should come, and to their face aver the fact for which they were to be tried, except such as should confess it.

The Lords were very unwilling to agree to this proviso[145], as if it concerned them less than the Commons, to be freed from oppression. But at length the Act passed as drawn by the Commons.

## **The Marriage of The Clergy Declared Valid**

**1552 AD]** In this session also some progress was made in the Reformation[146]. Among other things, the marriage of the clergy was declared good and valid, which had been for some time considered by the people as only tolerated.

The session of Parliament being about to end, and not above a hundred and thirty seven members remaining in the lower House, a bill was brought into the House of Lords, to repeal the settlement of the Duke of Somerset's estate, made in favour of his Children by his second wife.

In this Bill was inserted a clause, as the foundation of it, that the Duke of Somerset and his complices were justly attainted[147]. But the Commons agreeing to the repeal, rejected the clause. This shows their opinion of the Duke's innocence.

## **Another Fruitless Attempt to Get The Bishop of Durham Condemned**

In this same session, the Duke of Northumberland attempted to get Tunstal Bishop of Durham condemned, who had been accused of misprision of treason[148]. The Lords readily passed the Bill for attainting him, but the Commons would not proceed upon it, because it was intended to condemn the Bishop without confronting the witnesses.

The Duke of Northumberland's aim was to have had the dignity of Palatine of Durham, annexed to that See, conferred on himself. We shall see hereafter, his projects succeeded better another time.

Mean while, finding the Commons had not much condescension for him, because the Parliament had been called during the Duke of Somerset's administration, he resolved to have another which should be more at his devotion. Accordingly this which had now sat five years, was dissolved at the end of the session[149]. Then the Council came to a resolution to call a new Parliament for the next year only, in order to have time to take the necessary measures to cause representatives to be chosen, who should be more favourable to the Court.

## **Alterations as to The Bishops**

There were this year two considerable changes with respect to the Bishops. First Heath and Day Bishops of Worcester and Chichester for too openly opposing the second change was more considerable. After the Parliament had given the King power of nominating to the vacant Sees,

his Patents ran, that he appointed such a one, Bishop of such a See, during his natural life. But at the time I am speaking of, it was thought proper to change the words into, so long as he shall behave himself well[150].

So the Bishops made by these patents might be deprived of their Sees by a bare act of the King's will, without being forced to observe the usual formalities in such cases.

## **The Duke of Northumberland is Absolute**

The Duke of Northumberland still directed the affairs of the government, though he had no commission to distinguish him from the other privy counsellors. His proceedings against the Duke of Somerset, putting every one in fear of being exposed to his vengeance, not a man dared openly to oppose him. We have seen, that in the late Parliament he attempted to render the Duke of Somerset's memory odious, by causing his sentence to be approved by the two Houses.

That project not succeeding, he took another method. He ordered a strict enquiry to be made of all who had been enriched by the chantry lands, given to the King during the Duke of Somerset's administration.

Great numbers were found, some of whom were condemned in heavy fines, and others found means to purchase the Duke of Northumberland's favour. But it was not possible for the Lord Paget to divert the storm which fell upon him, the Duke of Northumberland mortally hating him for having been entirely devoted to the Duke of Somerset[151].

He was not only fined in six thousand Pounds, but also, on pretence that he was no gentleman[152], was degraded from the Order of the Garter, which he had received from Henry VIII, as if that Prince, when he gave it him, knew not his Pedigree. Besides the motive of hatred and revenge by which the Duke of Northumberland was swayed, he had also another, which was to make way for his eldest son[153] the Earl of Warwick, for the lower House, a Bill was brought into the House of whom he easily procured the vacant Garter[154].

About this time the corporation of German merchants, The company who lived in the Still-Yard, was dissolved, because it was become detrimental to England, by engrossing the whole woollen trade[155]. It was proved, that the Still-Yard men in the year 1551, shipped forty four thousand cloths, and all the English merchants together did not export above eleven hundred.

## **Project of Mart Towns**

The regent of Flanders and the City of Hamburg earnestly solicited to have the company restored, but it was to no purpose. The court also set on foot a project for the advantage of the trade of England, Revenue, namely, to open two free mart towns in England, Hull and Southampton. But it was not executed for want of time.

This year Cardan the famous Italian philosopher passed through England in his return from Scotland, where he had been to cure the Archbishop of St. Andrews of a dropsy. His endeavours were crowned with success, but pressed for that purpose, he foretold the Archbishop he was to be hanged. As he passed through England he waited on young King Edward and was so charmed with him, that he every where spoke of him as of a miracle. It is said, he cast his nativity, and foretold to him a long and prosperous life. But for once the rules of his art were not just[156].

## **Affairs of Scotland**

The affairs of Scotland underwent this year some alteration. The Queen Dowager had been in France on pretence of seeing her daughter, and had obtained of that court the regency of Scotland, in the room of the Earl of Arran. In November 1551, she returned to Scotland through England, where she was magnificently treated by the King, and her charges born to the frontiers of the two Kingdoms.

At her arrival in Scotland, she persuaded the Earl of Arran to resign the regency to her, according to the desire of Henry II. and his ministers, the Earl perceiving he could not keep it against their will. The Archbishop of St. Andrews did not like his brother's resigning his dignity. He caballed against the Queen Regent, who had the address to support herself by the assistance of the reformed, promising them the free exercise of their religion in their own houses. By this means, she established herself in the government, in spite of the archbishop's attempts.

## **Revolution in Germany**

The revolution this year in the affairs of Germany was much more considerable. The Elector of Saxony at length discovered his project, but not till after the King of France had proclaimed war against the Emperor, and the Constable de Montmorency taken Metz by surprise. Then Maurice assembling his forces, marched directly to Innsbruck, where Charles V was, and had would like to have taken him prisoner.

Maurice's declaration obliged the Emperor at last to give the Protestants some satisfaction, by granting them the famous edict of Pasau, whereby the several Princes and towns were secured in the free exercise of their Religion. That monarch soon met with another great mortification. He invested Metz, but by the brave resistance of the Duke of Guise, who defended the place, he was forced to raise the siege, Let us return now return to the affairs of England[157].

## **Parliament Favourable to The Duke of Northumberland**

The new Parliament meeting the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1553, the House of Commons consisted of representatives, who, for the most part were disposed to follow the directions of the court. They gave the King a very considerable subsidy, grounded upon the great wasting of his treasure during the Duke of Somerset's administration. This showed what power the Duke of Northumberland had in the House[158].

That Lord procured likewise an act for suppressing the Bishopric of Durham, having first caused Tunstal to be deprived[159]. This Bishopric being suppressed, the King founded two others, one at Durham (with 2000 marks revenue), and another at Newcastle (with 1000), But the temporality of the bishopric being turned into a county palatine, was given to the Duke of Northumberland. Probably, Tunstal was deprived, and his See suppressed for that purpose.

The Parliament sat but one month. It was dissolved the 31<sup>st</sup> of March, after the Duke of Northumberland had procured a subsidy for the King, and a stain for the memory of the late Duke of Somerset[160]. The Court had no farther need of a Parliament, and the Duke of Northumberland's interest required there should be none, when he was preparing to execute his designs.

## **The King's Illness**

The young King had been seized ever since January, with a distemper which at length brought him to his Grave[161]. This did not hinder his being made to sign an order for visiting the churches, and taking thence all the superfluous plate and ornaments. The visitors were likewise to examine very strictly, what embezzlements had been made in that respect. All this was done under colour of selling the superfluities, and giving the money to the poor, who had however the least share[162].

The progress of the French in Germany beginning to make England uneasy, the council resolved to take some measures to stop their career. Nay, they seemed at first to have intended to join in a league with the Emperor against France. But all this ended at last in the offer of the King's mediation, which produced no effect.

Meanwhile, Edward was still troubled with a defluxion upon his lungs, which wasted him by degrees, and daily grew more dangerous. Some plainly affirm, a slow poison was given him, and throw the suspicion upon the Duke of Northumberland. Others only insinuate such a thing, without saying it positively. But after all, both speak only by conjecture, without giving any proof.

The young King saw death approaching without any fears as to himself, but could not reflect, without an extreme concern, on the future state of religion, under his sister Mary, who was to succeed him. Very probably, the Duke of Northumberland, who constantly attended him in his illness, took care to increase his fears, on purpose to lead him more easily to the point he desired.

All hopes however of the King's recovery were not given over till the middle of May, when it is likely, the physicians told the Duke of Northumberland, his case was desperate. Then it was that he married the Lord Guilford Dudley, his fourth son, the only one unmarried, to Jane Grey, the eldest daughter of the new Duke of Suffolk, by Frances. Brandon, who was in Henry VIII's will the next in this succession, after the Princess Elizabeth.

### **The Duke Persuades The King to Settle The Crown on Jane Grey**

**1553 AD]** At the same time, Jane's two sisters were also married, the second, the Lady Catherine, to the Earl of Pembroke's eldest son, the Lord Herbert; the third, the Lady Mary, who was crooked, to the King's groom porter, Martin Keys. These marriages were solemnized about the end of May[163] when there was no hope of the King's recovery.

At last, one day, as the young King was expressing his great concern at the thoughts, that his sister, the Princess Mary would do her utmost to destroy the reformation, the Duke of Northumberland broke the ice. He represented to the King, that there was but one way to prevent the misfortunes England was threatened with, in case the Princess Mary ascended the throne after him and that was, to settle the crown on the Lady Jane Grey his daughter-in-law.

Indeed, it was natural, in excluding Mary, to transfer the crown to his sister Elizabeth, whom the King tenderly loved, and who was a hearty friend to the Reformation. But probably, the Duke told the King, as he could exclude Mary, but on the specious pretence of her being illegitimate, the same reason subsisted with regard to Elizabeth, since the marriages of their mothers were equally annulled.

That therefore, either the succession was to be left as settled by the late King, or the Princesses were to be both excluded together. Very likely, the young King, who found himself dying, and only thought of saving the Reformation from the impending destruction, was prevailed with by this argument, to sacrifice the Princess Elizabeth. Besides, he had a great esteem and affection for Jane Grey, who was an accomplished lady both in body and mind.

### **The Judges Refuse to Draw The Settlement**

However this be, the King having taken the resolution suggested to him by the Duke of Northumberland, three judges of the realm[164] were sent for, and required to draw an alignment of the crown to Jane Grey. The judges desired a little time to confider of it. At last, they answered, they could not presume to do any such thing, without being guilty of high treason. Adding, that all the privy counsellors who consented to the assignment, would unavoidably be liable to the pains expressed in the act of succession.

### **The Judges are Forced**

Upon which the Duke of Northumberland was in such a fury, that he would have liked to have beaten the judges; but they stood to what they had said. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of June they were sent for

again, and at length by threats and the expedient of a pardon under the Great Seal, were wrought upon to draw the settlement of the crown, which was signed by all the rest of the judges, except Hales, who could never be prevailed with.

All the privy counsellors set their hands to it likewise on the 21<sup>st</sup> of the same month. Cranmer was absent that day on purpose to avoid signing; but the King importuned him so much, that he set his hand at last as a witness, as it is pretended, and not as a Privy-Counsellor[165].

## **A Woman Undertakes to Cure The King but Cannot - Suspicions Against The Duke of Northumberland**

Meanwhile, the King's distemper increasing, without the possibility of finding any remedy, the Council thought fit to dismiss the physicians, and put him into the hands of a certain woman, who undertook his cure. It was said, this was done by the Duke of Northumberland's advice, and that the woman shortened the King's days. But he was now so ill, that it was entirely needless to hasten his death.

It is true, the woman instead of curing him, only put him to more pain, by the medicines she gave him; and this was sufficient to inspire the people with violent suspicions of the Duke of Northumberland who was not beloved, and was thought capable of anything.

At last the physicians were sent for again. But it was not in their power to stop the violence of his death which carried him out of the world on the 6<sup>th</sup> of July, after his giving sensible proofs of a true piety.

## **The Duke Tries to Have Mary and Elizabeth in His Power**

Some days before his death, the Duke of Northumberland got the Council to write to the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, desiring them to come and keep him company in his sickness. His aim was to have them in his power, that they might, not obstruct the promotion of his daughter-in-law Jane Grey. The two Princesses not imagining the King so near death, were upon the road, but hearing, he was expiring, turned back, and the Duke was disappointed of his expectation[166].

### **Notes to Chapter 1**

1) He continued under the care of the women until he was six year old and then he was put under the Government of of Sir Anthony Cook; of Dr. Richard Cox, master of Eton School, who was his preceptor for Manners, Philosophy and of Divinity and Sir John Cheeke Professor of the Greek tongue in Cambridge who was master for the Latin and Greek languages; as John Belmain was for the French. Burnet. Tom II. Pg 2. Strype's M. Tom. II, pg 8, 9

2) In 25. Henry VIII, he was made one of the Clerks of the Signet; and in the 32<sup>nd</sup>, Clerk of the Council, and of the Privy-Seal; and soon after Clerk of the Parliament for life; and in the 34<sup>th</sup> of the same King, one of the Secretaries of State. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 390.

3) This Gentleman was born at Exeter, and was Son of John Petre of Torbigan in Devonshire. He had his Education at Exeter College in Oxford, where he commenced Doctor of Law; In the year 1534. he was appointed one of the Commissioners for dissolving the Monasteries and in 1544, was made Secretary of State; and in 1549, Treasurer of the Court of First-fruits for life. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 415.

4) He was grandson of Richard Rich, an opulent Mercer in London who was Sheriff of that City in 1441- Idem. p. 387.

- 5) Sir William Willoughby was created Lord Willoughby of Parreham, and Sir Edmund Sheffield Lord Sheffield of Butterwike. Hayward, p. 275.
- 6) Sir William Paget, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, being required to declare what they knew of the King's mind; Paget, whom he had most trusted, declared, that when the evidence appeared against the Duke of Norfolk and his son, the King intended to bestow their lands among the new peers he designed to create. Then he ordered him to write in a book such as he thought meetest. Which done, the King assigned to each such a portion of lands out of the Duke of Norfolk's estate as he thought fit. Paget told him it was too little, and being ordered to acquaint those with it who were to be advanced, many thought so too, and desired to remain as they were. The Duke of Norfolk hearing of this, and fearing if his lands were thus divided, they would never return to his family, sent to desire the King that he would be pleased to settle all his lands on the Prince, for, said he, according to the phrase of those days, *they are good and stately geer*. Whereupon the King resolved to reward his servants some other way, so ordered the book to be thus filled up. The Earl of Hertford to be Earl-Marshal and Lord Treasurer, and to be Duke of Somerset, Exeter, or Hertford and his Son to be Earl of Wiltshire, with £800 a year in land, and £300 a year out of the next bishop's Lands that fell. The Earl of Essex to be Marquis of Essex, and so on, with yearly revenues to them. And the King having promised to give the Earl of Hertford six of the best prebends that should fail in any Cathedral, except deaneries and treasurerships; at his desire the King agreed, that a deanery and a treasurership should be instead of two of the six prebendaries. All this Denny and Herbert confirmed, for they then waited in his chamber; and when Paget went out, the King made Denny read over the book, and Herbert observing the secretary had remembered all but himself, the King bid Denny to write £400 a year for him. Burnet, Tom. II, p. 6, 7.
- 7) On the 6th of February the Lord Protector knighted the King, being authorized thereto by Letters Patents. So it seems, that as the laws of chivalry required that the King should receive knighthood from the hand of some other knight, so it was judged too great a presumption for his own subjects to give it, without a warrant under the Great Seal, The King at the same time knighted Sir John Hoblethorn, the Lord Mayor of London, and William Portman, one of the judges of the King's Bench. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 8. Strype, p. 15.
- 8) Ireland, Calais, Boulogne, and the Marches. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 127.
- 9) On February 16. Strype's Mem. Tom. II. p. 11; and Reposit. p. 15
- 10) To Sion, where they lay the first night. Strype's Reposit. p. 12
- 11) There were forty knights of the Bath, made on this occasion, and fifty five knights of the Carpet, whose names see in Strype's Mem. Tom. II. p. 23. and Reposit. p. 30.
- 12) There was a new form drawn for the Coronation of this King, which the curious reader may see in Burnet, Tom. II. Collect, p. 93, &c.
- 13) Dr. Richard Pates, Mr. Fortescue, and Mr. Throgmorton. Hayward, p. 276.
- 14) To Sir Robert Southwell Master of the Rolls, John Tregonwell, Esq; and John Oliver, and Anthony Bellasis, Clerks, Masters in Chancery. See the Commission itself in Burnet, *ibid*. p. 96.
- 15) Rapin by mistake says July. See Burnet, Tom. II, p. 17.
- 16) By a petition on March 13, *ibid*.
- 17) To set the rest of the Kingdom an example. Evening prayer began to be read in English, in the King's Chapel, on Easter Monday. Stow, p. 594.

**18)** The Bishoprics were divided into six precincts or circuits. The 1<sup>st</sup> was London, Westminster, Norwich, and Ely. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Rochester, Canterbury, Chichester and Winchester. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Sarum, Exeter, Bath, Bristol, and Gloucester. The 4<sup>th</sup> York, Durham, Carlisle, and Chester. The 5<sup>th</sup> Peterborough, Lincoln, Oxford, Coventry, and Lichfield. And the 6<sup>th</sup>, Wales, Worcester, and Hereford. They began their visitation in August, about the time that the Protector made his expedition into Scotland. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 26, 31.

**19)** This year, the *Book of Homilies*, composed by Archbishop Cranmer, was published, and printed twice by Grafton. Strype's Mem. Tom. II. p. 31.

**20)** The other was Sir Robert Bowes. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 31.

**21)** According to King Edward's journal, the English army consisted of thirteen thousand foot, and five thousand horse, (p. 4) But Hollingshead gives us the following particulars. The Duke of Somerset was general of the whole army, and captain of the middle ward which consisted of four thousand foot. The Earl of Warwick led the Fore-ward, containing three thousand foot. And the rear-ward, wherein was the same number, was brought up by the Lord Dacres. The Lord Grey of Wilton, Marshal of the army, was Captain General of the horse, in number six thousand. Sir Francis Brian, Captain of the light horse, in number two thousand. St Ralph Vane Lieutenant of all the men at arms, and demi-lances. Sir Tomas Darcy Captain of all the King's pensioners and men at arms. Sir Peter Mewtas Captain of the Harque-buffers, in number 600. Sir Peter Gamboa of two hundred Harque-buffers on horse-back. John Brenne, Captain of the pioneers, in number fourteen hundred, p. 980.—In the mean time, the fleet advanced towards Newcastle, consisting of sixty five vessels, whereof one galley, and thirty four tall ships were prepared for fighting, the rest served for carriage of ammunition and victuals. Of this fleet Sir Edward Clinton was Admiral, and Sir William Woodhouse Vice-Admiral. Hayward, p. 279.

**22)** Brochty-Crag, a fort in the county of Angus. Camden. Hollingshead says, it was not taken till September 21. p. 990. Edw. Journal, says, it was after the battle.

**23)** So Buchanan says, I. 15. But in King Edward's Journal it is said, that it consisted of thirty six thousand men at least, p. 5.

**24)** It slew the Master of Grahme, and twenty others near him. Hollingshead, p. 984,

**25)** Under sixty, says Hayward, p. 287. But Buchanan affirms, that the English lost about two hundred horse in the first charge, I. 15.

**26)** The Mayor and Aldermen of London went out to meet him in Finsbury Field, on October 8, when he returned to that City. Hollingshead, p. 992.

**27)** To the Fleet. Burnet, p. 37. Gardiner was imprisoned June, 31<sup>st</sup> and released about the end of the year. Strype, p. 68.

**28)** His Patent bears the date November 30<sup>th</sup> See Burnet, Tom. III. Collect. p. 406.

**29)** Or rather, all Acts made upon his head, since April 23, I Henry VIII, as it is in the statute.

**30)** Those of 5 Richard II, and 2 Henry V.

**31)** Benefit of the Clergy was an antient liberty of the church, confirmed by divers Parliaments. When a priest or one within orders was arraigned of felony before a secular judge, he might pray his clergy, that is, to be delivered to his ordinary, to purge himself of the offence objected. But the antient course of the law in this point of clergy is much altered, for clerks be no more delivered

to their ordinaries to be purged, but now every man, though not within orders, is put to read at the Bar, being found guilty, and convicted fled of such felony as this benefit is granted for, and so burnt in the hand, and set free for the first time, if the ordinary's deputy, standing by, do say, Legit ut Clericu.

32) This law was thus altered. The King, after the 14<sup>th</sup> year of his age, might by his Letters Patents void any Act of Parliament for the future, except this present Act, and all pardons granted by Parliament, but could not so void it from the beginning, as to annul all things done upon it between the making and annulling it, which were still to be lawful deeds. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 41.

33) And because some persons, on account of the abuses committed by this sacrament, took occasion to despise and revile it, it was furthermore enjoined by this act, That whoever were for the future guilty of depraving or despising of it, should be imprisoned, and make fine and ransom at the King's pleasure. This Bill was first read on November 15, twice on the 17<sup>th</sup> and again on the 24<sup>th</sup> when it was delivered to the Lord Chancellor. The dissentient from it, were, the bishops of London, Norwich, Hereford, Worcester, and Chichester, Journal Parl.

34) But the Fees, usually paid on the collation to a bishopric, were retained, by an article of this Act. They amount to £331, as the reader may see in Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, Tom. II, p. 236.

35) Whereas (says the Act) the bishops did exercise their authority, and carry on processes in their own names, and since all jurisdiction both Spiritual and Temporal was derived from the King, therefore their courts and all processes should be from henceforth carried on in the King's name, and be sealed by the King's seal, as it was in the other courts of common law, excepting only the Archbishop of Canterbury's courts, and all collations, presentations, or letters of orders, which were to pass under the bishops proper seals as formerly.

36) A chantry, was a little church, chapel, or particular altar, in some cathedral-church, &c. endowed with lands, or other revenues, for the maintenance of one or more priests, daily to sing Mass, and perform divine service for the souls of the founders, and such others as they appointed. Free chapels, were independent from any church, and endowed for much the same purpose as the chantries. The obit was the anniversary of any person's death; and to observe such day with prayers, alms, or other commemoration, was called the keeping of the obit—the yearly returns of the day of the death of persons, which the religious registered in their obitual or Martyrology, and annually observed, in gratitude to their founders and benefactors guild, signifies a fraternity or company; from the Saxon, *gildan* to pay, because every one was to pay something towards the charge and support of the company, G. Jacob.— Of these chantries and free-chapels, there were in the Kingdom, two thousand three hundred and seventy four. When they were sold, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of this King, they were valued, in the whole, at about two thousand five hundred and ninety three pounds; and were sold for forty six thousand two hundred and forty nine pounds, fourteen shillings. See Strype's mem, Tom. II. Reposit., p. 85, &c Besides, these chantries, the Parliament granted also the King tunnage and poundage for life. Which was three shillings of every tun of wine, and of sweet wine, six shillings, and of every Aulme of Rhenish twelve pence. The poundage was twelve-pence in the pound, of the value of all goods imported or exported: and two shillings of aliens for tin and pewter exported. The subsidy from wool was 33s 4d. of every sack of wool; and of that exported by strangers, £3 6s 8d of every two hundred and forty wool-fells, 33s 4d; for every last of hides and backs, £3. 6s. 8d. but of strangers, £3. 13s. 4d, Stevens History, p. 231, 132.

37) As did also the bishops of London, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Worcester, Chichester. It was first read in the House of Lords, December 6. and the second, third, and fourth times, on the 12<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, and 15<sup>th</sup> of the same month. It was read again twice on the 24<sup>th</sup> and sent down to the Commons. Journal Parl.



**38)** This is a mistake. There were schools founded by King Edward, at St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, Spillesby and Louth in Lincolnshire, Chelmsford in Essex, Sedbergh in Yorkshire, Shrewsbury, East-Retford in Nottinghamshire, Birmingham in Warwickshire, Morpeth in Northumberland: As also at Macclesfield, Nun-Eaton, Stourbridge in Worcestershire, Bath, Bedford, Guildford, Grantham, Thorne, Giggleswick, St. Albans, Tunbridge, Southampton, Stratford upon Avon, &c which were mostly endowed out of the chantrv-lands. Strype's Mem, Tom. II, p. 535.

**39)** Particularly, the first time Latimer preached at court, the King sent to the Admiral to know what present he should make him: Seymour sent him £40, but said, he thought £20 was enough to give Latimer and the King might dispose of the rest as he pleased. And also, at Christmas the admiral gave Mr. Cheek, the King's tutor, £20. And £20 more, for Edward to distribute among his servants. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 54, Strype, p. 78.

**40)** He told them, if he were crossed in his attempt, he would make this the blackest Parliament that ever was in England. Burnet, Tom. II, p. 53.

**41)** April 24. Sleidan, 1. 19.

**42)** Peter Martyr was invited over in the King's name by Cranmer. He Was born in Florence. He had a pension of forty marks a year, had Ochinus, who was made a canon of Canterbury, with a dispensation of residence. Fagius was Hebrew professor at Cambridge, and had a pension of £100. Peter Martyr had the divinity chair at Oxford, and Bucer that of Cambridge, with a salary of £100/. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 170, 192, 193.

**43)** Dated January 28. Heylin, p. 55.

**44)** All wakes and Plough Mondays were also suppressed. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 59.

**45)** February 11. The People were very forward in several places to pull down the images; and had already begun to do it, before the publication of this order, particularly at St. Martin's Ironmonger Lane, London, and at Portsmouth. Strype, Tom. II. p. 33. About this time, to prevent the mischief occasioned by rash preachers, it was enjoined: That none should preach without licence from the King, and his visitors, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of the diocese, except incumbents preaching in their own churches. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 59.

**46)** Burnet says, Gardiner, when he came before the council, desired that he might be suffered to clear himself of all misrepresentations that had been made of him in a sermon he should preach before the King, in which he should describe how well he was satisfied with his proceedings. But he was far from doing so. Tom. II, p. 68, 70. Stow, p. 596.

**47)** With eight thousand Men. Sir Andrew Dudley was the Governor. Hollingshead. p- 993.

**48)** Which they had sent ambassadors to demand. Buchanan. 1. 15.

**49)** Sir James Wilford was Governor. Hollingshead. p. 995.

**50)** By the isles of Orkney and came to Dunbritton, where the Queen was received on Board.

**51)** King Edward's Journal says, it consisted of twenty two thousand men, p. 5.

**52)** Sir Robert Bowes, and Sir Thomas Palmer were sent before to relieve the place, with a body of thirteen hundred men, but had the misfortune to be surprised and cut off by the enemy. Hollingshead. p. 994.

53) Hollingshead says, that the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lord Grey of Wilton, who served under him, did as much as their commission would bear, p. 995.

54) Dessé, when he got to Edinburgh from Hadington, went to quarter his men in the town, but the provost opposed it. Whereupon the French broke in by force, and killed the provost and his son, with all they found in the streets, men, women and children. Dessé refused likewise to give the Scots any share of the spoil he had taken in England. Burnet, Tom, II. p. 84. Buchanan,

55) The persons employed were Julius Pflugius Bishop of Naumberg, Michael Sidonius, and Islebius Agricola, which last had been a Protestant, but was believed to be now corrupted by the Emperor, that the name of one of the Augsburg Confession might make what they were to set out to pass the more easily. Sleidan, I. 20.

56) It was first prorogued to April 20, and then from October 15. and 25 to November 24. by reason of the plague then in London. *Journal of Parliament*.

57) The Committee of selected bishops and divines appointed for reforming the offices, and which met at Windsor Castle for that purpose, were, Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Holgate Archbishop of York, Edward Bonner Bishop of London, Cuthbert Tunstal of Durham, Nicolas Heath of Worcester, William Rugg of Norwich, Robert Parfew of St. Asath, John Salcot of Salisbury, Richard Samphon of Coventry and Lichfield, Robert Aldrich of Carlisle, Paul Bush of Bristol, Robert Farrar of St. David's, Thomas Goodrich of Ely, Henry Holbeth of Lincoln, George Day of Chichester, John Skip of Hereford, Thomas Thirlely of Westminster, and Nicholas Ridley of Rochester; with Dr. Richard Cox Dean of Christ Church, Dr. May Dean of St. Pauls, Dr. Tailor Dean of Lincoln, Dr. Heins Dean of Exeter, Dr. Robertson afterwards Dean of Durham, and Dr. Redmain Master of Trinity College in Cambridge. The first thing they examined was the sacrament of the Eucharist, than which no part of worship was more corrupted. After which they proceeded to the compiling of all the offices, beginning with morning and evening prayer. These were put in the same form they are now, only there was no confession nor absolution; the office beginning with the Lord's Prayer. In the Communion Service, the Ten Commandments were not said as now; but in other things it was very near what it is now. The office of receiving began with a short exhortation, a confession of sins, and absolution; the very same we yet retain. Then those texts of scripture were read which we read, followed with the prayer. "We do not presume—, &c The offertory was to be made of bread and wine mixed with water. In the consecratory prayer were these words, since left out. With thy Holy Spirit vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son, &c. (This Communion Service was printed in 1547, before the rest of the liturgy was drawn up. See Strype, Torn. II. p. 85. The curious reader may see it, in the form it was published, {which was on March 8. 1547-8} in *Sparrow's Collection of Canons*, &c. and in Collier's Ecclesiastical History. among the records, N. 59). In baptism there was, besides the forms which we still retain, a cross at first made on the child's forehead and breast, with an adjuration of the Devil to go out of him, and come at him no more. To all this they prefixed a preface concerning ceremonies, the same that is still before the *Common Prayer Book*. It is said in the preamble of the act. That there might be an uniform way of worship all over the Kingdom, the King, by the advice of the Protector and his council, had appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. to draw an order of divine worship, which they, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, had with one uniform agreement concluded on. Wherefore the Parliament having considered the Book did enact, &c. This act was variously censured by those who disliked it. Some thought it too much, that it was said the book was drawn by the aid of the Holy Ghost, Others censured it, because it was said to be done by uniform agreement, though eight of the Bishops employed in drawing it protested against it; namely, the Bishops of London, Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Norwich, Hereford, Chichester, and Westminster, as also the Earl of Derby, and the Lords Dacres and Windsor. See Journal Parliament, and Burnet, Tom. II. p. 61, 95. Collier Eccl. Hist. Tom. II. p. 255, &c.

- 58)** She died in childbed, not without suspicion of poison from her husband, that he might be at liberty to make his addresses a second time to the Lady Elizabeth. Stow, p. 596. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 97. Strype, notes on Hayward, p. 301.
- 59)** Rapin, by mistake, says, two thousand. See Burnet, Vol. II. p. 97.
- 60)** January 19. Idem. p. 98.
- 61)** The Lord Russell, the Earl of Southampton, and Secretary Petre. Ibid.
- 62)** On February 22. Ibid.
- 63)** Particularly with Sir William Sharrington Vice-Treasurer of the mint at Bristol, who was to have furnished him with £10,000 a month, and had already coined about £12000 of false money, and had clipped a great deal more, to the value of £40,000 in all. Burnet Tom. II. p. 97. Strype, Tom. II, p. 122, &c.
- 64)** On February 24. Burnet, p. 98.
- 65)** The Lord Chancellor, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Warwick, and Southampton; and Sir John Baker, Sir Thomas Cheney, and Sir Anthony Denny. Idem. p. 99.
- 66)** It was first read on February 25, and for the second and third times, on the 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> and sent down to the Commons, from whence it was brought up again March 5. The Journals of Parliament observe. That the Lord Protector was present at each reading of it.
- 67)** On the 4<sup>th</sup> of March, a message was sent from the King, that he thought it was not necessary to send for the admiral: and that the Lords should come down and renew before them the evidence they had given in their own House. Which was done. Burnet, Tom. II, p. 99.
- 68)** As for his behaviour on the scaffold, Latymer, in his fourth sermon says, that he died very dangerously, yrksomelye, horriblye; so that his end was suitable to his life, which was very vicious, profane, and irreligious. Strype, Tom. II, p. 126, 127. Cranmer's hand, as well as the Lord Protector's, was to the warrant. Burnet, p. 100. The admiral left but one daughter, named Mary, born in September 1548, which was restored in blood in 1549, but died shortly after. Strype, Tom. II. p. 128, &c.
- 69)** This Story was first forged by Sanders, from whence Hayward had it, for it is not to be found in Stow, Hollingshead, or the King's Journal.
- 70)** The Clergy granted six shillings in the pound payable in three years, and the laity twelve-pence. But strangers to pay two shillings; and this to continue for three years. They also gave another aid, namely, of every ewe kept in several pastures, three-pence; of every weather kept as aforesaid. Two-pence of every sheep kept in the common, three half-pence. They also gave eight-pence in the pound of every woollen cloth made for sale throughout England, for three years. Strype's Mem. T. II. p. 454.
- 71)** Besides the two acts made in this Parliament, and mentioned above, the following were also then enacted, **1.** That Malt shall be three weeks in making; except in the months of June, July, and August, when the space of seventeen days is thought sufficient. **2.** That tithes shall be paid as they have been within forty years before; and that no one shall carry away his corn, &c. before he hath set out the tithes, or agreed for them, upon pain of forfeiting the treble value of them. **3.** That an incumbent, not paying his tenths due to the King, When demanded, shall be deprived of that benefice for which they are due. **4.** That butchers, bakers, &c. conspiring and agreeing not to sell meat, bread, &c. but at certain prices: Or workmen refusing to work, except at a certain

price or rate, shall, for the first offence, forfeit £10 for the second £20 for the third £40 to be paid within six days, or else to suffer imprisonment for twenty days.

72) Of these Anabaptists there were two sorts most remarkable. The gentle or moderate sort, who only thought baptism ought not to be given to infants, but only to grown persons. The other sort were men of fierce and barbarous tempers, who denied almost all the principles of the Christian doctrine They had broke out into a general revolt over Germany, raised the war, called, the rustic war, and possessing themselves of Munster, made one of their teachers, John of Leyden, their King, under the title of the King; of the new Jerusalem. Some of them let up a fantastical, unintelligible way of talking of religion, which they turned all into allegories: These being joined in the common name of Anabaptists with the other, brought them all under an ill character. Burnet, Tom. 11. p. 110, &c.

73) King Edward thought it a piece of cruelty too like that which the reformers had condemned in papists, to burn any for their consciences. He asked Cranmer, 'what my Lord.' Will ye have me send her quick to the Devil in her error? So that Cranmer himself confessed, that he had never so much to do in all his life, as to cause the King to sign the warrant, saying, that he would lay all the charge thereof upon Cranmer before God. But to bring him to a compliance, Cranmer argued from the Law of Moses, by which blasphemers were to be stoned. He said, he made a difference between errors in other points of divinity, and those directly against the Apostles Creed: that these were impieties, which a Prince as God's deputy ought to punish. Strong Arguments indeed for its monstrous doctrine of persecution Ibid, Fox, Tom, II, p. 2, Edit. 1684.

74) George Van Pare being accused for saying, that God the Father was the only God, and that Christ was not the very God, was burnt in Smithfield. Whereupon the papists very justly said, it was plain the reformers were only against burning, when they were in fear of it themselves. This Pare was a man of exemplary piety, and suffered with great composedness of mind. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 112. Echard.

75) The commission was to enquire, whether deans and chapters, founded by King Henry VIII, and Edward VI, and to whom divers manors, lands, tenements, &c. had been given, upon condition that they should give and distribute yearly among poor householders and other poor people, divers sums of money, and should also employ other sums in repairing the highways, did observe those conditions? But several lands being afterwards taken from them, this was dropped. See Rymer's Fœd Tom, XV. p. 134.

76) Who was sent against them with fifteen hundred horse and Foot. Hayward, p. 292.

77) At Honiton, Ideum, p, 254.

78) July 2,. Hollingshead p. 1002.

79) They were forced to eat their horses, and to make bread of the coarsest bran. They were much encouraged by an aged citizen, who brought forth all his provisions, and told them, that for his part he would feed on one arm, and fight with the other, before he would consent to put the city into the hands of the seditious. Hayward, p. 295. *Complete History*, Vol. II.

80) Fenington Bridge, Hayward, p. 294.

81) The Rebels lost six hundred men. Ibid.

82) His whole army did not consist of much above one thousand men. The rebels were defeated, August 6. Hayward, p. 295. Hollingshead p. 102.

**83)** Boyer Mayor of Bodmyn was basely used. Sir Anthony Kingston, Provost Marshal of the King's army, sent him word he would come and dine with him upon such a day. The mayor received him and his company with many ceremonies of entertainment. A little before dinner Sir Anthony took the Mayor aside, and bid him get a pair of gallows erected against they had dined, for execution must that day be done in the town. His Orders were obeyed; and after dinner the mayor shewing him the gallows, Kingston asked him, whether he thought them strong enough? And upon his saying, yes doubtless, he bid him go up and try, and so hanged him indeed. Hayward, p. 295.

**84)** During these insurrections, and undoubtedly upon account of them, the Lords Lieutenants of the counties were first instituted. Their commissions are dated July 24, and run. That they should enquire of all treasons, misprisions of treason, insurrections, riots, &c., levy men, and fight against the King's enemies, &c. Strype, Mem. Tom. II. p. 172.

**85)** Fifteen hundred horse, and a small band of Italians, says Hollingshead, p. 1033. and Hayward, p. 297. But King Edward's Journal has 1060 horse. P. 7.

**86)** Among whom was Edmund Lord Sheffield (created Baron I Edward VI.) ancestor of the present Duke of Buckingham. His horse falling into the ditch, he was slain by a butcher with a club. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. II. p. 386. The rebels lost one hundred and forty men. Hollingshead.

**87)** This battle was fought August 27. Idem. p. 1039.

**88)** They assembled at Semor in the North-Riding. Hayward, p. 300.

**89)** In King Edward's Journal it is said, that the French lost a thousand men, p. 6. The French attempted at the same time to land in the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, but were repulsed,

**90)** The charges of King Edward's wars and fortifications, from the beginning of his reign to this year 1549, amounted to one million, three hundred and fifty six thousand, six hundred and eighty seven pounds, eighteen shillings, and five-pence three. farthings. Strype, Tom. II. p. 178.

**91)** Bishop Burnet says, that the ill state of things this year, both at home and abroad, occasioned that change to be made in the office of the daily prayers; where the answer to the petition, give us peace in our time, Lord, which is still continued, was now made, because their is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, God. Tom II., p. 129. But this petition and answer stand in the first liturgy, published in 1548. See his Vol. III, Collect., p. 407.

**92)** This was Somerset House in the Strand, which still bears his name. To make room he pulled down the houses belonging to the bishops of Worcester, Lichfield and Landaff, together with the parish church. And for a further supply of stone, timber, lead and iron, he took down at St. Paul's a cloyster, two chapels, and a charnel house, and most part of the church of St. John of Jerusalem near Smithfield. Hayward, p. 303. Stow, p. 596.

**93)** Who was then at Hampton Court. Burnet, p. 135.

**94)** Which was then the residence of the Earl of Warwick. They met there privately armed. Hollingshead p. 1057.

**95)** Sir Leonard Chamberlaine, *ibid.*

**96)** Or intending to alter religion. Burnet, p. 136.

**97)** Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir Anthony St. Leiger, and Sir John Williams. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 137.

98) Namely, secretary Smith. Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir John Thynn, Edward Wolfe, and William Cecil. Idem. p. 138.

99) The intent of this Court, was to hear poor men's petitions and suits. And upon the hearing of them, he either decided their business, or sent his letters to the chancery in their favour. Which was reckoned to be a stopping of the proceedings of the courts, or influencing the judges. Strype, p. 183.

100) These were the Marquis of Northampton, the Earls of Warwick and Arundel, the Lords St. John, Russel and Wentworth. And these four Knights, Andrew Dudley. Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Thomas Darcy, and Sir Thomas Wroth. Edw. Journal, p. 9.

101) The commission was issued out to Cranmer, Ridley, the two Secretaries of State, and Dr. Day Dean of St. Paul's. They, or any two of them, had full power to suspend, imprison, or deprive him as they should see cause. Bonner, when called before them, said of the witnesses, that one talked like a goose, another like a woodcock, and that Hooper had mis-recited his sayings, like an ass as he was. See the Trial at large, in Fox, Tom, II., p. 20 &c. and Burnet, Tom. II. p. 123.

102) 7) On October 1. Fox, p. 39.

103) William Paulet, Lord St. John, was created Earl of Wiltshire, on January 19; and at the same time, John Lord Russel was made Earl of Bedford. Stow, p. 603.

104) He died at his house called Lincoln Place in Holborn (afterwards Southampton House) July 30. 1550, and was buried in St. Andrews, where fair monument was erected to his memory. Stow's Annuals, p. 604.

105) They sent to him on October 18, Sir Thomas Cheney, and Sir Philip Hobby. Burnet, Tom. II, p. 140.

106) This year, on May 8, commissioners were appointed to visit and reform the University of Oxford. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV, p. 183.

107) January 3, when the Bill was read for the second time; as it was for the third time, Jan. 14. Journal Parl.

108) This year, was published the Bible in English, of Tindal's translation, reviled by Coverdale And also the form of ordination, Strype, Tom. II. p. 200, 203.

109) The other act made in this session were these: I. That a form of consecrating Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, should be drawn by six Archbishops, and six other men of the realm, learned in God's Law, and set forth before the first of April next coming. The Bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Chichester, and Westminster protested against this act. That the *Custodes Rotulorum* shall be appointed by the Lord Chancellor.

110) Twelve pence in the pound of goods, and of every alien two shillings in the pound. See statutes, c, 23. They also released the relief on sheep and clothes, granted 2. and 3. Edward VI, and continued that on goods for three years; which was of every person worth £10 or upwards, in money, goods, &c. 12d in the pound; and of every alien worth 20s and under £10, 12d in the pound. Stevens, p. 232.

111) Sir Francis Russel by his brother's death heir apparent to the Lord Russel, it was on the 21<sup>st</sup> of January carried upon a debate, That he should abide in the house as he was before. So it is entered in the original Journal of the House of Commons, communicated to Dr. Burnet, by Mr.

Surle and Mr Clarke, in whose hand, it was then, and is the first journal that ever was taken in that House. See *History of The Reformation*, Vol. II. P. 143.

**112)** And on February 2, this year, William Parr Marquis of Northampton was made Lord Great Chamberlain of England; the Lord Wentworth Chamberlain of the Household; Sir Thomas Darcy Vice-Chamberlain, and Captain of the Guard; and Sir Anthony Wingfield Controller. Stow, p. 603.

**113)** For this good piece of service, Guidotti had a pension of £250 per annum allowed him by the court of England; and his son John a pension of £35 10s. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV, p. 227, 228. Edw. Journal. p. 11.

**114)** He was summoned to the House of Peers, December. 3.1549, by the Title of Baron of Beaufert. Journal of Parliament.

**115)** The latter end of January. Burnet, Tom. II, p. 148.

**116)** Then of equal value with the English Noble.

**117)** The English hostages were, The Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Hertford, eldest son of the Duke of Somerset, the Lord Mautravers eldest son of the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Talbot, the Earl of Shrewsbury's eldest son, the Lord Straunge, the Earl of Derby's eldest son, and the Lord Fitzwarin, eldest son of the Earl of Bath. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV, p. 214.

**118)** Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Michael Stanhope, Thomas Fisher. and William Grey, each of them acknowledged they owed the King £3000, and Sir John Thynn submitted to £6000 fine, and then were discharged. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 149.

**119)** On February 24. Burnet, p. 149. Miles Coverdale was also made, August 14, next year, Bishop of Exeter, in the room of John Peysey, who resigned, after having alienated almost all the lands belonging to that Bishopric, and reserved to himself a yearly pension of £485. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 166. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV, p. 282, &c.

**120)** Poinet, not having a house upon his Bishopric, held *in Commendam* a Prebend of Canterbury, the vicarage of Ashford in Kent, the rectories of St. Michael's Crooked Lane, London, and of town in the diocese of Bangor. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV, p. 241. but by an order of Council of June 29, 1550, it was decreed, that no Bishop should henceforth keep other benefice than his Bishopric only. Strype, Tom. II. p. 220.

**121)** Upon the vacancies of these, and other Sees, the best and almost all the manors belonging to them, were surrendered into the King's hands, and distributed amongst the courtiers; and to make some sort of compensation, there were bestowed upon the same Sees, either worst manors, or else rectories, and impropriated tithes. Thus on September 26. 1547, Shaxton, Bishop of Lincoln, resigned to the King twenty-four manors; so that at present the revenues of that Bishopric are said to consist of impropriations: Buckden being the only manor it had left. May 20. 1548, the Bishop of Bath and Wells made the like resignation or exchange of ten manors. And April 12, 1550, Ridley Bishop of London yielded up to the King the manors of Stepney and Hackney in Middlesex, and of Branktree and Southminster in Essex; in the room whereof he had the manors of Fering, Kilvedon, &c. in Essex; of Greenford, Hanwell, Drayton, and Paddington, in Middlesex; the advowson of St. Martin's in the Fields, and others; of which the reader may see an account in Strype's Eccl. Mem. Tom. II, p. 217, who there observes, that the advantage of the exchange was considerably on the Bishop's side. The See of Winchester was also regulated. See Ibid. p. 272 Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV. p. 166, 171, 226. King Henry VIII had led the way in this general regulation, as it was called, of the Bishoprics, by a Statute made in the 37<sup>th</sup> of his reign, c. 16. when no less than seventy manors, all at the old rents, were taken at once from the See of

York, and annexed to the Duchy of Lancaster, impropriations and tithes being given in lieu of them; and many were also at the same time dismembered from the Archbishopric of Canterbury. See Stat. 37 Henry VIII. Strype's Mem. T. II. p. 75, &c. Heylin, p. 18.

**122)** His Archdeaconry of Wells, and his Prebend of Nonnington in the Church of Hereford.

**123)** This year, the City of London purchased from the King all the Liberties of Southwark, for the sum of one thousand marks. Stow, p. 604.

**124)** He gave a strange omen of what advancements he intended to make, when he gave his own hat (according to the custom of the Popes, who bellow their hats before they go out of the conclave) on a mean servant of his, who had the charge of his money; and being asked what he saw in him to make him a cardinal? He answered. As much as the cardinals had seen in him to make him Pope. But it was commonly said, that the secret of this promotion was an unnatural affection to him. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 147.

**125)** It had been included in the late peace made between the crowns of England and France; and accordingly took care to have this comprehension ratified. See Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XV. p. 273.

**126)** He must have been deprived sooner; for J. Poinet Bishop of Rochester was translated, on March 23. to the See of Winchester, said then to be vacant by the deprivation of Stephen the late Bishop. See Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XV. p. 253. According to King Edward's Journal, it was on Feb. 13—January 28, this year, a commission was given to several bishops, and others of the clergy and laity, to enquire after, repress, and extirpate the errors of the Anabaptists, libertines, and other heretics. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XV. p. 215.

**127)** It is not known who were the compilers of these articles of the Church of England, being forty two in number, nor what method was taken in preparing them. Burnet thinks they were framed by Cranmer and Ridley, and that they were by them sent about to others, to correct or add to them as they saw cause. The reader may see them in Burnet's Collection, Numb. 55. Vol; II with the differences between these and those set out in Queen Elisabeth's time, marked in the Margin.

**128)** A general confession and absolution was added. And the commandments were put in the beginning of the Communion Service. The Chrism, use of the Cross in consecrating the Eucharist, prayers for the dead, were laid aside. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 169, 170.

**129)** Last year, on June 3. John, the Earl of Warwick's eldest son, married Ann, daughter of the Duke of Somerset. And on the 4th of the same month, Robert, his third son, married Sir John Robert's daughter. Ed'w. Journ. p. 14, 15.

**130)** This sickness began first at Shrewsbury in April, and spreading towards the north, ended not till October. Rapin. Whoever was seized with it, died, or recovered within nine or ten hours at most. If he took cold, he died within three hours; if he slept, within six hours, he died raving. It raged chiefly among young men, of a strong constitution. Edw. Journ, p. 30.

**131)** They that are troubled with it, lose the use of their limbs, as if they had a palsy, and feel great pains in their nerves, which generally continue a whole year. After that they fall into a great sweat at night, and next morning their hair is glued together, and has a nauseous smell, which continues ever after. If they cut their hair, the humour falls on their eyes, and makes them blind. This distemper is infectious, and communicated by coition. Atlas. Geog. Tom. I. p. 199.



**132)** The rest of the ambassadors were, Thomas Goodrich Bishop of Ely Sir John Mason, Sir Philip Hobby, Sir William Pickering, Sir Thomas Smith, and Dr. John Usher. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV, p. 274.

**133)** Henry Percy, the last Earl of Northumberland, dying without issue, his next heirs were the sons of Thomas Percy, who was attainted in the last reign for the Yorkshire rebellion.

**134)** Rapin by mistake says Wiltshire.

**135)** Sir Thomas Darcy, Vice-Chamberlain of the King's Household, Captain of the guard, and one of the four Knights of the King's Privy Chamber, was sometime before, namely, on April 5. created Baron Darcy of Chichester. Dugdale's Baron, Vol. II. p. 393. Edw. Journ. p. 24. And William Cecil, made on September 6. 1550, one of the principal Secretaries of State, was now knighted. (Edw. Jour.) as was also John Cheek, the King's Preceptor.

**136)** Some reported, that he had caused himself to be proclaimed King in divers counties. Hayward, p. 320.

**137)** He afterwards denied all to the Duke of Somerset. See King Edw. Journ. p. 37.

**138)** December 1550. there was appointed a band of horsemen divided amongst the nobles, an hundred to the Duke of Somerset. These were the horse, that with the two thousand men were to set upon the *Gen's d'armes*, who were nine hundred in number. See King Edw. Journal, p. 21. in Burnet, Vol. II.

**139)** The Marquis of Winchester sat as High Steward, and his judges, twenty seven in number, were, the Dukes of Suffolk, and Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, The Earls of Derby, Bedford, Huntington, Rutland, Bath, Suffolk, Worcester, Pembroke; and the Viscount of Hereford, the Lords Abergavenny, Audley, Wharton, Evers, Latimer, Borough, Souch, Stafford, Wentworth, Darcy, Sturton, Windsor, Cromwell, Cobham, and Bray. The Lord Chancellor was left out of the number, being suspected of favouring the Duke of Somerset. Edw. Journ. p. 41. Burnet Tom. 11. p. 179.

**140)** Third of Henry VII. See Statute c. 14.

**141)** The King's words, as in Burnet, are: "The Duke seemed to have acknowledged the felony, and after sentence he had confessed it, though he had formerly vehemently sworn the contrary." So it was not the design of killing, (as Rapin says by mistake) but the felony that the King said, he confessed. Burnet, Vol. II, p. 181.

**142)** The Lord Chancellor intending to send the Duke of Somerset an advertisement of somewhat designed against him by the council, and being in haste, wrote only on the back of the letter, To the Duke, and bid one of his servants carry it to the tower, without giving him particular directions to the Duke of Somerset. The servant fancying it was to the Duke of Norfolk, carried it to him. He, to make Northumberland his friend, sent the letter to him. Rich understanding the mistake, prevented the discovery, and went immediately to the King, and pretending some indisposition, desired to be discharged; and upon that took to his bed. So it seemed too barbarous to do any thing further against him. Burnet, Tom. 11, p. 182.

**143)** The jury could not agree in their verdict concerning this last, so that they remained shut up without meat or drink from noon, January the 28<sup>th</sup> till the next morning, the 29<sup>th</sup> Edw. Journ. p. 46. They were executed on Tower Hill, February 26, Fox, p. 99.

**144)** This year, the King founded a college or a collegiate Church at Galway in Ireland. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XV. p. 258. Strype, p. 259. And appointed a Council, consisting of a president, and thirty other persons for the Government of Wales. Ibid.

**145)** This does not appear. The Commons rejected the bill itself, and then drew a new one, which was passed. See Burnet, Tom. II. p. 190.

**146)** The new *Common Prayer Book*, according to the alterations agreed upon in the former year, with the form of making bishops, priests, and deacons, were appointed to be received every where, after the feast of All Saints next. Soon after, it was by the King's order translated into French, by Francis Philip, and printed in 1553, for the use of the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, and the town of Calais. *Collier's Ecclesiastical History*, Tom. II. p. 321. Strype, p. 377. And a letter was written, on July 11, 1552, to Sir Peter Meutas, Captain of the Isle of Jersey, to command him that Divine Service might there be used as in England. Edw. Journ. p. 58. By another act the Bishopric of Westminster was suppressed, and united to London; but the collegiate Church, with its exempted jurisdiction, was still continued about this time, David's Psalms began to be turned into English rhyme, by Thomas Sternbold, one of the grooms of the King's privy chamber. He translated only thirty seven. The rest were done by John Hopkins, and others. Heylin, p. 127.

**147)** It was read thrice in the House of Lords, on April 12. Journ. Proc.

**148)** By one Mainvil; He was charged with consenting to a conspiracy in 1553, for raising a R rebellion in the north. This charge was grounded upon a letter of his, found among the Duke of Somerset's papers. See Burnet, Tom. III p. 205.

**149)** April 15. Journ. Parl. The acts made in this session, besides those already mentioned, were as follows: **1)** An act enjoining the keeping of Holy days, and fasting days. What days were particularly specified, see in the act itself. **2)** That no one shall quarrel in a Church or Church-yard, upon pain of suspension; nor strike, upon pain of excommunication; nor draw a weapon, upon pain of losing one of his ears. **3)** That no person shall forestall any market, or engross any goods, upon pain of forfeiture of the goods, and two months imprisonment for the first offence; half a year's imprisonment, and the double value of the things, for the second; and the pillory, and forfeiture of all his goods, besides imprisonment, for the third offence.

**150)** The first patents with this clause in Rymer's *Fœdera*, are those of John Hooper, *Durante vitâ naturali, fi tamdiu fe bene gesserit*. Act. Pub. XV. p. 298. May 10. Rapin. This year the See of Gloucester, of which Hooper was bishop, was quite surprised, and converted into an exempted Archdeaconry; and Hooper was made Bishop of Worcester. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 203. Rymer's *Fœd*, Tom. XV. p. 297, &c. 320.

**151)** He had been Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and was charged with many misdemeanours in that office: Particularly, with selling the King's lands and timber without commission; taking large fines for his own use; making leases in reversion for above twenty one years. Edw. Jour. p. 55.

**152)** His Father was one of the sergeants at mace, in the City of London. Dugdale's *Baron*, Vol. II. p. 390.

**153)** Sir Andrew Dudley his Brother. See Strype, Tom. II. p. 401.

**154)** On February 2, this year, there was a King at Arms appointed for Ireland, by the name of Ulster. Edw. Journ. p. 46.

**155)** Henry III had been much supported in his wars by the assistance he received from the free towns of Germany in recompense whereof he gave them great privileges in England: they were made a corporation, and lived together in the Still Yard near the bridge. They had gone sometimes, particularly in the reign of Edward IV, beyond their charters, which thereupon judged to be forfeited, but by great presents they purchased new ones. They traded in a body, and so ruined others by under selling them. Trade was now risen much; courts began to be more

magnificent, so there was a greater consumption of cloth than formerly. Antwerp and Hamburgh had then the chief trade in these parts of the world, and their factors in the Still Yard (So called from the steel imported by them) had all the markets of England in their hands, and let such prices both on what they imported or exported as they pleased, and broke all other merchants. Whereupon the merchant adventurers complained of them, and after some hearings, it was adjudged that they had forfeited their charter, and that their company was dissolved. Burnet, Tom. II, p. 207. Strype, Tom. II, p. 29.

**156)** After the King's death, when nothing was to be got by flattering, he wrote the following character of him:—

"All the graces were in him; He had many tongues when he was yet but a child: Together with the English, his natural tongue, he had both Latin and French, nor was he ignorant, as I hear, of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish, and perhaps some more: But for the English, French and Latin, he was perfect in them, and was apt to learn everything: Nor was he ignorant of logic, of the principles of natural philosophy, nor of music. The sweetness of his temper was such as became a mortal; his gravity becoming the majesty of a King, and his disposition was suitable to his high degree. In short, that child was so bred, had such parts, and was of such expectation, that he looked like a miracle of a man. Afterwards he adds, he was a marvellous boy, when I was with him he was in the fifteenth year of his age, in which he spoke Latin as politely and readily as I did. He began to love the liberal arts before he knew them, and to know them before he could use them: And in him there was such an attempt of nature, that not only England, but the world had reason to lament his being so early snatched away when the gravity of a King was needful, he carried himself like an old man; and yet he was always affable and gentle as became his age. He played on the lute; he meddled in affairs of state; and for bounty, he did in that emulate his father; though his father, even when he endeavoured to be good, might appear to have been bad. But there was no ground of suspecting any such thing in a son, whose mind was cultivated by the study of philosophy." See the original in Burnet's *History of The Reformation*. Tom. II, Collection.

**157)** This year the King's debts amounted to two hundred and fifty one thousand, or, according to Strype, two hundred and forty one thousand, one hundred and seventy nine pounds, and a Commission was granted to certain persons, to sell part of the chantry lands, for the payment of them. Edw. Journ, p. 51. Strype, Tom. II. p. 312.

**158)** They gave the King two tenths and two fifteenths and a subsidy, to be paid in two years. At the passing the bill, there was a great debate about it in the House of Commons, which seems to have been about the Preamble, containing a long accusation of the Duke of Somerset, for involving the King in wars, wasting his treasure, engaging him in much debt, embasing the coin, and having given occasion to a most terrible rebellion. This was inserted by the Duke of Northumberland, to let the King see how acceptable he and his party were, and how hateful the Duke of Somerset had been. The clergy also did give the King six shillings in the pound of their benefices. Burnet, Tom. II p. 215.

**159)** He was deprived, August 14, 1552. Strype, Tom. II. p. 367. The Bill for disabling his Bishopric was first read, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of March, for the second and third times, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup>. Journ. Parl.

**160)** But an act was made, for the restoring in blood Sir Edward Seymour, Kt. who was eldest son of the Duke by his second wife. There was also a remarkable act made, for avoiding excess of wines. It imported, That no person whatever should keep in his House above ten gallons of French wine, for spending, upon pain of forfeiting 10s Sterling. Unless he could spend a hundred marks yearly in lands, tenements, or other profits certain; or was worth a thousand marks of his own: Or else was the son of a Duke, Marquis, Earl, Viscount, or Baron. When it was read in the

House of Lords the Duke of Suffolk, the Earls of Arundel, Oxford, Westmoreland, Rutland, the Bishop of St. David's, and the Lord Darcy of Chich dissented from it. Journ. Parl.

**161)** April 1552, he fell sick of the smallpox and measles, which probably might turn to a consumption. Edw. Journ. p. 49.

**162)** Visitors appointed to examine what church plate, jewels, and other furniture was in all churches, and to compare their account with the inventories in former visitations, and to see what was embezzled, and how. They were to leave in every church one or two chalices of silver, with Linen for the communion table and for surplices; and to bring in all other things of value to the treasurer of the King's household, and to sell the rest of the linen, copes, altar cloths, and give the money to the poor. Heylin, and some others urge from hence, that the King was ill principled as to the matters of the church, because he was now in the 16<sup>th</sup> year of his age. But Burnet observes, that when all is done, it was only calling in the superfluous plate that lay in the churches, more for pomp than use. And that perhaps being sick, he did not much mind what papers the council brought him to sign. Tom. II. p. 217.

**163)** Hollingshead says, it was about the beginning of the month, p. 1087.

**164)** They were Montague Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Baker and Bromley; and were sent for on June 11. Gosnold came with them on the 15<sup>th</sup> Burnet, Tom. II. p. 222.

**165)** Burnet says, he does not know whether the Archbishop used this distinction, though it seems probable that he did so, seeing that liberty was allowed to Cecil, who, in a relation which he made one write of this translation, for clearing himself afterwards, says, when he heard Hales declare how much it was against law, he refused to set his hand to it as a counsellor, and that he only signed it as a witness to the King's subscription, p. 223.

**166)** His Body was buried on the 8th of August in the Chapel of St. Peter's Church in Westminster and laid near the body of Henry VII. his grandfather. The charge of his funeral amounting but to £475. 2s. 2d. Strype, p. 432. He died in Sir Henry Sidney's arms. son-in-law to the Duke of Northumberland.

It is said, King Edward was in body beautiful, of a sweet aspect, and especially in his eyes, which seemed to have a starry liveliness and lustre in them. He kept a book, in which he writ the characters of all the chief men of the nation, all the judges, Lord Lieutenants, and justices of the peace over England; marking down their way of living, and their zeal for religion. He had studied the business of the mint, with the exchange and value of money.

He also understood fortification, and designed well. He knew all the harbours and ports in his dominions, as also in Scotland and France, with the depth of water, and way of coming into them. He had acquired so great knowledge in foreign affairs, that the ambassadors who were sent into England published very extraordinary things of him, in all the courts of Europe. He took notes of almost everything he heard, which he writ first in Greek characters, that those about him might not understand them, and afterwards copied out fair in the journal or diary that he kept.

This Journal, written with his own hand, is still preferred in Sir John Cotton's famous library, from whence the learned Bishop Burnet transcribed and published it, in his 2<sup>nd</sup> Vol. of the *History of the Reformation*. In it the most considerable transactions in this reign are perhaps as well registered (says Bishop Nicolson) by the young King himself, as by any other historian. June 26, a few days before his death, the King endowed Christ's, St. Thomas's, and Bridewell hospitals, in London, with the revenues belonging to the Savoy in the same City, which amounted then to £600, a year: and gave licence for the purchasing of lands, to the use of the same hospitals, as far as the yearly sum of 4000 marks. Hollingshead, p. 1083.

He also founded Christ's hospital in Abington. Heylin, p. 141. The expenses of his household yearly, during his Reign, were as follows. The first year, £49,187. 18s. The second, £46,902. 7s. The third, £46,100. 3s. The fourth, £100,578. 16s. The fifth, £62,863. 9s. The sixth, £65,923. 16s. Strype, Tom. II. p. 454, 455. As for the prices of meat, and other provisions during this reign, See Ibid. p. 151, 223. Reposit. p. 143.

By Indentures of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> of Edward VI, a pound weight of gold, of twenty carats fine, and four carats alloy, was coined into thirty pounds by tale, out of which the King had a great profit, and a pound of silver of four ounces fine, and eight ounces alloy, was coined into forty eight shillings, after which rate, every pound of fine silver made in current money seven pounds four shillings; and the King's profit on every pound weight was four pounds four shillings. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of this King, a pound weight of gold of twenty two carats fine, and two carats alloy, was to be coined into thirty four pounds by tale, into sovereigns at 20s a piece, half sovereigns at 10s a piece, crowns at 5s. and half crowns at 2s. 6d., a piece:

And a pound weight of silver of six ounces fine, and six ounces alloy, was to be coined into seventy two shillings, which were to go for 12d. a-piece by tale; of which the merchant, for every pound weight of fine silver, received three pounds four shillings, and the King above four pounds gain—In the 4<sup>th</sup> year of this reign, a pound weight of gold of the old standard, of twenty three grains, and three grains and a half fine, was coined into twenty eight pounds sixteen shillings by tale, namely, into sovereigns at 24s. a-piece, half sovereigns at 12s. Angels at 8s. and half angels at 4s. a-piece.

In the 5<sup>th</sup> of this reign, a pound weight of silver of three ounces fine and nine ounces alloy, was coined into seventy two shillings at 12d. a piece; and the merchant received for every ounce of fine silver, which he should bring to the mint, ten shillings of such money; by which means twelve ounces of fine silver was exorbitantly raised to fourteen pounds eighteen shillings.—

In the 6<sup>th</sup> of this reign, a pound weight of gold, of the old standard aforesaid, was coined into thirty six pounds by tale, namely, twenty four sovereigns at 30s. a-piece, seventy two angels at 10s. a-piece, or one hundred and forty four half angels: And a pound weight of crown gold of twenty two carats fine, and two carats alloy, was coined into thirty three pounds by tale; namely, thirty three sovereigns at 20s. a-piece, or sixty six half sovereigns at 10s. a-piece, or one hundred and thirty two crowns, or two hundred and sixty four half crowns:

And a pound weight of silver, consisting of eleven ounces, one penny-weight fine, and nineteen penny-weight alloy, was coined into three pounds by tale; namely, twelve crowns, or twenty four half-crowns, or sixty shillings, or one hundred and twenty sixpences, or two hundred and forty Three-pences, or seven hundred and twenty pence, or one thousand four hundred and forty half-pence, or two thousand eight hundred and eighty farthings.

The gold coins of this King are sovereigns, half-Sovereigns, angels, half angels, crowns, half crowns. The Sovereign has on one side the King's bust crowned; Reverse, **SCVTVM. FIDEL. PROTEGIT. EVM.** the arms in a shield crowned, between E. R. Another has the King's titles on the arms side; on the reverse, the King with a youthful countenance, bare headed, the motto as in the last.

The other sort has the King's figure in armour crowned, holding a naked sword in his right hand, and ball in his left. **EDWARD VI. D. G. AGL. FRANCI. Z. HIB. REX.** Reverse, the arms crowned between **E. R. IHS. AVTEM. TRANSIE. PER MEDI. ILLO. IBAT.** (Fig. 1.) The crown and half crown have the same impression as the former Sovereign The silver monies of this Prince, who was the first of that name that added the number to it, are contrary to those of his father; the fine money of Henry VIII, having a half face, and his bad the full; whereas King Edward's bad has the half, and his good the full.

Of the base there are two sorts of testoons, which give him halt-faced; the one having this Legend, **TIMOR DOMINI FONS VITE. M-D. XLIX.** Fig. 1. and the other, **INIMICOS EIUS INDVAM CONFVSIONE** It was on the former of these that Bishop Latymr remarked. It was such a pretty little shilling, that he had like to have put it away for an old groat.

The crown, half-crown, shilling, and sixpence, have all of them the King's title thus, **EDWARD. VI. D. Q. AGL. FRA. Z. HIRER. REX.** Reverse, the King's arms with POSVI, &c. only the crown and half crown give him on horseback, and underneath the horse 1551; another has the feathers upon the horse's head {Fig. 3) whereas the shilling and sixpence give him full faced; of which there are two different mints; of York with the Letter Y; and Throgmorton's mint in the Tower, an "O" or "Tun" (See fig. 4) both these as well as the sixpence, have a rose on one side of the King's Head, and XII or VI on the other, one three-pence, with the rose and 111, has the same inscription as the shilling.





**The Coat of Arms of Edward VI**



## BOOK XVI

### The Reigns of Edward VI, and Queen Mary; Containing The Space of about Twelve Years

#### Chapter II

#### Mary

1553



**H**ENRY the Eighth's Divorces from Catherine of Aragon and Ann Bullen: the acts of Parliament confirming these divorces: other subsequent acts which seemed to repeal what the first had ordained, the power given to the King to appoint his successors, and to place them in what order he pleased: in a word, that Prince's last will itself, had so embroiled the affair of the succession, that it appeared full of contradiction and obscurity.

It would not have been possible to resolve by the antient laws and customs of the realm, the queries arising from so many inconsistent acts, because the makers of these new laws had not in view justice and equity, but only the gratifying of a prince to whom it was dangerous to refuse anything.

Henry VIII had foreseen the difficulties and perplexities his two divorces might one day occasion, and even seemed desirous to prevent them. But he only increased them by the new statutes he obtained of the Parliament, wherein his aim was not so much to procure the welfare of the Kingdom, as to follow his humour, and cause his will to be a law.

To set this matter in a clear light, it will be proper to insert here a brief recapitulation of that monarch's proceedings with respect to the succession.

It has been seen in the history of his reign, that after living eighteen years with Catherine of Aragon his first wife, and having by her several children, of whom there was but one daughter alive, he had a mind to put her away. He pretended, his marriage was void, and because the court of Rome, for reasons of state, would not condescend to annul it, he caused a sentence of divorce to be pronounced by the Archbishop of Canterbury, before he had abolished the Papal authority in his Kingdom.

He thereby afforded a very specious pretence to question the prelate's authority by whom the sentence was pronounced. What is more, he took a second wife, before he was legally divorced from the first, and by this haste, gave a fresh occasion to dispute the validity of his second marriage. Here are already two contradictions in three of his two first steps. He applied to the Pope, as to his judge, and before he had solemnly renounced his authority, contemns it, and in spite of the Pope, whose jurisdiction was still acknowledged in England, is divorced from Queen



Catherine. On the other hand, he owns there was need of a legal sentence to justify his divorce, and yet he prevents the sentence by running into a second marriage, before it was pronounced.

In the next place, he beheaded his second wife for adultery, and yet, before the execution, pretended she could not be his wife, and was divorced from her on a frivolous pretence. Three two divorces were confirmed by an act of Parliament passed in 1536, wherein was also a manifest contradiction. The act declared Mary and Elizabeth born of the two first marriages, illegitimate and incapable of succeeding to the crown, and yet it gave the King power to place them on the throne, since, without any limitation, it invested him. with all the authority necessary to settle the succession as he pleased.

There was likewise another contradiction in a statute of the year 1540, where it was declared, that a marriage after consummation should not be annulled by reason of a pre-contract. Nevertheless Henry's divorce from Ann Bullen had no other motive. Thereby, the King and Parliament owned they had injured Elizabeth, in declaring her illegitimate.

It will be said perhaps, this act. was not to regard what was passed. But it is certain, it was made only with design to favour Elizabeth. Notwithstanding, she was not restored by this act, but it still lay in the King's breast to give her a place in, or exclude her from the succession.

In another act made in 1544, there was a no less manifest contradiction. By this act, both Houses themselves put in the line of the succession Mary and Elizabeth after their Brother Edward. Did not this seem to be making them an authentic reparation, and owning them for legitimate? And indeed, hitherto no bastards had ever been on the throne of England.

Nay, it might be questioned, whether it was in the Parliament's power to place them there. At least there would have been need of a very express and authentic law for that purpose. Nevertheless by a particular clause of this act, the King was allowed the liberty to impose conditions on these two Princesses, without which they could have no right to succeed; a thing the Parliament would not, nay could not, have done, if they had been owned for legitimate. It was not therefore on account of their natural right, but by mere favour, that they were enabled to succeed to the Crown.

Henry followed the same plan in his last will. He put Mary and Elizabeth in the line of the Successions after their brother Edward, but in such a manner that he let them see, it was by mere grace, since he bound them to certain conditions, without which they were to forfeit their right.

The difference he made between them and Edward, showed he owned them not for legitimate, and thereby afforded a pretence to question the right he gave them. But what conduced still more to embroil the affair of the succession, was that this will passing over in silence the issue of Margaret Queen of Scotland, Henry's eldest sister, placed next to Elizabeth the children of Mary Queen-dowager of France and Duchess of Suffolk, the younger sister.

This was a manifest abuse of the power granted him by the Parliament, and consequently a furnishing the Queen of Scotland with a plausible pretence to demand the annulling of a will which subverted the most steady laws of the Kingdom.

Edward VI. completed this confusion in the affair of the succession, by conveying the crown to Jane Grey, contrary to the rights of Mary and Elizabeth. This was an act of absolute sovereignty very unbecoming a King of England, and one that died a minor. But moreover, in this act of conveyance there were contradictions no less palpable than those Henry VIII had been guilty of.

Edward owned for good and valid, the act declaring Mary and Elizabeth illegitimate. But at the same time, he repealed by his own authority, that which gave the King his father the power to settle the succession. On the other hand, he followed his father's will, in giving the preference to the younger sister's children; but withal, annulled the will, by excluding Mary and Elizabeth.

## **Four Princesses May Pretend to The Throne**

By this short recapitulation, it may be easily perceived what a door to divisions and civil wars was opened by Henry VIII and his successor. By the above-mentioned acts, four Princesses, namely, Mary, Elizabeth, the Queen of Scotland, and Jane Grey, could pretend to the crown after Edward's death, and each could find in these very acts, arguments to combat the claims of her adversaries.

### **Examination of Mary's Rights**

Mary rested upon her father's will. But she received, in her opinion, a much stronger support, though she durst not openly allege it, from her natural right, and the want of authority in those who annulled her mother's marriage.

On the other hand, it might be objected to her, that having been declared illegitimate by an act of Parliament, that act was never repealed, and it was not in the King's power to place bastards on the throne, in exclusion of the lawful heirs. That besides it was known to the whole nation, that the Parliament was far from being free when she was placed in the succession after Edward, but however this act ought to have been preceded by an express repeal of that, whereby she was declared incapable of succeeding.

### **Of Elizabeth**

The same thing could be alleged against Elizabeth. But she might answer, that her mother's divorce was grounded only upon a clause which was afterwards declared insufficient, and that by the act of the year 1540, she was restored to her rights. Consequently it was to her the crown was devolved if her sister Mary was incapable of succeeding.

### **Of Mary Queen of Scotland**

The Queen of Scotland could plead the illegitimation of Mary and Elizabeth, and affirm, it was her right to ascend the throne of England, as grand daughter to Henry VIII's eldest sister. As to the objection of her being born out of the land, it was a groundless cavil, since the Princes of the blood in England, are never deemed foreigners, though born out of the Kingdom.

### **Of Jane Grey**

Jane Grey had for her Edward's assignment, approved by all the counsellors and the judges of the realm. But it must be confessed, it was a very ill grounded right. Herein, it is certain, the King, the council, and the judges, had undertaken what exceeded the bounds of their power. Besides, the Duke of Northumberland was known to hold the council in subjection, and it would have been easy to prove the judges were forced to draw and sign the instrument.

### **Mary and Jane Grey are The Only Competitors**

Had this affair been to be decided by the Law, and impartial judges, many difficulties would doubtless have occurred. On the other hand, if each of the four Princesses who might have pretended to the crown, would have maintained her right, and had been strong enough to support her pretensions, to what calamities would the Kingdom have been exposed? But the affair took another turn, because Elizabeth and the Queen of Scotland endeavoured not to possess the crown. So Mary and Jane were the only competitors. This was very advantageous to Mary, because her right was thereby put in the balance with only Jane's the weakest of all.

Undoubtedly this is what induced all the historians to declare for Mary's right, because they compared it only with that of her rival. But if Elizabeth and the Queen of Scotland had been each supported with a good army, perhaps all the advantage would not have been so readily given to Mary. Having thus seen the grounds of this quarrel, let us now proceed to the decision.

### **The Duke of Northumberland's Error**

The Duke of Northumberland took great care to conceal Edward's death, because he expected Mary would come and throw herself into his hands. It must be confessed, this minister, though very politic, committed a very gross error, in neglecting to secure Mary and Elizabeth, immediately after Edward had signed the conveyance to Jane Grey.

He might have easily effected it whilst the King was alive. But instead of suddenly taking so necessary a precaution, he expected they would come of their own accord into the snare he had laid for them, by causing them to be sent for to keep their brother company in his sickness. Mary had likely to have been entrapped. She was within half a day's Journey of London[1], when she had notice from the Earl of Arundel, of the King's death, the assignment of the succession, and the design upon her person.

### **Mary Retires to Norfolk**

This news obliging her to take other measures, she immediately turned back, and went to Kenning Hall in Norfolk. From thence she wrote a letter to the council[2], which plainly discovered she was informed of what they intended to conceal from her. She told the counsellors, she thought it very strange that the King her brother being three days dead, she had not been advertised of it by them, since they could not be ignorant of her just right to the crown.

### **Mary Thence goes to Suffolk**

That their neglect on this occasion, was a plain intimation of some ill design against her; but that she was ready to take all in good part, and to pardon those who would have recourse to her clemency. That, in the meanwhile, she required them to proclaim her Queen. After writing this letter she departed from Kenning Hall, and repaired to the castle of Framlingham in Suffolk.

Two reasons induced her to retire to this place. The first, that the Duke of Northumberland was much hated in those parts, ever since the great slaughter he had made of the rebels who had taken arms under Ket. The second, that the castle of Framlingham being near the sea, she might, if the ill success of her affairs should oblige her to it, have an opportunity to fly with more ease into Flanders.

Upon her arrival at this place, she took the title of Queen, and being proclaimed at Norwich, sent a circular letter to all the nobility, requiring them to come and aid her in maintaining her right. Let us now see what passed at London.

### **The Duke of Northumberland is Absolute in Council**

It has been observed in the foregoing reign, that the Duke of Northumberland was become so absolute in the council, that not one of the counsellors dared to oppose his will. Edward's death seemed likely to free them from this servitude. But as probably the Duke would have more authority under his daughter-in-law Jane, than under Edward, every one dreaded to make him an enemy.

It is not therefore to the council so much as to the Duke of Northumberland, by whom the board was directed in all their resolutions, that whatever was done in favour of Jane after Edward's death, is to be ascribed.

## **The Duke Gives Jane Notice of Being Queen**

This minister soon found it impossible to conceal long the King's death. Two days after, the news of it was public in London. Besides, Mary's retreat plainly showed how fruitless were the pains that were taken on that account. So the Duke thinking it no longer proper to hide his designs, was sent with the Duke of Suffolk to give Jane; notice of her being to ascend the throne[3], by virtue of Edward's letters patents whereby he assigned her the crown.

Jane was then but in her sixteenth year. But at that age, wherein the judgment hardly begins to be formed, hers had acquired such a degree of perfection, as is rarely found in one so very young. All the historians agree, the solidity of her mind, joined to a continual application to study, rendered her the wonder of her age.

She understood perfectly French, Latin and Greek, and made use of these languages as helps to attain to the highest knowledge in the sciences[4]. Herein she was very like her cousin King Edward, who had a tender friendship for her, as, on her part, she had a great esteem for him. She appeared much moved at his death, which however she must have expected, since his recovery had been now some time despaired of.

## **Jane Accepts The Crown With Reluctance**

But as she knew not that his death was to procure her the crown, she was extremely surprised at the news which her father and the Duke of Northumberland told her. Instead of receiving it with joy, as they doubtless expected, she told them, she did not mean to enrich herself by the spoils of others:—

**THAT** the Crown belonged to the Princess Mary, and after her to the Princess Elizabeth, and being acquainted, as she was, with King Henry's will, she was unwilling to aspire to the throne before her turn. Against these reasons were urged King Edward's and the council's authority, with the approbation of the judges, and it was endeavoured to convince her, that this unanimity was a clear evidence there was nothing in it contrary to the laws of the land.

She found herself moved by these arguments, and the importunities of Guilford Dudley her husband prevailed with her at length to receive the offered crown. It was however in such a manner, as convinced the two Dukes that they did it not so much from a persuasions of the justice of her title, as out of complaisance, and for want of resolution. Accordingly the Duke of Northumberland declared in his report to the council, that so far was Jane from aspiring to the crown, she was rather, by enticement and force, made to accept it.

## **Jane Withdraws to The Tower With The Council**

As soon as the Duke of Northumberland had obtained Jane's consent, it was resolved that the council should withdraw to the tower with her[5], and she be proclaimed. This resolution being taken. the Lord-Mayor of London was sent for, and being informed of the King's death, and of the settlement in favour of Queen Jane, the ceremony of the proclaiming was fixed to the next day, the 10<sup>th</sup> of July, and the 5<sup>th</sup> after Edward's death.

Meanwhile the council writ an answer to Mary's letter signed by twenty one counsellors[6], to this effect:—

**THAT** Mary could not pretend to the crown, since she was born of an unlawful marriage, dissolved by a legal sentence, confirmed by more than one Parliament:

**THAT** she ought to give over her pretensions, and acknowledge Queen Jane for her sovereign, who was now on the throne by virtue of the late King's letters patents:

**THAT** if she showed herself obedient, she should find the counsellors all ready to do her any service, consistent with their duty to Queen Jane.

### **The People Express no Joy at Jane's Proclaiming**

Jane was proclaimed in London with the usual formalities. But there were none of the acclamations customary on such occasions; so astonished were the people to see a Queen proclaimed they had never thought of. Besides, as the Duke of Northumberland was very much hated, and as Jane was his daughter-in-law, when she was heard to be proclaimed Queen, the Duke was imagined to be proclaimed chief governor, which was by no means pleasing to the people.

### **A Vintner's Boy is Punished for Making a Jest of it**

Nay, an accident happened on this occasion, which was very ominous, and confirmed the Londoners in their prejudice against the Duke of Northumberland. A Vintner's Boy<sup>[7]</sup> having some way expressed his scorn at the proclamation, was immediately ordered to be set in the pillory, with his ears cut off, and nailed to it which was accordingly done. This proceeding, the odium whereof was cast upon the Duke, made it judged what was to be expected from his government, since this new reign began with an act of severity.

The Duke of Northumberland took care not to omit the custom long since introduced, that the new sovereigns should withdraw to the tower, with the council, in the beginning of their reign. He could not doubt, Mary would pretend to the crown, and use all possible endeavours to take possession, neither was he ignorant how the nobles and people stood affected with regard to the situation the state was then in.

For this reason, he was very glad to have the counsellors in the tower, in order to be master, and cause them to come to resolutions agreeable to his interest. As the change which shortly after happened, proceeded from the disposition of the several members of the state it will be absolutely necessary to have a distinct notion how they stood inclined, in order to understand the causes of this revolution.

### **Of The Council**

The Council consisted of one and twenty counsellors, among whom there were few real friends of the Duke of Northumberland; but every one feared him. Some, as the Earl of Arundel, still adhered to the Romish religion, though outwardly they complied with the new laws.

Others, as the Archbishop of Canterbury, were truly Protestants. But the major part, without being really addicted to any religion, blindly followed that which was uppermost. As they had readily embraced that of Henry VIII, they had with the same ease followed that established by Edward, being ready to resume the Romish religion if it suited best with their temporal interest.

This was particularly the Duke of Northumberland's, character. So, though he professed the reformed religion, the Protestants themselves had a very ill opinion of him. They were persuaded, his pretended zeal for the advancement of the Reformation was all grimace, and the pure effect of his Policy. This disposition of the counsellors, manifestly shews, that a religious zeal alone was not capable of keeping them in Jane's interest.

There was need of a much stronger motive to that end. But instead thereof, there was a reason which entirely disengaged them from her party; namely, the slavish subjection they were held in by the Duke of Northumberland.

That Lord, whose pride was intolerable, could not bear contradiction. The council seemed to have nothing to do, but to follow his directions without examination. Then, he was one of those unreasonable persons, with whom if you fail on a single occasion, all past services are cancelled. This the Earl of Arundel in particular had sadly experienced. Though he had been very serviceable to the Duke in ruining Somerset, yet afterwards, because he did not find him submissive enough, he caused him to be condemned in a heavy fine, under colour of his having wasted the King's treasure.

This usage was still remembered by the Earl, who only waited an opportunity to be revenged. The rest of the counsellors were no less desirous to free themselves from the Duke's yoke. But they were as prisoners in the tower, where they apprehended, the least false step would cost them their life, before the quarrel between Jane and Mary was decided. And therefore, they approved of whatever the Duke pleased to order, and the resolutions tending to establish Jane on the throne, were made in the council's name, though the Duke alone was the Author.

## **Of The Nobility**

The rest of the nobility, who had no share in the government, were in much the same sentiments with the counsellors. Whilst the Duke of Somerset was Protector, he was hated by the nobility, as appeared in the former reign. And therefore, they assisted to the utmost the Earl of Warwick to ruin him.

But when that was done, they soon perceived they were no gainers by the change, since it gave them a much prouder, and more formidable master than the person they were freed from. The new minister treated them afterwards with so much haughtiness, that they had reason to regret the Duke of Somerset. Consequently they earnestly desired to see him ruined, which they could not expect whilst his daughter-in-law should be on the throne. This made them incline to Mary, though that Princess was little beloved in the Kingdom.

## **Of The People**

The Duke of Northumberland had been the principal author of Somerset's fall, who was the people's idol. This was sufficient to render him odious. Besides, he was counted a hard and cruel man, whose counsels always leaned to the side of severity. After he had dispersed the Norfolk rebels in the late reign, he caused so many to be executed, that he drew upon him the hatred of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk.

This hatred afterwards spread itself over the Kingdom when he became head of affairs. Wherefore, all the people in general wished to be freed from this odious minister, and that could be only by the ruin of Jane's, party. The Londoners in particular hated him mortally, because they believed him guilty of King Edward's death.

## **Of The Roman Catholics**

Let us now confider the English Nation in respect to the two religions. Jane openly professed the Protestant religion, and shewed, she was entirely convinced of the truth of its doctrines. Mary, on the contrary, was extremely addicted to the Romish Church, and though during Edward's. reign, she had pretended to adhere to the religion established by Henry VIII, it was known to be only with design to silence those who governed during her brother's minority. She was not only thought devoted to the Pope, but also a favourer of the most absurd doctrines of the Romish religion.

It may easily be guessed, that all who were still for the old religion, in their hearts, passionately wished that this Princess might ascend, the throne. This was the only way they could hope to see

their religion restored, whereas if Jane reigned, they could expect only the continuance of the measures taken to abolish it.

The Duke of Northumberland, who, probably, was to be Jane's prime minister, had even appeared zealous for the reformation. So, to judge of him by his past conduct, the friends of the old religion could hope for no advantage from him. Some who knew him better than the rest, were however sensible, he was far from being a good Protestant. But they knew also, though he might have favourable thoughts of their religion, they could expect nothing from him but what was agreeable to his temporal interest, and that this interest would naturally hold him attached to the Protestant party. So, the Roman Catholics were all for Mary, and ready to lend their assistance to set her on the throne.

## **Of The Reformed**

The better to understand how the reformed stood affected at this time, it must be observed, that to consider England in general, it may be said, she was wholly Protestant. Hardly was there a man but what had submitted, at least outwardly, to the laws made for that purpose in the reign of Edward. But among the great numbers which were looked upon as Protestants, there were many who were so only in name. Some still halted between the two religions.

Others were Papists in their hearts; and very many regarding only temporal advantages had embraced the reformation to make their fortunes. The smallest number was of those, who were truly convinced of the tenets of the new religion, were ready to sacrifice their all for its sake. None but these therefore were real friends to Jane.

As for the others, there were many who wished indeed the reformation might prevail, and considered Mary's accession the throne as a misfortune, but were unwilling to hazard their lives and fortunes to prevent it. However, there was one thing wherein all the reformed, as well the zealous, as the lukewarm, and timorous were agreed; namely, in their hatred of the Duke of Northumberland, and their dread of falling again under his tyrannical government.

These two passions caused them to look upon Jane's reign as a misfortune to them and the Kingdom. They were the more confirmed in this opinion, as, not foreseeing what was to happen in Mary's reign, they flattered themselves, that content with the private exercise of her own religion, she would leave the Protestant in the same state she found it, or at most would be satisfied with giving her party liberty of conscience; and this was what her friends everywhere, and on all occasions, took great care to insinuate.

So Jane's cause was like to be but ill supported, especially as Mary having no other rival, the English did not believe they ought, through a principle of religion, to depart from the rules of justice and equity, by depriving her of the crown, who had the best title. If their posterity have not continued in the same opinion, it is to be wholly ascribed to the cruelties exercised upon the Protestants, where-ever the Romish religion prevails.

## **Hatred of The Duke Northumberland is Advantageous to Mary**

It is certain, though Mary had for her all the well wishers to the old religion, that party would not have been able to place her on the throne, if the people's hatred of the Duke of Northumberland had not determined the Protestants themselves to declare for her. Most of the English historians take great pains to prove the justice of Mary's title, to infer from thence that the Protestants preferred right to their own interest.

I won't deny that several acted from that principle. But very probably the dread of falling again under the government of the Duke of Northumberland, helped Mary to more friends than the justice of her title, especially as this title was not so clear, but that it was liable to many objections.

## **Mary Promises to Make no Change in Religion**

However this be, Mary being proclaimed at Norwich, the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk declared for her, and furnished her with troops. The men of Suffolk, though strongly attached to the reformation, signalled themselves on this occasion. It is true, they desired to know of her, whether she would leave religion in the same state she found it, which she positively promised, reserving to herself, however the liberty of professing her own religion.

Upon these assurances, they resolved to hazard their lives and estates in her quarrel. Many lords and gentlemen came also to Framlingham to offer their service; and the Earl's of Bath and Sussex, the sons of the Lord Wharton and Mordant[8], with many more[9], raised forces for her.

## **Jane Sends an Ambassador to The Emperor Who Refuses Him an Audience**

Meantime, the council was drawing instructions for Richard Shelley, who was to go and inform the Emperor of what passed in England. It was believed there was most danger from that quarter. Shelley went indeed[10], but the Emperor would neither give him audience, nor receive Jane's letter to notify her accession to the crown, and to desire his friendship.

## **The Council Raises An Army**

Meanwhile, the council received advices from all sides, that Mary's party gathered strength, that she had been proclaimed in several places, and had an army already which daily increased. This ill news, which flowed in very fast, obliged the ministers to raise forces to send against Mary's. Immediate orders were given to those that were ready to meet at Newmarket, with whom were joined some regiments levied in haste at London.

At the same time they sent Sir Edward Hastings, the Earl of Huntington's brother, to raise Buckinghamshire, and the Earl of Northampton undertook also to raise Herefordshire. The Duke of Suffolk was appointed to command the army, because the Duke of Northumberland was unwilling to go away, for fear his absence should produce ill effects.

## **The Earl of Arundel Takes Measures Against The Duke of Northumberland**

But the Earl of Arundel, who wished for an opportunity to act for Mary, seeing the Duke of Northumberland's presence was an insuperable obstacle to the execution of his designs, found means to break his measures. He intimated to Jane, that the Duke her father would be exposed to great danger; that it would be more proper for the Duke of Northumberland to head the army, and for the duke her father to stay with her.

On the other hand, he insinuated, or caused it to be insinuated to the Duke of Northumberland, that it would be very dangerous to put the army under the Duke of Suffolk's command, who had never been very fortunate in his expeditions: That on such an important occasion, he ought instantly to head the troops himself, and that his name alone was capable of striking terror into those assembled by Mary, in a county where he had given singular proofs of his conduct and valour. Jane's tender affection for the Duke her father, caused her so ardently to embrace this advice, that all the Duke of Northumberland's endeavours to make her alter her mind were ineffectual.

At so critical a juncture, the Duke of Northumberland was much diffraacted in his mind. indeed, he knew he was much fitter than the Duke of Suffolk to command the army against Mary, and



was very sensible, all depended upon it. But then he was afraid to leave the young Queen in the hands of the council, of whom he was not well assured, and who complied with him purely out of fear: and the more, as the Duke of Suffolk, the Queen's father, was reckoned but a weak man.

However, as it was not entirely in his choice to accept or refuse the command; and besides all depended upon the success against Mary's army, he resolved to march. He left London on the 14<sup>th</sup> of July, without being wished success (as is usual on such occasions) by the great crowds looking on as he passed, and went and headed six thousand men assembled at Newmarket[11].

## **Disposition of The Counsellors**

Though most of the counsellors had no inclination to favour the Duke of Northumberland's designs, they were obliged however to use great caution. They saw themselves as prisoners in the tower, under the direction of the Duke of Suffolk, who was concerned to prevent all proceedings against his daughter.

It was unnecessary therefore to seem very zealous for Jane's interest, till a favourable opportunity offered to declare for Mary. To this end, they appointed Ridley Bishop of London to set out Queen Jane's title in a sermon at St. Paul's, and to warn the people of the dangers they would be exposed to, if Mary should mount the throne.

Ridley discharged his commission[12] like one that was persuaded the reformation would very much suffer under Mary's government, And therefore, he largely insisted upon Mary's attachment to the religion, and informed the audience of some things which had passed between him and her, and which were plain indications of her aversion to the reformation and the reformed[13].

Mary never forgave him this sermon, which at that juncture was capable of doing her great injury. For, it was at a time when her friends were using their utmost endeavours to persuade the people, she was not so zealous of the Romish religion as she was represented, and that she would make no change in that which was established by law. Sands, vice chancellor of Cambridge, afterwards archbishop of York[14], in the reign of Elizabeth, having received the same orders from the Duke of Northumberland (Chancellor of that university) managed it more artfully, and by keeping to more general terms, gave no offence to either party.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Northumberland was extremely embarrassed. He had marched to Cambridge with six thousand men[15], and from thence was advanced to St. Edmunds-bury. But instead of seeing his army increase by the way as he expected, it daily diminished by desertions.

On the other hand, he heard of Mary's progress in Norfolk and Suffolk, and to complete his misfortunes, news was brought him that Sir Richard Hastings[16], who was to have joined him with four thousand men he had raised, had declared for Mary, and proclaimed her at Buckingham. In short, he was informed likewise, that the six men of war sent to cruise on the coast of Suffolk to prevent Mary's escape, had followed the example of Hastings.

All these things made him resolve to return to Cambridge, from whence he writ, to the council for a speedy supply. But the counsellors were then otherwise employed.

The news they received from all parts of the prosperous state of Mary's affairs, had now determined some of them to provide for their safety, by changing sides, whilst their change might be of service to them. In all appearance, the Earl of Arundel had already laboured to take off some of his colleagues from Jane's party.

The Marquis of Winchester, who always went with the stream, was easily prevailed with. The Earl of Pembroke had been one of the most zealous for Jane, because his son had espoused this

new Queen's younger sister. But finding her affairs in an ill way, he resolved either of himself, or by the solicitations of the Earl of Arundel, to screen himself from the impending storm, in doing Mary some signal service[17].

## **They Find Means to Go Out of The Tower**

These three Lords gained other counsellors, and they all resolved to declare for Mary as soon as it was possible. The difficulty was to get out of the Tower, without giving suspicion to the Duke of Suffolk. Had the Duke of Northumberland been present, they would have found it very hard to succeed; but the Duke of Suffolk was far from having his penetration.

The letter lately received from the Duke of Northumberland furnished them with the wanted pretence. They represented to the Duke of Suffolk, that the readiest way to find the desired supply, was to apply to the Mayor of London; and to that end, it was proper the Council should meet somewhere in the City, the more easily to confer with the Mayor, concerning the means of speedily raising a body of troops: That the Earl of Pembroke's house was convenient for that purpose, and there the affair would be forwarded more in two hours, than in six in the Tower.

But as it might be objected, that the Mayor and Aldermen could be easily sent for to the Tower, they added, that at the same time audience might be given to the French and Spanish ambassadors, who scrupled to receive it in the Tower. Whether the Duke of Suffolk did not suspect them of any ill design, or at such a juncture, durst not discover his suspicions, he suffered the Council to meet at the Earl of Pembroke's[18], whom he did not mistrust, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of July.

## **They Declare for Mary**

As soon as they were met, the Earl of Arundel made a speech, representing to them, That now or never was the time, to shake off the tyranny of the Duke of Northumberland:—

**THAT** they had sufficiently experienced his insolence, injustice, cruelty, treachery to his friends, and if they were so unwise as to support Jane on the throne, they would but render more heavy the yoke which the Duke had already laid on their necks:

**THAT** the only way was to declare for Mary, and when the people should see the council take that course, the Duke of Northumberland would be forsaken by all.

## **Mary Proclaimed at London**

The council's sudden resolution to follow the Earl's advice, shews that this affair had been already determined among the principal members. After a short debate, they sent for the Mayor and Aldermen of London, and declaring their resolution, they went together and proclaimed Mary in several parts of the city. Then they repaired to St. Paul's, where *Te Deum* was sung.

The ready compliance of the magistrates of London, can be ascribed only to their hatred of the Duke of Northumberland. Let it be affirmed ever so much, that these magistrates longed for the re-establishment of the old religion, and therefore gladly embraced the present opportunity to set Mary on the throne; it is not likely, that men placed in their offices in Edward's reign, should be so well inclined to the old religion, as to come to so sudden a resolution with that view, if there had not been some other motive.

## **The Duke of Suffolk Delivers up The Tower**

However, as soon as they came from St. Paul's, the council sent an order to the Duke of Suffolk,

to require him to deliver up the tower, and that Jane should lay down the title of Queen, and give over her pretensions. The Duke immediately obeyed, seeing no possibility of keeping the tower at this sad juncture.

### **Jane Lays Down Her Dignity**

As for Jane she saw herself stripped of her dignity, held but nine days, with more joy than she had seen herself cloathed with it. Then the Council dispatched orders to the Duke of Northumberland to disband his army, and behave himself as became an obedient subject to Queen Mary. At the same time the Earl of Arundel and the Lord Paget were sent to inform Mary of these transactions.

### **The Duke of Northumberland Ordered to Dismiss His Army**

The Duke of Northumberland heard what passed at London, before he received the council's orders to dismiss his troops, and plainly perceiving, it would not be possible to keep his army together, prevented the orders, and obeyed beforehand. His first thoughts were to fly out of the Kingdom. But it is said, he was hindered by the band of gentlemen pensioners, who plainly told him, they had need of his testimony to justify their conduct.

### **He Proclaims The Queen at Cambridge**

After that, he thought only of gaining Mary's favour, by expressing a zeal for her service, as it had been possible to deceive her by some external actions. To that purpose he went to the market place in Cambridge, and proclaimed the Queen, flinging up his own hat for joy (and crying, God save Queen Mary). But all this signified nothing. The next day[19], the Earl of Arundel arrested him by the Queen's order.

Then was that proud and haughty man seen to cringe, as much as he had been exalted in his prosperity. He fell at the Earl of Arundel's feet to beg his favour, and shewed many other signs of fear, abjectedness, and pusillanimity. This is the common character of men whom fortune raises above their birth.

### **He is Apprehended With His Sons**

Three of his sons, namely, the Earl of Warwick, his eldest son, Ambrose and Henry, Sir Andrew Dudley his Brother, John and Henry Gates, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Doctor Sands, were apprehended with him, and sent to the tower the 25<sup>th</sup> of July. Upon this occasion, a woman seeing the Duke of Northumberland pass to the tower, shook at him a handkerchief dipped in the Duke of Somerset's blood, upbraiding him with having caused it to be unjustly shed.

### **All Declare for Queen Mary**

When the Duke of Northumberland was in the tower, Mary met with no more opposition. All Jane's adherents strove to atone for their faults by a ready submission, and supplication of the new Queen's Mercy. She received very graciously those who came to pay their duty to her, though she was determined to sacrifice to her safety, or vengeance, some of those whom she looked upon as her principal enemies.

Of this number were Jane Grey, the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquis of Northampton, Ridley Bishop of London, Cheek who had been Edward's preceptor, Robert Dudley the Duke of Northumberland's son, Guilford Dudley Jane's Husband, Cholmley and Montague Judges. All these were sent to[20], or detained in the Tower by the Queen's express order. But three days

after, She released the Duke of Suffolk, having pitched upon him for an instance of her clemency, because she thought him incapable of creating her any disturbance[21].

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of August she came to London with her sister Elizabeth, who had met her on the way with a thousand horse[22], she had raised for her service. When she entered the tower, she released the Duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, Bonner, the Duchess of Somerset, and the Lord Courtney, eldest son of the Marquis of Exeter, whom she shortly after created Earl of Devonshire.

Thus, without any effusion of Blood, she was peaceably settled in the throne, notwithstanding the attempts to deprive her of it. She owed this good success to the universal hatred of the Duke of Northumberland, for it may be truly affirmed, that as Jane Grey, without that Lord, would never have borne the title of Queen, so without him she would doubtless have preserved it.

Very probably, the restoring of religion to the state it was in before the alterations introduced by the two last Kings, and perhaps the being revenged of her enemies, were the principal things intended by Mary, when she ascended the throne. At least, we shall see no other project in the course of her Reign.

As the new Queen had nothing in her thoughts but the establishing of her religion, her first care was to consult her trusty friends how to effect it. She was herself disposed to keep no measures, but to force the Kingdom to return immediately to what she called, the union of the Catholic Church.

## **Gardiner Intrigues with The Emperor**

To that end, she had now determined to send for Cardinal Pole as Legate, to reconcile England to the Pope. But Gardiner, who was considered as a man of great experience, was of another opinion.

He knew the reformation must be pulled down the same way it was set up, that is, by degrees, 2<sup>nd</sup> therefore it was sufficient at first, to bring back religion to what it was at King Henry's death. This advice was more prudent, and withal more suitable to the interest of the person who gave it. He was sensible, the Queen had a great esteem and affection for Pole, and was afraid this cardinal being in England, would disposes him of the chief place in the Queen's favour, nay, quite ruin him with her, because he was not his friend.

Meanwhile, as this advice was not relished by the Queen, it was in danger of being rejected, if Gardiner had not used other means to compass his ends. He sent a messenger to the Emperor, to represent to him, that what the Queen proposed was too hazardous, and in case Pool came so soon into England, his zeal for the See of Rome would undo all, because the English were not yet prepared to submit to the Pope's yoke[23].

That on the contrary, by his method, everything would succeed to the Queen's satisfaction, and to the advantage of religion, provided the Queen would be pleased to make him chancellor, and thereby give him the authority necessary to conduct so nice an affair. Probably, it was how the Emperor projected the marriage between his son Philip and Mary, either of himself, or by Gardiner's suggestion.

However this be, the Emperor approving Gardiner's measures, writ several letters to Mary, to persuade her to moderate her zeal, lest too much haste should spoil her designs. As she had a great deference for his counsels, she brought herself by degrees to comply with the Bishop's projects, to whom at length she gave the Great Seal[24].

## **King Edward's Funeral**

King Edward's funeral was solemnized at Westminster King the 18<sup>th</sup> of August. The new ministers were for having the old abolished office made use of on this occasion, but Cranmer, supported by acts still in force, stoutly opposed it, and officiated himself according to the new liturgy, giving the communion to as many as were desirous to receive it[25]. But the Queen had a solemn service in her own chapel performed with all the ceremonies of the Church of Rome.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> the Queen in Council declared, she would use no force upon conscience in affairs of religion. Great care was taken to disperse this declaration, and to magnify it as a great instance of the Queen's generosity. But the Protestants easily saw the difference betwixt her declarations in council, and her promises to the Suffolk men. She had told these, that religion should be left in the same state as it was in at Edward's death, but in this declaration thought it sufficient to give a general assurance, that Protestants should not be forced to embrace the Romish religion, for this was the most natural meaning of her expressions. This restriction to her first promise greatly alarmed them.

## **The Roman Catholics in Favour with The Queen**

The Adherents of the Romish church were so confident of the Queen's intention to restore their religion, that they made no difficulty of owning it publicly, and of even inveighing against the Protestant religion, though it had still the countenance and protection of the laws.

## **Bonner's Chaplain Preaches at St. Pauls**

The day after the Queen had made this declaration in her council[26], Bonner went to St. Paul's church to hear a sermon preached by his chaplain Bourn. The preacher spoke so honourably of Bonner, that he raised the indignation of his audience. Then, exaggerating the pretended persecutions suffered by this prelate in the late reign, he spoke of King Edward in so injurious terms[27], that the hearers lost all patience.

## **He is in Danger of His Life But Rescued by Two Protestant Ministers**

Some reproached, and others threw stones at him. One even threw a dagger, which he happily avoided, and which stuck fast in the wood of his Pulpit. At last the people grew so furious, that probably the preacher had been torn in pieces, had not Bradford and Rogers, two eminent Protestant ministers, interposed and conveyed him from the danger, into a neighbouring house. What recompense this service met with will appear hereafter.

## **The Queen's Proclamation Deceives**

The Protestants still flattered themselves that the Queen would keep her word, and even gave the restriction, she had added by her declaration in council to her first promise, a favourable interpretation. But they were not long left in this hope. shortly after[28], the Queen published a proclamation, which was but too capable to remove their mistake. The terms were so artfully managed, that they implied much more than they seemed to express.

The Queen said, she had the same belief in which she had been educated from her infancy, and intended to adhere to it during her life; she passionately wished all her subjects would follow her example; but would use no force, till public order should be taken by common assent. This plainly discovered her intention to change religion by the Parliament, and that then she should think herself discharged from her promise of not compelling conscience.

Then she forbid her subjects to give one another the odious names of Papist and Heretic. The Protestants considered this prohibition as levelled entirely against them, because they clearly understood, that a disobedience to it would be punished in them, but not in their adversaries.

After that, all sorts of unlawful assemblies were forbidden, and this article had the same, construction with the foregoing. By another clause of the proclamation, it was forbid to preach without her special licence. A man must have been wilfully blind, not to see, this was intended to exclude the Protestants out of all the pulpits. Finally, the Queen said, it was her intention, no man should be punished for the last rebellion, without her order. Hereby, she left all in fears. The proclamation ended with saying, the Queen was resolved to punish rigorously all those who should foment pernicious designs; but she hoped to have no cause to execute the severity of the law.

This clause naturally inspired the protestants with terror, for it was easy to foresee, that religion and the laws were going to be changed, and that those who submitted not blindly to the new statutes, would be considered as rebels.

The same day this proclamation was published[29], came on the trial of the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Warwick, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John and Sir Henry Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer. Upon the evidence of Palmer, and Sir John Gates, King Edward had consented to the execution of his uncle the Duke of Somerset, and they were become the principal confidants of the Duke of Northumberland. The Queen made the Duke of Norfolk Lord High-Steward at the trial of these three Lords.

He was still under condemnation, since the act of attainder against him had not been reversed. But the Queen had granted him a pardon, which indeed was not dispatched till eleven days after. It was thought, without doubt, that the Queen's promise was sufficient, otherwise it is not easy to conceive, by what sort of right, a man under sentence of death could preside in a capital trial, or even give his vote[30].

The Duke of Northumberland being brought before his Peers, desired information upon two points, before he answered to the articles exhibited against him.

**The first was:—**

Whether a man acting by order of council, and the authority of the great seal, could be guilty of treason.

**The second was:—**

Whether persons who had acted with him in the same affair, and were equally guilty, could sit as his judges?

This doubtless related to the Marquis of Winchester, and the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, who were actually members of the council when Jane was proclaimed, and had given orders for her proclamation. After a short consultation, it was answered, that the Great Seal of an usurper could give no authority nor indemnity to those that acted by such a warrant.

To the second point, he was answered, that none of the peers who sat in judgment upon him, having been either condemned for, or even accused of the same crime, could be deprived of their right upon a bare surmise or report. It belongs to the lawyers to consider whether these answers are very solid. It seems, as to the first, that if this maxim was admitted in its utmost extent, it would draw after it very dangerous consequences.

Let us, for instance, suppose an usurper upon the throne of England, it is certain the adherents to the lawful King cannot avoid great danger, which way soever they turn. If they obey the usurper, they will be guilty of treason when the lawful King is on the throne; if they refuse obedience, they will be punished by the usurper. It seems that the maxim which allows, that

every subject ought to be faithful to the King on the throne, and who exercises the sovereign power, is liable to fewer inconveniences.

As to the second, let the peers insist never so much on their privileges, it is contrary to reason and equity, that accomplices of a crime should fit in judgment on him who committed it with them, when it is notoriously certain, they were equally guilty. At least it is unlikely, this maxim should be approved by the judges of the realm, if these was the least room to believe the accomplices would vote for the accused, which might very easily happen.

### **Condemnation of The Three Lords**

The Duke seeing these two points determined against him, confessed himself guilty, and submitted to the Queen's mercy. The other two Lords followed his example, and they were all three found guilty of high treason. Of the seven condemned, three were destined to execution, the Duke of Northumberland, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer.

### **The Duke of Northumberland Declares Himself a Catholic**

The Bishop of Worcester[31] being sent to the Duke with the message of death, he confessed to the Bishop, and declared, he had always been a Roman Catholic in his heart. He made the same confession on the scaffold; but it was still doubted whether this was done in hopes of a pardon[32], or he had really dissembled during the whole course of his life.

It is pretended, that to engage him to this public declaration, he had been flattered with the hopes of his pardon, even though his head were laid on the block. He died unlamented, his past conduct having given no person whatever, any cause to love him. His two companions were executed the same day, being the 22<sup>nd</sup> of August.

### **The Deputies of Suffolk Received at Court**

The Proclamation lately published by the Queen concerning religion, plainly shewed in what spirit she designed to rule. But immediately after, there were more convincing proofs. The inhabitants of Suffolk relying on the Queen's promise, and having transgressed the prohibitions contained in the proclamation, the court sent an order to the magistrates of that county, to look strictly to the execution of it, and rigorously punish the disobedient.

Upon this the inhabitants, not believing the Queen would break her word, after the great service they had done her, sent deputies to pray her to remember what she had promised them with her own mouth. This petition was rejected with great haughtiness, and thought the more offensive, as it justly reproached the Queen with failure of her word. They were answered, that subjects were not to control the actions of their sovereign, and Dobbe[33], one of their number, was set in the pillory for speaking more freely than the rest.

### **Bradford and Rogers Committed to Prison**

A few days after, Bradford, one of the two ministers had rescued Bourn, was sent to prison, and his companion, confined to his house. Afterwards he was also thrown into prison. The great changes meditated by the ministers, made them afraid of meeting with obstacles from those who had most credit with the people, and therefore they were glad on divers pretences to secure them. These proceedings made the Protestants think they were going to be exposed to a terrible storm.

### **The Bishops Disposed in King Edwards Time Restored**

At the same time, all the Bishops deprived in the reign of Edward, were restored, by commissioners appointed by the Queen to examine the causes of their deprivation. Five Roman Catholic Bishops, Bonner, Gardiner, Tonstal, Day, and Heath, were substituted in the room of five reformed[34]. Gardiner was made chancellor at the same time, and a few days after, a commission was given him by the Queen, empowering him singly to grant licences to preachers, in consequence of what he had before enjoined by her proclamation.

Some Ecclesiastical Protestants not thinking proper to submit to this order, were sent to prison. Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester (Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's) and Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, were of this number. The first were imprisoned, the last commanded not to stir out of his house without leave.

## **The Worship of The Church of Rome Performed Contrary to The Laws**

After the Roman Catholics plainly saw the Queen's intentions, they had not patience to wait for the restoration of their religion by public authority, but boldly celebrated divine services in several places, according to the old rites before the reformation; and though this was against law, the court connived at it, and silently approved it.

## **Injustices Done to The Protestants**

At the same time, the partiality of the Queen and her ministers appeared evidently in favour of the Roman Catholics against the Protestants. Judge Hales, who had alone refused to sign the instrument which transferred the crown to Jane Grey, was thrown into the Marshalsea, for charging the justices of Kent to conform to the laws of Edward not yet repealed, or rather for being a Protestant[35].

For the same reason Montague, who had been forced to assist in drawing the forementioned instrument, was turned out of his office, fined in a thousand pounds, and succeeded by Bromley, who had drawn and signed it without scruple.

In fine, since the short time the Queen had been on the Throne, Protestants were every where injured and oppressed, the magistrates not venturing or caring to protect them. Peter Martyr, professor of divinity at Oxford, finding himself exposed to the insults of the enemies of his religion, was obliged at last to leave the place, and retire to the Archbishop of Canterbury. But Cranmer, whose ruin was resolved, was little able to protect him.

Meantime, Bonner launched out into invectives and artilleries against Mr. Canterbury, as he was pleased to call him, and published every where, that he was so resigned to the Queen, that he had promised her a solemn abjuration of his errors. Cranmer refuted this calumny in a writing. He called the Queen herself to witness, that he had never made her any such promise, and offered to maintain publicly, the truth of what he professed, if the Queen would grant him leave.

## **Cranmer Cited into The Star Chamber Escapes Without Punishment**

This writing being published, Cranmer was called before the Star-Chamber. He owned himself the author, though it was published without his consent, and, contrary to all men's expectation, was dismissed without any punishment. But the Queen was not satisfied, though she was advised to treat Cranmer with the same moderation, he himself had used whilst he was in authority. The Queen herself owed her life to him, which was saved merely by his sollicitation, when her father Henry VIII. had designed to put her to death[36].



To this advice was opposed, that if the Queen treated mildness the chief of the heretics, they would all grow obstinate and insolent, but the punishment of Cranmer would intimidate the champions of heresy. This latter advice was very agreeable to the Queen, who had conceived a mortal aversion to the Archbishop, by reason of the sentence of divorce pronounced by him against the Queen her mother; this injury making a stronger impression upon her, than the service received from him afterwards.

So, three days after, Cranmer being cited before the council, was sent to the tower, on an accusation of treason of publishing seditious libels. Old Latimer, who had been Bishop of Worcester in the reign of Henry VIII, had been sent thither the day before.

Shortly after, the court came to a resolution of sending away all foreigners that were come on the public faith and encouragement. Peter Martyr, and a Polish professor named John a Lasco, were included in the number[37] This was the only act of mildness and equity shewn in this reign, with reference to religion. But this sufficiently discovered what was intended against the English Protestants.

The court's daily proceedings before the repeal of any one law, so intimidated those who had religion at heart, that great numbers passing for Frenchmen, withdrew out of England into foreign countries[38]. Those who made haste to escape the impending storm, were wisest and happiest. For soon after, others, who had taken not the the same resolution, were arrested, by an order sent to all the ports, to suffer no person to leave the Kingdom as a Frenchman, without a passport from the ambassador of France.

## **The Queen Rewards Her Friends**

It was time now for the Queen to reward those who had done her service. The Earl of Arundel was made Lord-Steward, Sir Edward Hastings, a peer of the realm, and some others who had early declared for the Queen, had employs and dignities conferred on them[39]. But the Earl of Sussex[40], who had been her general, obtaining an honour unusual in England, namely, to be covered in the presence of the Queen, as it is practiced in Spain. He had his letters patents under the Great Seal, the 2nd of October.

As the Parliament had been summoned to meet the 5<sup>th</sup> of October, it was necessary for the Queen to be crowned before. The ceremony of the coronation was performed the 1<sup>st</sup> of that month, with the usual solemnity, by the Bishop of Winchester, who forgot not one formality practised before the reformation.

The same day a general pardon was published, but with so many exceptions, that few persons could receive any benefit from it. All those the magistrates not venturing or caring to protect who had been arrested before September were excepted by name[41].

## **The Queen Remits a Subsidy Granted to King Edward**

Then came out a proclamation[42], by which the Queen discharged the subsidies granted by the last Parliament to the King her brother, for the payment of his debts[43]. This was to gain the good will of the ensuing Parliament, and render it subservient to her designs with respect to religion. Before the Parliament met[44], the Archbishop of York was sent to the tower on a general accusation of several capital crimes. Six days before John Vesey, some time Bishop of Exeter, but deprived in the last reign, was restored by an order of the Queen. This was with intent to strengthen the Catholic cause in the upper house.

The court had resolved to abrogate all the laws made in favour of the reformation, and to restore the ancient religion. This was not to be done without the concurrence of the Parliament. But if

elections had been left free, it would have been difficult, not to say impossible, for the Queen to succeed in her design.

## **The Methods to Influence Elections and Procure Returns Favourable to The Court**

The number of the reformed was without comparison greater than that of the Roman Catholics, and consequently the elections would not probably be favourable to her. But besides the ordinary ways made use of by Kings to have Parliaments at their devotion, all sorts of artifices, frauds, and even violence, were practised in this. As care was taken beforehand to change the magistrates in the cities and counties, and there was not one almost but was a Roman Catholic, or had promised to be so, every thing tending to the election of Catholic representatives was countenanced.

On the contrary, those who were suspected of an inclination to chuse Protestants, were discouraged by menaces, actions, imprisonments, on the most frivolous pretences.

In several places, things were carried with such violence, that Protestants were not allowed to assist in the assemblies where the elections were to be made. In short, in places where it was not possible to use these direct means, by reason of the superiority of the reformed, the sheriff devoted to the court, made false returns: That is, they sent to court the names of some persons as if lawfully elected, though they had but an inconsiderable number of votes, or perhaps none at all.

As the disputes arising from such elections can only be decided by the House of Commons, it is easy to imagine, that a house composed of such representatives failed not to approve all elections favourable to the court, and reject all others if the least contestable.

This is one of the greatest abuses belonging to Parliaments, and which is but too frequent whenever the Kingdom is rent into factions. By these methods, the court secured a House of Commons ready to comply with their suggestions, and whose members had an interest in the change of religion, or were indifferent to all religious establishments.

As to the Upper House, which cannot be thus modelled to the liking of the court, the Queen probably laboured so successfully to engage it in her interests, that she found no opposition from the peers. It is very strange, that the Lords, who but a few months before were all Protestants, and had in their whole body but seven or eight, who usually opposed the laws made in Edward's reign in favour of the reformation, were become almost all zealous Catholics in Queen Mary's, I pretend not to decide in which reign they dissembled their sentiments; but it is too clear that in the one or the other they were guilty of a base and scandalous prevarication.

Meanwhile, to make this House still more complying, the court took care beforehand to make changes amongst the Bishops in favour of their designs. Besides both the Archbishops and the Bishops of Gloucester and Exeter, in actual imprisonment, six others had been changed, as has been observed.

Probably all the rest, excepting two, were for preferring their Sees to their religion. The two I except, were Taylor Bishop of Lincoln, and Harley of Hereford, who were even thrust out of the House the first day, for refusing to kneel at the Mass. Such was Queen Mary's first Parliament, composed of a House of Commons, filled with the creatures of the court; and of a House of Lords, who, through fear, avarice or ambition, dissembled their sentiments, or, a few excepted, thought all religions alike. It is easy to foresee what is to be expected from such a Parliament.

## **The Parliament Meets October 5<sup>th</sup>**

In the first session, which lasted but eight days, care was taken that nothing should be moved with regard to religion. The only public act was a declaration of treasons and felonies, by which

nothing was to be judged treason, but what was in the statute of the 25<sup>th</sup> of Edward III, or felony, but what was so before the 1<sup>st</sup> of Henry VIII. This act seemed unnecessary, since the like had been passed since Henry's death.

But as some crimes not contained in the Statute of Edward III, had been since declared felony, the intent of this was to abolish the late acts. It is true, this might have been attended with another inconvenience, namely, the discharge of several persons then in prison, had not an express exception been made of all who were committed before the last of September, who were likewise excepted out of the Queen's general pardon.

By a private act, the attainder of the Marchioness of Exeter, executed in the Reign of Henry VIII, was reversed and the son of the Earl of Devonshire restored to all his honours. Then the Parliament was prorogued from the 21<sup>st</sup> to the 24<sup>th</sup> of October.

In the second session, the designs of the court were more open. The divorce of the Queen's mother was immediately repealed. This act passed in fewer days than Henry had spent years in prosecuting the Divorce[45]. In the preamble it was said:—

**THAT** the Marriage of Henry with Queen Catherine was not contrary to the Law of God, and that man ought not to put asunder what God hath joined:

**THAT** King Henry's scruples had been suggested to him by malicious persons, and supported by the decisions of some universities, which had been previously secured by corruption and bribery:

**THAT** Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury had rashly pronounced sentence of divorce, upon the authority of these decisions, and other groundless conjectures, and by a blamable presumption had thought himself more knowing than all the other doctors.

Upon these foundations, the Parliament repealed the sentence, and all the acts to confirm it. Gardiner, chief promoter of this act, must have been past all shame, to make the Parliament talk thus of Henry's divorce, in which he was principally concerned, even before Cranmer was known to the court, which he had himself approved and advised, and at which he had assisted as judge. But such was the character of the man.

### **The Queen is Jealous of Her Sister**

The Princess Elizabeth being thus again declared illegitimate by an act which restored Mary, found a great change in the behaviour of the Queen, who no longer shewed her any affection. It is even pretended, that another secret cause alienated Mary from her, and that was, her love for the Earl of Devonshire, whom she had some thoughts of marrying; but that this Lord, too indiscreetly perhaps, continued to pay his respects to Elizabeth.

### **The Mass is Restored**

The 31<sup>st</sup> of October, the Lords sent down to the Commons a Bill for repealing Edward's laws concerning religion; and six days after the Commons sent it back with their approbation. By this act it was ordained, that no other form of public worship should be allowed from the 20<sup>th</sup> of December, but what had been used in the last year of Henry VIII. This shews Gardiner's influence on the Parliament, since this act precisely followed the plan he had proposed.

### **An Made in Favour of The Ecclesiastics**

Another act passed, decreeing the severest punishments against all who should molest any preacher for his sermons, or disturb him in any part of the divine service. The same punishments were ordained for those who should profane the sacrament, or pull down crosses, crucifixes or Images.

The Commons at the same time sent up another bill against those who came not to church or the sacraments, when the whole service should be set up. But the Lords thought not proper to go so far at once.

### **An Act Made Against Assemblies to Alter The Established Religion**

Shortly after, the Parliament revived an act of the last reign, forbidding any, to the number of twelve or more, to meet with design to change the established religion, and declaring the offenders guilty of felony, that is worthy of death. This Act was directly contrary to that made by this very Parliament, to repeal all new treasons and felonies. But the pretence of Religion covered all.

### **The Duke of Norfolk's Attainder Reversed**

In this session, the act of attainder against the Duke of Norfolk in Henry's reign, was reversed, on pretence that all the necessary formalities were not observed[46].

These were the most remarkable transactions of this first Parliament, which, in few days, overturned all that had been done with regard to religion in the reign of Edward VI[47]. King Henry's Laws were not yet to be touched, because they had difficulties concerning which the Pope was first to be consulted.

### **Jane Grey, Cranmer and Others Attainted of High Treason**

The 3rd of November[48], the Parliament still sitting, Jane Grey, Guilford Dudley her husband, two other sons of the Duke of Northumberland[49], and Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, were brought to their trial. They all confessed their indictments, and received sentence of death as traitors[50].

Cranmer's sentence rendered him incapable of possessing any benefice, and consequently his Archbishopric was void in law. But two reasons obliged the Queen to dispense with the ordinary forms, and leave Cranmer, though condemned, in possession of his dignity. The first was, that intending to restore the clergy to all their privileges, she was resolved this prelate should be canonically degraded; but this could not be done till the laws of Henry VIII were repealed.

The second was, that by a refinement of self-love, she was willing to pardon Cranmer his treason, to make the world believe, she proceeded against him from no motives of private revenge. But at the same time she devoted him to death as a heretic, as soon as any laws should be made upon that subject as if she only acted out of pure zeal for religion. Therefore at present, the Archbishop's revenues were only sequestered, and himself detained in prison till a proper time for his execution.

Since Mary's accession to the throne, she had appeared to be wholly employed in these public transactions. But at the same time, she was forming secret designs which were not known, till

### **Commendone Negotiates in England**

Ripe for execution. The news of King Edward's death was no sooner spread in the world, than the court of Rome conceived hopes of re-uniting England to the Holy See, and even began to project it.

Cardinal Dandini, the Pope's Legate at Brussels, as of himself, sent Commendone, afterwards Cardinal, to sound Mary's inclinations. Commendone being unknown in England, easily concealed himself under a borrowed name, and repairing to London, obtained a private audience of the Queen[51]. This was soon after her coming to that city, since the envoy was present at the Duke of Northumberland's execution, which was on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of August.

## **The Queen Demands Pole for Legate**

At this audience the Queen told Commendone, she designed the restoration of the papal authority in England, and prayed him to intercede with the Pope, to send Cardinal Pole as legate. But she intimated to him, that the discovery of this secret would blast the design. The Pope communicating to the consistory his intentions of sending Pole into England, found at first great opposition. The cardinals feared to expose the honour of the Holy See, in sending a legate without a solemn embassy from the Queen. But the Pope telling them, he knew more of this affair than he thought fit to communicate, they complied with his proposal.

## **The Emperor Projects a Marriage for His Son Philip With The Queen**

At the same time, the Emperor was projecting a marriage for his son Philip with Queen Mary. Gardiner was in the secret, whether it arose at first from him, or was only communicated to him by the Emperor, However that be, this prelate neglected no endeavours to accomplish it.

The news of Pole's nomination to the legateship was equally disagreeable to the Emperor and Gardiner. Commendone had doubtless divulged at Rome Queen Mary's question to him, whether Pole might not have a dispensation to marry? This occasioned a belief, that it was her intention to make him her husband.

The Emperor being informed of this, and apprehensive that Pole's pretence might obstruct the design he was meditating, resolved to use his endeavours to prevent this legation, or at least to retard it as long as possible. On the other hand, Gardiner could not without the utmost concern think of Pole's arrival, who might intercept his views upon the See of Canterbury, and perhaps the smiles of the Queen herself.

And indeed there was danger, that if this Cardinal, who neither loved nor esteemed him, should insinuate himself into the Queen's favour, as it was very likely, he would use his credit to ruin him. He was therefore to find some expedient to keep him at a distance, and none was more natural, than an insinuation to the Queen, that this cardinal's zeal for the Holy See would prejudice the affairs of religion in England:—

**THAT** the people were first to be managed and persuaded to own the papal authority, to which they were extremely averse:

**THAT** besides, Pole was not enemy enough to the Protestants; and religion, in the present conjuncture, required to be conducted by other maxims than those of that cardinal.

The Emperor, on the other side, believing it his interest to keep Pole where he was, writ the same thing to the Queen, and represented to her, that Pole would ruin her affairs, let her intentions be ever so good. In fine, he proposed her marriage with his son, and supported his proposal with all the reasons most apt to persuade her.

## **The Emperor Proposed it to The Queen**

Above all, he set forth the necessity of a foreign power in restoring religion in England, or at least of an alliance capable to inspire terror into those who should oppose her designs: That an alliance with the Emperor and Spain was doubtless most advantageous, as France being able to form projects in favour of the young Queen of Scots, who was to marry the Dauphin, was in interest concerned to raise and foment disturbances in England.

## **Mary Accepts**

Mary was much pleased with this proposal, which was probably made her about the beginning of November. Besides a zeal for Religion, which might induce Gardiner to second the Emperor's designs, he saw a considerable advantage for himself; namely, the securing his own credit, since Philip would be indebted to him for his marriage.

## **Pole Detained in Germany**

Mean while, Pole was to be kept at a distance till the Queen's marriage was concluded; and this the Emperor did first by his own authority, in detaining him in his dominions[52]; but afterwards got the Queen to send an express[53], to acquaint him that the interests of religion required a stop in his journey, because the nation was not yet disposed to own the Papal authority.

## **Opposite Counsels Given The Queen by Pole and Gardiner**

While the legate was thus detained in Germany or the Low-Countries, he tried several times to obtain leave to continue his journey: but it was still in vain. He knew not to whom this usage was owing, and perhaps was never Pole fully informed. However, he held a constant correspondence by letters with the Queen on the affairs of religion, but his counsels were secretly opposed either by the Emperor, or Gardiner.

It was his opinion, that, laying aside all ceremony, the Kingdom should immediately be reconciled to the Holy See. Gardiner, on the contrary, believed, the marriage ought to be concluded before the reconciliation was mentioned, that the consideration of so powerful an alliance might awe those who were inclined to stir.

He thought Pole, and would have had others think him, a weak man, a shallow politician, and of no use in the cabinet. Pole, on the other hand, believed Gardiner a very improper person to direct the affairs of religion, because, in his opinion, he relied too much on his intrigues and the arm of flesh. Their little esteem of each other ended at last in an open enmity.

## **The Commons Present an Address to The Queen Against Her Marriage**

The design of the Queen's Marriage was not conducted with sufficient secrecy, to keep it from the Commons. They were so alarmed, that they sent their speaker with twenty of their members, to pray the Queen not: to marry a Foreigner. This convinced the Queen, she could expect no more supplies from the Commons, if she refused to satisfy them in that point. But as she had no such intention, she chose to dissolve the Parliament[54].

Gardiner improved this conjuncture, to the obtaining conditions from the Emperor, which he could not otherwise have expressed. He represented to him, that the English were so averse to this marriage, that the worst was to be feared, unless he complied with two things absolutely necessary.

The first was, his consent, that the treaty of marriage should contain terms so advantageous to England, as to silence the most zealous opposers. The second was, his remitting considerable sums to gain those who would be wanted to curb the people, or who could most easily induce them to rebel.

### **The Emperor Complies with Everything That Might Advance The Marriage**

The Emperor not doubting of Gardiner's zeal for his interest, approved the advice, and left it entirely to him to prescribe the conditions of the marriage; and moreover, put into his hands twelve hundred thousand crowns, to be disposed of as he saw fit[55]. These particulars were printed in a little book, in form of a petition to the Queen, by the English exiles at Strasbourg.

The author added farther, that Gardiner denied common justice in the court of chancery to those persons, who would not engage to second the Queen's intentions.

While the Parliament was assembled, the convocation held its sessions according to custom. It is not known whether any bishops, consecrated in the time of King Edward, appeared in the Upper-House. If any did, the number could be but small, and of such too, as the Lords vouchsafed to receive into their House; that is. men who were not likely to oppose any measures.

### **Transubstantiation Established**

Care was taken to fill the Lower-House with persons entirely devoted to the court; so that only six members[56] had the inclination or courage to oppose the decision made in favour of Transubstantiation[57]. These six members demanded a regular disputation on this subject, which was granted. But three of them declined the dispute[58], well foreseeing what would be the result.

The other three stood their ground, so a disputation was had[59]. But the Roman Catholics, for want of better arguments, received those of their adversaries with hooting, reproaches, menaces, and continual interruptions, and then published that they were vanquished. This at least is the account given by the Protestants[60].

### **The Emperor Sends Ambassadors to Conclude The Marriage**

**1554 AD]** In the beginning of the year 1554, a magnificent embassy arrived at London from the Emperor, with the Count of Egmont[61], at the head of it, to settle the articles of the marriage. The Queen entrusted Gardiner with the management of this negotiation[62], or rather with the care of drawing the treaty, since, probably, every thing material was agreed before the arrival of the ambassadors.

That able politician had a double design. The first was, to have such conditions inserted in the treaty, as the Parliament might approve. The second was, to exclude the Spaniards from having any share in the government. The Emperor complied with everything, in the belief, no doubt, that his son would find ways to elude the observation of the articles, which should restrain him too much.

To be convinced that this was his thought[63], let it only be considered, that so able a politician as Charles, would never have parted with twelve hundred thousand Crowns, to procure for his son the empty title of King of England. For indeed the treaty, as will appear, promised him no more. In all probability, Gardiner had the same thoughts with the Emperor.

But the business was to dazzle the Parliament with conditions advantageous to the nation, for whose interests though he affected a great zeal, he was probably but little concerned for what might happen after his death.

## The Chief Articles Relating to it

Meanwhile, he acquired a high reputation, the public ascribing to his capacity and prudence the terms of this marriage, which deemed to secure England from all Philip's attempts. The principal articles of this treaty, which was signed the 12th of January 1554, a few days after the arrival of the ambassadors were as follows:-

**That** Philip, in virtue of this marriage, should, jointly with Queen Mary, enjoy the title of King of England, while the marriage subsisted; saving always the rights, laws, privileges, and customs of the Kingdom of England.

It was likewise stipulated, that the Queen should have the sole disposal of the revenues of the Kingdom, the nomination to all employments, offices and benefices, which should be conferred on the natural subjects of her majesty, and no others.

**THAT** the Queen likewise should bear the titles belonging to her husband.

**THAT** her dowry should be sixty thousand pounds of Flemish money, forty Gros each[64], of which forty thousand should be assigned to her upon Spain, and twenty thousand upon Brabant, Flanders, Hainault, and Holland.

**THAT** she should enjoy this dowry in the same manner it was enjoyed by Margaret, sister of Edward IV, and wife of Charles Duke of Burgundy.

**THAT** the Children born of this Marriage should inherit their mother's estate, according to the custom of the respective Countries.

With relation to the father's estate, it was agreed,

**THAT** the Archduke Charles, Son of Philip, should succeed to the Kingdoms of Spain, Naples, Sicily, the Duchy of Milan, and all other properties and domains situate in Lombardy or Italy; but in default of Charles and his issue, the eldest son of Philip and Mary should succeed to the same Sovereignties.

**THAT** the first born of Philip and Mary should inherit Burgundy and the Low-Countries, from which the Archduke Charles should be excluded, as the children of Philip and Mary were excluded from Spain and Italy.

**THAT** the younger Sons and Daughters of Mary and Philip should have their appanages and portions assigned them in England, without prejudice however to what they might expect from Philip their father, or Charles their Grandfather, in the Low-Countries, or Burgundy.

**THAT** in case only daughters proceeded from this marriage, the eldest should succeed to Burgundy and the Low-Countries, provided, that with the consent of the Infante Don Charles, her brother, she married a husband out of these countries, or the dominions of the Queen her mother.

**THAT** on her refusal or neglect to perform this covenant, Prince Charles should preserve his right to the said countries, with obligation however to assign a portion to his sister, both out of Spain and the Low-Countries.

**THAT** if Prince Charles died without issue, the eldest son or daughter of Philip and Mary should succeed, as well to Spain and Italy, as the other dominions,



**Lastly**, it was expressly agreed, that in all the forementioned cases, those children who should succeed to either the paternal or maternal estates, should leave them possessed of all laws, rights, privileges, and customs belonging to the respective countries, and should administer the government by the natives of the said countries.

### **A Clause Annexed to The Treaty**

**By this Clause it was expressly covenanted, that before the consummation of the marriage Philip should solemnly swear to the observation of the following articles:–**

**THAT** he would retain no domestic, who was not either an Englishman, or subject of the Queen, nor bring any foreigner into England, to give uneasiness to the English.

**THAT** if any of his retinue transgressed this article, he should be punished in such manner as should be thought convenient.

**THAT** Philip would make no alteration in the laws, rights, statutes, and customs of England.

**THAT** he would never take the Queen out of her, own dominions, unless at her own particular request; nor carry out of England any of the children born of this marriage, without the consent of the nobility.

**THAT** if the Queen should die first, without children, he would pretend to no right upon England or its dependencies, but leave the succession to the rightful heir.

**THAT** he would carry out of the Kingdom no jewels, or other valuable things: Nor alienate any thing belonging to the crown, or suffer any person whatsoever to seize them.

**THAT** England should never, by virtue of this marriage, be concerned directly or indirectly in any war depending between France and Spain; but that the alliance between England and France should subsist and remain in full force.

**THAT** he would not give any occasion of rupture between France and England.

### **A Reflection Upon This Treaty**

It would be very difficult to discover what advantages England could receive from this marriage, if the interests of the sovereign and his ministers were not commonly confounded with those of the Kingdom, though frequently very opposite. The court had in view the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion in England, and therefore believed they wanted the assistance of Spain.

On the other hand, this marriage was advantageous to the chancellor, who strengthened his credit with Philip's protection. But at the same time England ran a great risk of falling under the dominion of Philip, who, probably, meant not to be bound with chains of parchment.

### **The Marquis of Northampton**

The day after the treaty was signed[65], the Queen granted a pardon to the Marquis of Northampton, who been condemned with the Duke of Northumberland.

We have before seen, that about the end of the reign of Edward VI, the court had taken measures to prevent the company of the German merchants, called the Still Yard, from engrossing the whole woollen trade, in prejudice to the English, as till then had been practised. For this purpose the parliament had laid a heavy duty upon the goods, whether exported or imported by that company; and this was renewed in Mary's first Parliament.

But the beginning of this year, the Queen to gratify the Hanse Towns, suspended the execution of these acts for three years, and discharged the company of German merchants from the payment of the extraordinary taxes imposed upon them, all acts to the contrary notwithstanding. This was the first effect of the Queen's alliance with the Emperor.

## Complaints Against The Queen's Marriage

After the treaty of the Queen's marriage with Philip was made public, complaints and murmurs were every where heard. The Protestants in particular believed themselves lost, and feared to see erected in England a Spanish inquisition. But they were not the only murmurs. Independently of religion, the greatest part of the nation was not free from the fears of King Philip's introducing the Spanish tyranny into England, of which the Indies, the Low-Countries, the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the Duchy of Milan, afforded recent instances.

In a word, few persons could believe that the Emperor had agreed to the articles stipulated in the treaty, with any design to observe them. At last, these murmurs grew into a conspiracy against the Queen, of which the marriage was either the cause or pretence.

## Wyat's Conspiracy

The Duke of Suffolk, Sir Thomas Wyatt[66], Sir Peter Carew, formed the design of a general insurrection. Carew was to act in Cornwall, Wyatt in Kent, and the Duke of Suffolk in Warwickshire, which is in the centre of the Kingdom.

Carew managed so ill, that his plot was discovered[67], and one of his accomplices arrested, before he had concerted his affairs. This sent him into France, and Wyatt, upon his flight, hastened the execution of his enterprise, though it was the design of the conspirators to wait the arrival of Philip for a more plausible colour to their insurrection.

Wyat therefore resolving to push his point, though he was yet unprepared, went to Maidstone with a few followers, and gave out, he took arms to prevent England from being invaded. Afterwards he marched to Rochester, from whence he writ to the Sheriff to desire his assistance. But the Sheriff instead of espousing his cause, required him to lay down his arms, and assembled forces to oppose him.

This rebellion alarmed the Court[68], where nothing was ready to disperse it, the Queen having dismissed her forces, when she thought herself out of danger. Wherefore he sent a herald to Wyatt with a full pardon, if he would lay down his arms in twenty four hours. But he refused the offer of pardon.

Mean time, the Court was so unprepared, that the **Duke of Norfolk was sent with only six hundred of the City trained bands**[69], commanded by an officer named Bret. Whilst this was doing, the Sheriff of Kent[70], as he was going to join the Duke of Norfolk, met and defeated Knevet, who with some troops was marching to join Wyatt, and killed sixty of his men. This ill success so alarmed Wyatt, that he had now resolved to consult his own safety[71], when an unexpected accident inspired him with fresh courage. Sir George Harper, one of Wyatt's adherents pretending to desert him, went to the Duke of Norfolk, and so artfully managed the trained bands, that they took part with the rebels, and quitting the Duke, joined Wyatt[72].

With this reinforcement, and his other troops, making together a body of four thousand men, Wyatt marched towards London[73]. He met near Deptford two messengers from the Queen, who in her name asked what would content him. He demanded the Tower and the Queen's person to be put into his hands, and the council to be changed, as he should think proper.

This demand being rejected, the Queen repaired[74] to Guild Hall, and acquainted the magistrates with Wyatt's answer. She then spoke of her marriage, and told them she had done nothing in it, but by the advice of her council. And, to give them a proof of the confidence she reposed in them, she resolved to stay in the City, though many advised her to withdraw to the tower [75].

Wyat in the mean time continued his march, and reached the Borough of Southwark the 3<sup>rd</sup> of February, expecting to enter the City without any difficulty. But the bridge being strongly barricaded and guarded, he was obliged to march along the Thames to Kingston [76], ten miles from London. Here he found the Bridge broken, and spent some hours in repairing it.

He then passed to the other side with his army, increased now to near six thousand men. After that, he continued his march to London, and, after some time lost in repairing one of his broken carriages, reached Hyde Park about nine in the morning, the 7<sup>th</sup> of February. The time unseasonably spent in repairing the carriage, rendered his undertaking abortive.

For in that interval Harper, who had been so serviceable in bringing over the trained bands, deserted, and posting to court, discovered his intentions to march through Westminster, and enter the City by Ludgate. This advice came seasonably to the Earl of Pembroke and Lord Clinton, who, at the head of some troops, had resolved to engage him as he entered the City. But observing, he was entangling himself in the streets where he could not extend his troops, they thought it better to let him pass, after orders given to shut the gate through which he designed to enter.

Wyat still prepossessed that the citizens would favour his undertaking, left his cannon under a guard at Hyde Park and entering Westminster[77], pursued his march through the Strand, on his way to Ludgate. As he advanced, care was taken to cut off his retreat by barricades and men placed at all the avenues. He believed himself now at the height of his wishes, when he found the gate into the City shut against him.

### **Wyat Surrenders and is Sent to Prison**

He then first discovered his danger, and perceiving it was impossible to retire, lost all courage. As he was endeavouring to return, a Herald[78] came to him, and exhorting him not to sacrifice the lives of so many followers, he surrendered quietly[79], and was sent to prison. This unfortunate man, who doubtless had but a slender capacity, foolishly imagined, without having good assurances, that the **City of London would declare in his favour, and this proved his ruin.**

If his measures had been better taken, the Queen and her ministers would have been greatly embarrassed, at a time when the government, weak as it was, had already created many enemies. But the ill success of this enterprise so strengthened the Queen's authority, that henceforward she found no more resistance. After the taking of Wyatt, his men being dispersed, were taken at pleasure, and filled the prisons.

### **The Duke of Suffolk Betrayed and Taken**

While Wyatt was acting in Kent and London, the Duke of Suffolk, had made but small progress in the county of Warwick. He would not have been so much as suspected, had not an express been seized, sent to him by Wyatt, to inform him of the reasons which had obliged him to hasten his undertaking, and to pray him to be as expeditious as possible.

Upon this advice, the Earl of Huntington had Orders to arrest him. The Duke was informed, and, being not yet secure of fifty horse, chose to conceal himself in the house of one of his domestics[80], who basely betrayed and delivered him to the Earl of Huntington, by whom he was conveyed to the tower, the 11<sup>th</sup> of February.

Such was the success of this conspiracy. Had it been managed, by abler heads, it might have been attended with great consequences. But few men of reputation cared to put themselves under the conduct of such leaders. If it had caused only the death of the principal actors, they might have been said to meet the just reward of their folly. But it produced two considerable effects, one fatal to an illustrious and innocent person, and the other, to all Protestants.

### **Religion Not Concerned in This Conspiracy**

Not that Religion had any share in this conspiracy, Wyat himself being a Roman Catholic, and the Queen in in her proclamation, not accusing the Protestants, though since, some historians have been pleased to brand them. But as the Queen's authority was strengthened by the ill success of this undertaking, she turned it entirely to the ruin of the reformed, and the reformation.

The Duke of Suffolk being concerned in the conspiracy, the court easily understood his design was to replace his daughter, the Lady Jane, on the throne, and this determined the Queen to sacrifice her to her own safety. Two days after the taking of Wyat, a message was sent to Jane Grey and her husband to bid them prepare for her death, Jane, as she had long expected it, received the message with great resolution.

### **The Execution of Jane Grey**

Mean while. Dr. Fecknam Godwin, who brought it, and had orders to exhort her to change her religion, preposterously imagining she desired some time to be determined, obtained three days respite of her execution. But she let him know, it was no satisfaction to her. She was well assured, the jealousy of the government would not suffer her to live, and therefore she had employed the whole time of her confinement in a preparation for death.

Some have believed, that without this last attempt of the Duke of Suffolk, the Queen would have spared his daughter. But as afterwards such numbers were put to death for their religion, it is not likely, that Jane, so firmly attached to the Protestant religion, would have been more mercifully used than the rest, even though the Queen could have prevailed with herself to pardon her treason.

Be this as it will, she was executed the 12<sup>th</sup> of February, after seeing the headless body of her husband pass by her, as he was brought back from execution to be interred in the chapel of the Tower. She showed to the last moment a great constancy and piety, and an immoveable adherence to the reformation, owning however herself guilty of a great sin, in accepting a crown which belonged not to her.

The Duke of Suffolk her father was tried the 17<sup>th</sup> of the same month, and executed the 21<sup>st</sup> [81], with great grief for having been the cause of his daughter's death.

### **Wyat at His Trial Accuses Princess Elizabeth and The Earl of Devonshire**

Next, Wyat was brought to his trial, where he offered to make great discoveries if his life might be saved. He accused even the Princess Elizabeth, and the Earl of Devonshire[82] as concerned in the conspiracy. This did not prevent his sentence, but only gained him a respite of two months, because of the hopes of drawing from him considerable discoveries.

Meantime the Earl of Devonshire was committed to the tower[83], and the Princess Elizabeth, though indisposed, was brought to London, and closely confined in White Hall[84], without liberty to speak to any person. On the 11<sup>th</sup> of March following she was sent to the tower.

The 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of February, Bret, commander of Wyatt's forces, and fifty eight more, were hanged. Some days after[85], six hundred prisoners, with halters about their necks, waited on the Queen, and received their pardon. But this was not capable to efface the impression made in men's minds, by so many executions, for a conspiracy in which was no effusion of blood. The fault was thrown on Gardiner, who was accused of leading the Queen to an excessive jealousy of her authority, and the most extreme rigour.

An affair happened at the same time, which also greatly alarmed and filled the people with fears of the Queen's intending to rule with too extensive a power.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton being accused, and tried as an accomplice in the conspiracy, was acquitted by his jury for want of sufficient proof to condemn him. For this jury was severely fined. So the Juries were deprived of the liberty of judging according to their consciences, and instead of being governed by proofs, they were to examine how the Court stood affected to the prisoners, and by the determination of their verdict.

This rigour exercised upon the Jury, was fatal to Sir John Throgmorton, who was found guilty upon the same evidence on which his brother had been acquitted.

This respite granted to Wyatt had a quite contrary effect and to what the Court expected. This unhappy man, who had accused Elizabeth and the Earl of Devonshire only in hopes of a pardon, finding he must die, fully cleared them by his second examination. And for fear his last declaration should be suppressed, he renewed it at the place of execution[86]. As there was no other proof against them, and their accuser himself had acquitted them with his last breath, no process could be formed against them, though Gardiner passionately desired the death of the Princess.

Nay, it is very probable, the Queen would have gladly consented to it, could she have supported her rigour with any colour of justice[87].

### **Rigours Exercised on Princess Elizabeth**

After Elizabeth had suffered a long and severe imprisonment in the tower, she was removed to Woodstock. This was not intended as a favour, but to take her out of the hands of the Lord Chandois, Lieutenant of the tower, who had treated her with great humanity and distinction.

She was at Woodstock committed to the custody of Sir Henry Beningfield[88], who paying her no such respect as she had received from the Lord Chandois, gave her room to suspect a design against her life. It is even pretended that certain persons officiously undertook to murder her, in the expectation of pleasing the Queen and her ministers; but that the strictness with which she was kept denied them all access.

### **The Queen's Orders Against married Bishops**

The disturbances occasioned by Wyatt's conspiracy being entirely appeased, the Queen resumed her first design of an utter destruction of the reformation. Though to this the authority of Parliament was necessary, she failed not to anticipate the design by her own authority, in virtue of her supremacy which she herself detested, and yet scrupled not to use against the Protestants! For this purpose, she gave Instructions to the Bishops to visit their dioceses.

Their instructions drawn by Gardiner, contained a bitter narration of all the pretended disorders introduced into the church in the reign of Edward. She afterwards gave the chancellor a particular order to purge the church of all married bishops and priests.

### **Four Bishops Deprived**

Some days after[89], the Queen granted a special commission to Gardiner, and five others[90], to deprive four bishops who were married, namely, the Archbishop of York, the bishops of St. David's, Chester and Bristol, and all in actual confinement[91]. Two days after, the same commissioners were ordered to deprive the bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Hereford, for having behaved themselves ill, and preached erroneous doctrines.

The pretence to deprive these Bishops by a bare order of the Queen, was taken from the letters patents of King Edward, in which it was provided, that they should hold their Bishoprics so long only as they behaved well, and therefore it was no injustice to deprive them, since their conduct was displeasing.

### **The Mass is Restored**

This was the pretence, but the true reason was, the court's desire to fill these Sees with their creatures, before the meeting of the Parliament. As to the inferior clergy, Dr. Burnet pretends, that of sixteen thousand then in England, twelve thousand were turned out for having wives[92]. And indeed in the *Collection of The Public Acts*, we meet with an infinite number of Pretensions to livings, which sufficiently show the alterations made in the Church.

Meantime, in consequence of the act of Parliament, the Mass was every where restored, with the liturgy used in the end of Henry VIII's reign. Such was the constitution of the state and church when the new Parliament met the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April 1554[93].

### **The Disposition of The Commons of The New Parliament**

The care of the court to have a Parliament at their devotion, had not been less than in the foregoing year. Nay, it was so much more successful, as Gardiner had money in his hands to gain the electors and representatives. The court had a double design, the first to have the Queen's marriage approved; the second to restore the Pope's authority.

For the first, it was not sufficient to have representatives well inclined to the intended alterations in religion, it was farther requisite, they should be little zealous for the good of their country, since the Queen's marriage put England in evident danger of becoming one day a province to Spain. For the second it was necessary, not only that most of the Commons should be convinced of the Romish doctrines, but also should be really Papists, that is, persuaded that religion could not subsist without a Pope.

Now the men of this opinion were not very numerous among the Roman Catholics, There were many more, who believing transubstantiation, invocation of saints, adoration of images, &c. were however persuaded that the Papal authority was by no means necessary to the church, and were well content with its abolishment.

To have persons returned proper for the designs of the court, or to gain those who were not so compliant, it was that Gardiner used all his interest with the Emperor and Queen to promise pensions. This was done with so little caution and secrecy, that with regard to a great number of members, their pensions were known. The Parliament when met, was so obsequious to the Queen's will, that she was sometimes obliged to check the impetuous zeal of the Commons.

## An Act to Confirm The Queen's Rights

The first act passed in this session gave occasion to many reflections: but the intent of it was unknown till long after, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when a certain person, let into the secret, discovered it to the Earl of Leicester. The Bill was brought in by the speaker. It imported:—

**That** as the laws declarative of the Royal Prerogatives had been made in favour of Kings, it might be pretended that the Queen had no right to them: it was therefore declared.

**That** these prerogatives did belong to the Crown, whether it was in the hands of male or female: and whatsoever the Law did limit or appoint for the King, was of right also due to the Queen, who was declared to have as much authority as any of her progenitors.

This bill occasioned some debates in the House of Commons. Some feared that the pretence of securing to the Queen just rights, a design of enlarging them beyond their just bounds, and that the last clause, **that she had as much authority as any of her progenitors**, might encourage her to exercise the same power as William the Conqueror, who stripped the English of their lands, to bestow them on foreigners.

The Queen's marriage with the Prince of Spain still increased this suspicion, by the fear of having a despotic government, like that of Spain, introduced into England. It was therefore thought proper to alter the words of the act, in such a manner as they should secure to the Queen all her legal rights, without giving her an opportunity to use such as were not so.

The court found no fault with this correction. Gardiner, who promoted the bill, had no intention to make the Queen absolute, but to prevent Philip from seizing the government on pretence of sex. The example of Henry VII, furnished a just cause of fear. That Prince had at first no pretension to the Crown, but what flowed from his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV.

However when he afterwards found himself sufficiently strong, he resolved to rein in his own right, as heir to the house of Lancaster. Philip might have done the same thing, as descended from the same house. So that here Gardiner consulted once the interest of the nation, and his own. It was the nation's interest, that Philip should not have any opportunity of seizing the government.

Gardiner likewise required the same, because if Philip should once become master of England, the administration of affairs would probably be put into the hands of Spaniards, and consequently, Gardiner be excluded. In a word, the true occasion of Gardiner's Bill was this: a certain person had contrived a model of government, according to which the Queen was to declare herself a conqueror: or assert that as she came to the Crown by common law, she was not bound by the laws which limited the regal power, because these restrictions were made for kings and queens.

This plan was communicated to the Imperial ambassador, who put it into the Queen's hands, and prayed her to read it with attention. The Queen doubtless read, and then delivered it to her Chancellor to examine, and give his opinion upon it. He thereby saw what was the aim of the Spaniards, the consequences and peril of following, or even listening to such councils.

In a word, he so managed her, that she threw the project into the fire. It was not without reason that Gardiner began to be alarmed with respect to the Spaniards. Besides, that such projects as this, gave him just cause to suspect them of some design upon the liberties of England, there was another thing that confirmed his suspicions. This was the Spaniards had studiously published a genealogy of Philip, which derived him from the daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster,

and son of Edward III. Gardiner therefore thought it high time to break the Spanish measures; and as he undertook to do by the aforementioned act. But he took particular care not to be known for the author, for fear of forfeiting Phillip's favour[94].

## **The Bishopric of Durham Restored to its Rights**

In this session the bishopric of Durham, suppressed the end of the late reign, was restored to its ancient rights, and the act suppression repealed.

## **The Duke of Suffolk's Sentence Confirmed**

The sentence against the Duke of Suffolk, and the fifty eight men executed for the late rebellion was likewise confirmed.

Lastly, the parliament approved the treaty of marriage between the Queen and Philip. But as Gardiner began to fear the Spaniards, he so ordered, that the Parliament in approving the treaty, explained more clearly, and enlarge the articles, by which the government of the kingdom was declared to belong only to the Queen.

No more was desired of the Parliament in this session[95]. If the zeal of the Commons so please the court had been indulged, many rigorous acts against the Reformation and reformed would have been made. But the Lord's by the court's direction, throughout the bills sent by the Commons on this subject.

Without doubt, the ministers thought it not proper to begin the persecution before the consummation of the Queen's marriage, in case some unforeseen accident should retard the Prince of Spain's arrival. For this reason the parliament was dissolved[96] the 25<sup>th</sup> of May, after the Queen's principal desire, the approbation of her marriage, was obtained.

## **A Dispute at Oxford Between The Papist and Protestants Clergy**

At the end of this session of Parliament, the court thought proper to interrupt the convocation, in order for a new conference to be held at Oxford, concerning the Eucharist. The Protestants complained publicly of the treatment they had met with, in the dispute held at London. From hence occasion was taken to lay a new snare for them, by appointing another disputation, in preference of the university of Oxford, as if more justice was intended them.

But this was in effect only to give them a fresh mortification. If the Court had meant to act with sincerity, they would never have chosen, as they did, for managers of the dispute on the Protestants' side, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, all prisoners in the tower, and the first, without controversy, the most learned and able men of their party. But as it was resolved to confound fear into them, otherwise than by reasons and arguments, the court was glad to expose these three grave prelates to the insults of their enemies.

## **Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer Excommunicated**

They were therefore removed to Oxford[97], to dispute against some of the Romish clergy, at the head of whom was Weston, Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation. This disputation or conference was managed like the former at London[98].

The three Protestant Bishops were forced to be silent, by reason of the continual interruptions and noises which hindered them from being heard, whence it was inferred they were vanquished. Those who are curious to see the particulars of this dispute, will find them in the *History of the reformation of England*. But to mortify these bishops was not thought sufficient. The dispute,



which lasted three days, being ended, they were summoned to abjure their pretended errors, and, upon their refusal, excommunicated[99].

## **The Prince of Spain's Arrival**

Prince Philip being informed that nothing now retarded the consummation of his marriage, left the groin the 16<sup>th</sup> of July, and arrived the 19<sup>th</sup> at Southampton[100].

At his landing he drew his sword, and carried it naked some time. This mysterious action was variously interpreted. Some said it signified that he would draw his sword in defence of the nation. Others believed, that he intimated to the English by this action, that he intended to govern them by the sword.

The magistrates of Southampton presenting him with the keys of their town, he took and return them without speaking a word. This gravity displeased the English, who used to be treated more affably by their sovereigns. The Queen met him at Winchester, where Gardiner married them 25 July. The same day they were proclaimed king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and by many other titles[101].

## **Philip Brings with Him Many Chests of Silver**

The Emperor had lately made a present to his son of the kingdoms of Naples and Jerusalem. Philip was but 29 years of age, and Mary was 38. Many chests of bullion[102], brought by Philip landed, which no doubt were a great part of the one million, two hundred thousand crowns, promised to be sent into England by the Emperor; but which he was not inclined to part with before the consummation of the marriage. This infused fresh zeal for the Queen's interest, into those who had before been gained by Gardiner[103].

## **Philip Obtains A Pardon for Elizabeth and Some Others**

Philip, desirous to require the affection of the English, began with acts of clemency, which would have produced that effect, and the rest of his conduct being answerable to them. However, some persons of distinction were the better for his generosity. The Princess Elizabeth was the chief. Gardiner was for removing her out of the way at any rate.

He apprehended, if she succeeded Mary, she will be led by her own interests to subvert whatever should be done in this reign, with respect to religion. Besides, it was known, that notwithstanding all her caution, she was reformed in her heart. As it was resolved to persecute the Protestants, there was some room to fair an insurrection, under colour of asserting her rights. The Queen herself was not far from gardener's sentiments; but Philip interceded for Elizabeth, and freed her from this danger[104].

## **Two Reasons Why Philip Interceded for Elizabeth**

This was doubtless, at first from a motive of generosity. It has been pretended, that policy had afterwards a great share in the preservation of this princess, and two of several reasons are assigned.

First, it is said, that when he had no longer hopes of children by Queen Mary, he reflected, that if Elizabeth died before the Queen, the Crown of England would devolve to the Queen of Scotland, who would bring this rich inheritance to the Dauphin of France. It is indeed true, that by Henry VIII's will, the Queen of Scots could not claim the English crown, till after the posterity of the Duchess of Suffolk. But it was not likely, the Dauphin would regard this will; and he might

happen to join the Crown of England and Ireland to those of France and Scotland, which could not but be prejudicial to the house of Austria.

The second reason which induced Philip to save Elizabeth was, as it is pretended, his hopes to marry her, if Mary died first. Besides the Princess Elizabeth, some other persons obtained their pardon by Phillip's intercession; namely, nine knights and the Archbishop of York[105]. It is presumed, this prelate was not firm to his religion, because all the rest who were released, were men who suited the religion of the times. Probably they had been engaged in Wyatt's or lady Jane's cause. Besides the Archbishop of York was suffered to live in quiet during the residual of this reign.

## **Philip Displeases The English**

Philip's grave manner and reserved air gave great disgust to the English. None was suffered to come either into his, or the Queen's presence, without a formal demand of an audience, as is practised by ambassadors. This rendered the court entirely unfrequented, the English nobility not enduring to conform to customs so opposite to their own.

## **The Duke of Norfolk Dies**

The old Duke of Norfolk died in September, about a year after obtaining his liberty[106].

Mary's third Parliament met the 11<sup>th</sup> of November[107], disposed as the court could wish[108]. The money come from Spain produce such effects, that most of the representatives only wanted occasions to signalised their zeal for the Queen. The court was so sensible of this, that without any law yet made to restore the papal authority, two noblemen was sent to receive Cardinal Pole as legate, and bring him over into England.

One of these was Lord Padget, who having been the principal friend and confident of the Duke of Somerset, and one of that protector's instruments to establish the Reformation in the reign of Edward, was nominated in this of Mary, to meet the Pope's legate[109]. Such change had a new reign produced amongst the nobility.

Whilst the legate in Flanders was preparing for his voyage, an act passed in Parliament to repeal his attainder in the reign of Henry VIII. This cost about three days[110], in order to avoid the inconvenience of seeing a legate arrive in the kingdom, still liable to a sentence of death.

## **Pole's Speech to Parliament**

Pole arrived 24<sup>th</sup> of November[111], and after communicating his instructions to the king and queen, he laid before them, and both houses of Parliament sent for to that purpose, the occasion of his legation. This, he said was to bring back to the fold of Christ the sheep that had gone astray:—

“That the Pope, who held on earth the place of sovereign pastor, was ready to receive them; and therefore he exalted the English to embrace an opportunity at once so favourable and happy.”

The Queen, who passionately desired to see the Pope's authority restored in England, was so moved on this occasion, that she fancied she felt a child stir in her womb. This news was immediately published in all places, and even by an order of Council [112],

*Te Deum* and was sang at St Paul's. Some flatterers spared not to say, that is John the Baptist leapt in his mother's womb at the salutation of the virgin, so here, a happy omen followed on the

sanitation from the Christ vicar speaking by the mouth of his legate. The Queen's women, who saw her so fond of her imaginary conception, humoured her in disbelief, to the middle of next year, when, to her great mortification, she discovered her mistake.

## **The Two Houses Petition for a Reconciliation with The Pope**

The 29<sup>th</sup> of November the two houses presented a petition to the king and queen, praying their intercession with the league, for a reconciliation of the kingdom with the church, from which a horrible schism had long disunited it. They promised in the same petition, to repeal all acts against the Pope's authority.

Upon this the legate came to the parliament, and in a long speech enlarged upon the Pope's affection and tenderness for the kingdom of England, and the extraordinary favours which in every age that nation had received from the Holy See. Then he enjoined for penance the repeal of all the laws made against a papal authority, granting of full absolution, which was received by both houses on their knees, absolved also the kingdom from all censures.

## **An Act Restoring Papal Authority**

The repeal promised by both houses could not be ready before the beginning of January. By this act the Pope's authority was restored to the same state as before the 20<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Henry VIII. But the five following articles inserted in it, were so many restrictions upon the papal power.

- I.** The bishoprics, cathedrals, and colleges, should remain in their present condition.
- II.** Bad marriages contracted within degrees forbidden only by the canons, and not the law of God, should be deemed good and valid.
- III.** That institutions into benefices made during the schism, should be confirmed.
- IV.** That all judicial processes should also be confirmed.
- V.** That alienations of the lands of the church should be authorised, and the processors subject to no censures or prosecutions on that account.

## **Clauses Ratified by The Legate**

The legate ratified all these articles, but with a denunciation of the judgements of God on all those who possess the church lands. As this article was the most important, and obstructive to a reunion. The court of Rome had not been a little embarrassed to settle it. The nobility and gentry, enriched with the plunder of the church in the last two reigns, were not to be alarmed.

On the other hand, the canons make the lands of the church so sacred, that the Pope himself, however extensive his power be in other respects, cannot alienate them. Consequently, Julius III, could not consent to the alienation made in England, without violating the canons. Nay, his concerns would have been of no force, since he would have exceeded the bounds of his power.

Meanwhile, had he insisted upon the necessity of restitution, and told the English, that without it he could not possibly absolve the affair of the reunion of England, the conclusion whereof was so patently desired by the Pope would have been in danger of miscarrying.

This was one of those nice affairs, which called for some of those expedients, the court of Rome seldom wants. The expedient now made use of was to deceive the English. The Pope first gave

Pole a general power[113], which was not thought sufficient, however, to remove the uneasiness of the persons concerned. Afterwards he sent him another[114], authorising him:—

"to transact with the processors of church lands for the rents they had unlawfully received, and for the movables they had consumed; in restoring first, if the legate thought proper, the lands they unjustly possessed"[115].

This clause in restoring first, if the legate thought proper, and a very equivocal meaning. It might signify, that the legate had the liberty to oblige the processors to restitution, or to dispense with it; or else that he had power to transact with them for the received rents before or after the restitution of the lands. In all appearance, the Pope understood the clause in this last sense, but was willing to give room to believe, that he understood it in the first.

This power appearing insufficient to the Emperor and the court of England, the Pope gave a third not less equivocal, and which, under a heap of general terms, contained certain restrictions, which left him free to act afterwards as he should please: for his present business was to blind the possessors and the parliament, in giving them a seeming satisfaction. This last power ran: —

"That whereas, before, he had given power to his legate to transact with the possessors of the church's goods, and to discharge them from the rents they had unjustly received, or the movables they had wasted; nevertheless, to the end that the entire reduction of England might become so much the more easy, by the greater hopes which the Pope gave of condescension and compliance on this occasion, (unwilling as he was to keep back the great work of the salvation of so many souls, by any human considerations, and desirous to imitate the good Father going out to meet the prodigal son) he gave power to his legate, agreeably to the confidence he reposed in him, to transact and agree, by authority of the Holy See, with the possessors of the goods of the church, for whom the Queen should intercede, and to give them a dispensation for the future enjoyment of them; with reservation nevertheless of such things, wherein, for the greatness and importance of them, he shall think fit to consult the Holy See, for its approbation and confirmation."

This last power, far from correcting what was defective in the former, was still more equivocal and useless.

**First**, for the word transact, which was in the first power, and remains likewise in this, it is manifest, that the Pope did not mean by it to bear acquiescence of his legate to a possession deemed ungenerous, and that on this occasion, the transaction imported at least some previous reparation to be made to the church. But for fear the term transact should not be significant enough, the Pope added in this last power the term agree, which evidently showed him what sense he would have this transaction understood. Wherefore the bare acquiescence of the legate was useless, since he thereby exceeded his power, which was to transact and agree.

**Secondly**, under these terms future enjoyment, was then equivocation, since the future might imply either a perpetual or temporary enjoyment.

**Thirdly**, the legate could grant a dispensation for the enjoyment of these lands but to those for whom the Queen interceded, so that the Queen might choose whether she would intercede for any person. Nay, it is very likely, she would have scruples, since, as will appear, she herself made restitution of all such lands as were in her possession.

**Fourthly**, all that the legate could do on this occasion, was insignificant without the Pope's confirmation, which could revoke it, so that the legates power was only provisional.

**Lastly**, the obligation to consult the Holy See in matters of importance, was also an uncertain expression, and liable to endless Cavils.

Pope Julius III, died before he was informed of the success of this affair. But if we judge of him by the terms of the power granted to his legate, he acted with no sincerity, and his successor plainly refused to confirm the legate's acquiescence. It was therefore a manifest illusion put upon the possessors of the church lands, since, according to the Canon Law, they could thereby acquire no just title.

On the other hand, they could possess them with a safe conscience, since the legate, at the same time that he gave his consent to their enjoyment of these lands, denounced the judgments of God ready to fall on their heads. It will be asked, perhaps, how the English could suffer themselves to be imposed upon by so palpable an artifice.

To this may be answered:

**First**, that the King and Queen being in the sentiments of the court of Rome, assisted the fraud as much as possible, and the Parliament, corrupted with Spanish gold, seemed not to see what they saw.

**In the second place**, the legate's powers were probably shewn only to the King and Queen, who appeared satisfied with them, and the Parliament, without examining these powers, supposed the legate sufficiently authorized. I have a little enlarged on this subject, because it is very material at present, and possibly may be more so hereafter.

The English may see by this, not only the impossibility of the court of Rome's acting with sincerity in this affair, but that, though a Pope should have the best intentions towards the possessors of church lands, his consent would be insignificant. His successors might always say with some foundation, that he had exceeded his power, However this be, the possessors were, or seemed to be, satisfied, and the other because the Parliament made a law which in some manner dispelled the fears of the persons concerned.

This law imported. That whoever should disturb the subjects, in their possession of any lands or goods once belonging to the church, on pretence of any ecclesiastical authority, should fall into a Præmunire.

## **An Act Made to Renew The Ancient Statutes Against Heretics**

The affair of the reconciliation being ended, and the government become entirely Popish, the Parliament passed an act to revive the statutes of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V, against heretics[116].

The Commons were so hasty, that if their zeal had been indulged, they would have finished at once what the court desired to do only by degrees. They brought in several Bills, which were rejected by the Lords, for fear of alarming the Protestants, and driving them to despair. But the commons were almost indifferent whether their bills were approved or rejected, because, whatever happened, their zeal for the Queen was rendered indisputable. This was the real aim of all their proceedings.

Afterwards an act was made by way of supplement to the statute of treasons and felonies. It was in favour of Philip that this act was renewed, by which, if any person asserted, that Philip had no right to the title of King of England, during his marriage with the Queen, he was to be sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and to forfeit all his goods: Moreover, that Prince having consented to take upon him the guardianship of the children he might have by the queen, and to

govern the Kingdom for a son, till he was eighteen, and for a daughter, till fifteen; it was also enacted, That conspiring his death during that time, should be treason.

It was likewise death, by another act, for any to pray, that God would turn the Queen's heart from Idolatry, or shorten her days[117].

## **The Court Consults What Measures Most Proper to be Taken Against The Protestants**

The statutes against heretics were no sooner revived, than the court took into consideration how to reduce them. Their number was great, and without doubt much greater than that of their adversaries. But the latter had the government for them. In this party were those who were indifferent to all religions, and these appeared the most zealous, because it was the true way to render them acceptable to the court.

On the other hand, the Protestants could not make any use of their numbers, because they were without support. Besides, many of them concealed their sentiments, for fear of losing their lives and fortunes. Others, by a principle of conscience, chose to suffer, rather than resist.

So that those who would have used force against the attacks of their enemies, would, probably, have been ill supported, and the other, because the Emperor would not have failed to assist the Queen, had it been necessary. The Protestants therefore, with the greatest consternation, saw a storm ready to fall on their heads, without any possibility to avoid it.

## **Pole Advises A Moderate Approach**

In the council, held at court on this subject, Pole was for gentle methods rather than force, thinking this would only inflame, instead of curing the evil, and at most, but increase the number of hypocrites. He added that the best means of converting their Protestants, was the Reformation of the clergy, whose irregular lives had first given birth to heresy.

Gardiner, on the contrary maintained, that only rigour was capable to have any good effect upon the Protestants. That in the reign of Henry VIII, it was notorious, all submitted to the *Statute of the six articles*, through fear of punishment. As Gardiner had in many things complied against his conscience, he could not believe that others had more resolution than himself.

For this reason he thought, the punishment of some of the most obstinate, will be attended with a blind compliance in all the rest, to whatever was enjoined. Hence it appears, he was a little concerned to gain men's hearts, provided the prevailing religion found no more opposition. The Queen, who was a flaming bigot, embraced his opinion. But to show Pole that his councils were not wholly neglected, she charged him with reforming the clergy, and left to Gardiner the care of extirpating heresy.

Towards the end of the year, the Queen sent for Viscount Montague[118], the Bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Karne to Rome, with a tender submission to the Pope from the King, the Queen, and the three states of the realm.

**1555 AD]** The resolution being taken to prosecute, with the utmost rigour, the Protestants, Gardiner, first author of that advice, very readily undertook to execute it. He it was who in spite of all the difficulties which naturally occurred in the Queen's marriage, had at last accomplished it.

He it was also, who, by his intrigues, had found a way to dispose Parliaments to favour the Queen's intentions, with regard to religion, and had effected the work of restoring the Roman

religion and the Pope's authority. He thought therefore nothing more was wanting to complete his glory, than the forcing the Protestants into the pale of the church, or at least to an outward submission to the laws newly enacted, which is the utmost bounds of man's power.

For this purpose, he resolved to begin with Hooper and Rogers. The first had been Bishop of Gloucester; the other was a clergyman of great repute among the Protestants. It was he who with Bradford had rescued Bourn from his danger when he preached at St. Paul's. This action, charitable as it was, had received so ill a construction, that the court took occasion from it to arrest Rogers, in order to remove out of the way a man, who was regarded as one of the chiefs of the Protestants, from his great credit and influence with the people.

It was an artifice frequently used in the beginning of this reign by the court, to imprison, on frivolous pretences, those whom they designed to sacrifice, with intent to detain them till laws were made to condemn them.

### **The Martyrdom of Hooper and Rogers**

Hooper and Rogers were of this number, and the first martyrs of this reign. They were condemned by commissioners appointed by the Queen, with the Chancellor at their head[119], and delivered over to the secular arm. Hooper was burnt at Gloucester, and Rogers at London[120]. Hooper was three quarters of an hour in torment, the fire not being well kindled, so that his legs and thighs were first burnt, and one of his hands dropped off before he expired[121].

### **Saunders and Taylor Also Burnt**

These executions were followed by those of Saunders and Taylor, two other clergymen of the most distinguished zeal for their religion[122]. Taylor's punishment was remarkable for his being put into a pitch barrel, before the fire was kindled, a faggot from an unknown hand thrown at his head, which made it stream with blood. Afterwards, as he was repeating the 51<sup>st</sup> Psalm in English, one of the guards struck him over the mouth, and bid him pray in Latin.

He was therefore obliged to be silent, and continue his ejaculations, till the moment came which was to finish all his sufferings. But while the fire was kindling, one of the guards, either through impatience or pity, knocked out his brains with a halberd, and delivered him from more cruel torments[123].

### **Gardiner Transfers His Commission to Bonner**

Gardiner finding himself mistaken in his conjectures, and that the punishment of these four clergymen produced not the effect he expected, transferred to Bonner a commission, which could not but draw upon him the public hatred. This was no favour to the Protestants, for if Gardiner's zeal was cruel, Bonner's was furious.

### **The Executions Cause Universal Consternation**

Meanwhile, these few executions caused an universal consternation. The bigots only triumphed. The rest who had any sense of humanity, could not, without the least concern, behold men exposed to such cruel sufferings, who were accused of no crime, and solely for their religious opinions. It could not but be observed how differently the Protestants behaved from the Roman Catholics.

In Edward's reign, very few had suffered imprisonment for their religion; and in Mary's, no punishment was thought too cruel for those Protestants, who dared to persevere in their opinions. The bishops themselves seemed ashamed, for, in a solemn assembly they declared, they had no

hand in these barbarities. So all the hatred fell upon the King and Queen, and particularly the King, as he was bred in a country where the inquisition reigned.

### **The King's Spanish Confessor Preaches Against The Persecution**

Philip hearing of it, saw that the affection of the English would be entirely lost, if they were suffered to continue in this sentiment. Besides, he was resolved not to be the dupe of the bishops, who cleared themselves at his expense. He therefore ordered his confessor Alphonso to preach before him, who, before all the court, charged the bishops with the cruelties complained of by the whole Kingdom[124] (6).

He even challenged them to produce in the whole Scriptures one passage which allowed Christians to burn men for matters of conscience. It was not without astonishment that a Spaniard was heard to exclaim against burning heretics, and condemn cruelties so common in Spain. The bishops were so amazed, that the fires remained extinguished for some weeks, but about the middle of March they were re-kindled, the bishops chousing to incur the public hatred, rather than not prosecute the Protestants.

### **Bonner's Fury and Cruelties**

The truth is, the court was no less inclined to cruelty than the bishops. But each had a mind to throw the whole blame of the Persecution on the other. Bonner, Bishop of London, distinguished himself by a fury unbecoming not only a clergyman and a Christian, but even a cannibal. From this time the executions of the Protestants were continued, with a barbarity which clearly shewed, that those by whom they were ordered, were not at all forced.

The bishops condemned without mercy all who were brought before them, and the civil magistrates executed the sentences, even more rigorously than commanded by the Laws[125].

### **Elizabeth Taken Out of Prison**

About the end of April, the Princess Elizabeth was conducted from Woodstock to Hampton Court, where Gardiner, attended by a great number of Privy Counsellors, exhorted her seriously to merit the Queen's pardon by an ingenuous confession of her crimes. But she positively denied to have ever justly offended the Queen.

At last Philip prevailed for an enlargement of her liberty, at a seat in the country[126], where she was permitted to retire. As she knew all her actions were narrowly observed, she avoided concerning herself in any affair which might give the least suspicion. During the rest of this reign, she applied herself wholly to her studies, and made considerable progress. But still she led an uncomfortable life, as she was forced to dissemble her religious sentiments, to hear Mass, and frequently confess herself, to escape the dangers she was continually exposed to[127].

In this she was a little less scrupulous than her sister Mary had been in Edward's reign. But it may be said for her, that there was a great difference between the characters of Edward and Mary. The fear of death could not oblige Mary to dissemble her religion, because she was never threatened with it, whereas Elizabeth saw death continually before her eyes upon the least advantage against her.

### **The Queen Restores The Good of The Church**

While the Queen was thus expressing her zeal for the Romish religion, she felt a load upon her conscience which she could no longer bear. This was the possession of the church abbey lands adjudged to Henry VIII.



Pope Julius III, pretended to consent that the possessors of the church lands should not be disturbed. But he plainly shewed that nothing was farther from his intentions, for even before the affair of the reconciliation was ended, he published a Bull, excommunicating all who had taken possession of any church or abbey lands, as well as the Princes who favoured or assisted them.

Gardiner indeed had endeavoured to remove the Queen's uneasiness, by telling her, this Bull concerned Germany alone, and had no authority unless received in England. But it was easy to see, that a defect of formality could not excuse a practice in England, which was condemned by the Pope as a heinous crime in Germany. Be this as it will, the Queen, who believed herself near the time of her delivery, would not run the risk of dying excommunicate.

She sent for her ministers[128], and told them it was her fixed resolution to part with the church lands in her possession, to be disposed of as the Pope should judge proper. At the same time she ordered them to acquaint the legate with her intention and give him a list of those lands that still continued in the Crown.

### **Pope Julius Dies - Succeeded By Marcellus II Who Dies Shortly After and is Succeeded by Paul IV**

Pope Julius died the 23<sup>rd</sup> of March, a few days before this restitution. Marcellus II succeeded him the 9th of April. The new Pope was preparing to make a great reformation in the church; but death surprised him whilst he was meditating this project, the 22<sup>nd</sup> day after his exaltation.

The news of Marcellus's death being brought to England, the Queen formed the design of raising Pole to the pontificate. She even made some advances towards it, but, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May, the cardinals assembled in conclave, elected Cardinal Caraffa, who assumed the name of Paul IV.

The See had not of a long time been filled with a Pope more haughty, or more proud with his power. He was no sooner raised to the Papal Chair, than he resolved to carry his authority as high or higher than any of his predecessors. The ambassadors of England[129] arrived in Rome the very day of his election, but were not admitted to audience till a month after.

### **The Pope Erects Ireland into a Kingdom**

This delay was owing to Mary's assuming the title of Queen of Ireland, which the Pope would not suffer, pretending that the Roman Pontiff only had a right to erect Kingdoms. As the ambassadors had no instructions to relax on this article, their audience would have been long deferred, if the Pope had not thought of this expedient. He privately erected Ireland into a Kingdom[130], and at the same time sent to the ambassadors to acquaint them, that otherwise he would not suffer them to give their Queen that title in a public audience.

This difficulty being removed, the ambassadors were admitted to audience, and the Pope with great ceremony told them, that in token of his esteem of the King and Queen of England, he had erected Ireland into a Kingdom, by virtue of his power to create new Kingdoms, and supplant old ones.

### **Demands of The English Ambassadors to Restore the Goods of The Church and Payment of Peter's Pence**

Afterwards, in private audiences, he warmly pressed the restitution of the church lands, and told the ambassadors, that he expected the whole should be restored without any exception. He said also, he intended to have the payment of St. Peter's Pence continued; the payment for which

purpose, he would shortly send a collector into England; and that the English were not to expect St. Peter would open the gates of heaven to them, so long as they usurped his patrimony on Earth.

The ambassadors, not to exasperate this haughty pontiff, were contented to answer him with submission, but did nothing, as indeed they had no power to meddle with these points.

## **An Order From The Court to The Justices Against The Reformed**

While this passed at Rome, the Privy Council being informed, that the justices of peace, and particularly those of the county of Norfolk, were indulgent to the Protestants, sent instructions to them to act more agreeably to the intentions of the Court. This shews the bishops were not alone guilty of the cruelties exercised against the Protestants, but that the court was equally possessed with this furious zeal.

In these instructions was an article enjoining the justices to have spies in every parish, for giving information of all persons who were remiss in their duty in point of religion. This was so like an inquisition, that it was imputed to the counsels of the Spaniards, which rendered them extremely odious, there being nothing more contrary to the English humour and government.

Notwithstanding these instructions, and the court's severe orders, the violence already committed occasioned such murmurs, that Bonner himself, whether through fear, or some other motive, moderated his fury so far, as to send away, without trial, persons brought before him for heresy.

This conduct drew from the King and Queen a severe letter to him[131], in which, after expressing; their surprise, they exhorted him not to be remiss. This was sufficient to renew the persecution with more fury than before. Bradford, who had been some time under sentence of death, was burnt in July[132]. Ridley Bishop of London, and the venerable old Latimer[133], who had been Bishop of Worcester in the reign of Henry VIII, suffered Martyrdom in November.

I omit many other Martyrdoms in several places of the Kingdom, because my design is not to write a history of the church. Let it suffice to say, that in the course of this year, sixty-seven persons were burnt, amongst whom were four bishops, and thirteen other ecclesiastics[134].

## **The Queen Has A False Conception**

When the King and Queen writ to Bonner to rekindle his zeal, the Queen believed herself upon the point of being delivered. The 29th of May, the courtiers were in a readiness to convey the news to different parts of the Kingdom[135]. In the beginning of June, a rumour was everywhere spread, that she was delivered of a prince.

The bishop of Norwich sung Te Deum in his cathedral. One Priest, more officious than the rest, described in his sermon the lineaments of the newborn Prince. But this pretended pregnancy ended at last in some moles cast forth by the Queen at several times. This was a grievous disappointment to the Queen and the whole court[136].

## **Philip Grows Weary**

King Philip was no less dismayed. He had only married Philip in hopes of having children by the Queen, and thereby uniting England with the monarchy of Spain. This accident, and perhaps the opinion of the physicians, that there was no likelihood of any children, entirely destroying these hopes, he grew weary of a wife, who had neither youth nor beauty, and resolved to apply more closely to his other affairs.

## **Philip Leaves England for Flanders**

Besides, he was doubtless informed by the Emperor his father, of his intention to resign to him his Spanish dominions. He left England therefore the 4th of September[137], to go into Flanders, leaving the Queen extremely mortified at his coldness, of which she was but too sensible.

Before the King's departure, a discovery was pretended of a conspiracy against the Queen. Several persons were arrested, and some put to the torture. But as no confession was drawn from them, very likely this conspiracy was only a false surmise, designed to incense the Queen against the persons accused.

## **An Enquiry Made After The Robbers of Churches and Monasteries**

In the course of this year, a strict inquiry was made after them who had pillaged the churches and monasteries, and particularly after those who were employed in the visitation under Henry VIII. This was a good expedient to draw large sums from those men, who were forced to open their purses to escape a severer punishment.

## **The Commons Out of Humour With The Court**

The Parliament met the 21<sup>st</sup> of October, and did nothing considerable, besides the making an act to approve and confirm the Queen's resignation of the first fruits and Tenth[138]. The Lords were desirous to make a law to confiscate the estates of those whom the fear of persecution had driven out of the Kingdom; but the Commons rejected the Bill.

Most of the members began no longer to pay the same deference to the court as formerly, whether their pensions were withdrawn after a compliance to almost whatever was desired, or they would not be the instruments of restoring to the clergy an authority so odious to the nation. Besides, most people were grown weary of the cruelties exercised against innocent men.

## **Parliament Dissolved**

However this be, the Queen met with great mortifications in this session. When she desired a supply of money, the Commons, with great freedom, replied, it was not just to burden the people with expenses which she might easily have supplied, if she had kept the church lands. So, it was with great difficulty that she obtained a moderate subsidy[139], The Parliament, seeming resolved not to be directed any more by the court, was dissolved the 9th of December[140].

## **Gardiner Dies**

It is not surprising that the good intelligence between the Queen and the Commons began to decrease, since the minister, who had hitherto been employed to manage that House, was no longer in the world. I speak of Gardiner, who died in the beginning of this session, in which he had been but twice present[141]. He was seized with his sickness the very day he received the news of the death of Ridley and Latimer, which he impatiently waited for.

He refused to sit down to dinner till he had received it, and was without that satisfaction till four in the afternoon. He then dined with a good appetite, and after dinner was seized with a suppression of urine, which brought him to his grave in few days. It is said, that during this indisposition he felt some remorse for his past conduct, and sometimes said, he had erred with St. Peter, but not mourned with him. He was a man entirely attached to the world, of great wit, and of equal craft and dissimulation[142]. He directed his talents solely to the supporting and

augmenting his own authority. Pope Paul IV, promised him a cardinal's hat. It is also pretended, that to procure the Archbishopric of Canterbury, promised to Pole, he had so slandered him to the court of Rome, that the Pope had resolved to recall, and even punish him as a favourer of heresy, because he did not approve the violent methods practised for the conversion of Protestants.

Gardiner's hope of succeeding to the Archbishopric, was the reason that Cranmer was suffered to live; because Gardiner waited till Pole was recalled. Though in all appearance, his religion was that of the Church of Rome, he had conformed to all Henry VIII's changes. But the hope he had groundlessly conceived, that Henry would at last return to his first sentiments in religion, put him upon some practices which rendered him suspected, and robbed him of the fruit of his dissimulation.

During the reign of Edward, he dissembled so far as to comply outwardly with the laws concerning religion; but at the same time he sufficiently discovered that it was with regret. To this was owing his deprivation, those who then managed the religious affairs, being persuaded that his dissimulation did more harm than good. In the reign of Mary, he was no longer forced to conceal his sentiments.

Nay, perhaps he affected a greater zeal, than he really had, for the Romish religion, to recommend himself the more to a bigoted Queen. By this he acquired her favour, and became her first minister, having artfully gained the Emperor to his interest. When he saw his credit firmly established, he turned his revenge upon his enemies into barbarity.

They had been contented to detain him in prison; but he could only be satisfied with burning them alive. Ridley and Latimer, amongst others, felt the terrible effects of his vengeance. He had not so long deferred the satisfaction of causing Cranmer to perish in the flames, if his own interest had not induced him to spare his life for some time.

It is pretended he was natural son of Richard Woodvil, brother to Queen Elizabeth, King Edward's IV's wife, and that this was the cause of his so sudden advancement to the Bishopric of Winchester, in the reign of Henry VIII. Dr. Burnet has clearly proved, in his *History of The Reformation*, Gardiner was one of the principal authors of Henry's divorce with Catherine.

This, one would think, should have rendered him equally odious with Cranmer to Queen Mary: But his zeal for the Romish religion effaced all. After his death, the Chancellorship was executed by Commission[143], from the 13<sup>th</sup> of November to the first of January following, when Heath Archbishop of York had the seals delivered to him.

### **The Pope Sends a Bull Erecting Ireland into a Kingdom**

The day after dissolving the Parliament, the Queen received a Bull from Paul IV, erecting Ireland into a Kingdom, this Pope presuming, that the erection made in the reign of Henry VIII, was null and invalid. Probably, the Queen, who was full of scruples, was not displeased to receive this bull without her desiring it.

The King's absence, and Gardiner's death, did not hinder the fires from being re-kindled about the end of this year, for the burning of Protestants. This shews, that Philip and Gardiner were not the only authors of this violence, but that the source of them lay in the Queen's furious bigotry.

### **Charles V Resigns His Dominions to Philip and His Brother**

It was likewise about this time that Charles V, resigned all his Spanish dominions to Philip at two different times[144]. The following year, he resigned likewise the imperial dignity to his

brother Ferdinand[145]. Paul IV long refused to own the new Emperor, pretending, that the resignation of the Empire ought to have been made to him[146].

The 21<sup>st</sup> of March, Cranmer suffered the Martyrdom 1556, to which he had long been destined. He had been declared heretic from April 1554. But this declaration was attended with only a bare excommunication, the power of the Judges, who had condemned him, reaching no farther. At last, in September 1555, he was tried at Oxford before two commissioners[147], one delegated from the Pope, and one from the Queen. His Accusation contained:—

**THAT** he had been twice married:

**THAT** he had kept a wife secretly in the reign of Henry VIII, and openly in that of Edward:

**THAT** he had published heretical Books, forsaken the communion of the Romish Church, and denied the real presence of Christ in the sacrament.

He owned all these facts, and upon his confession, was cited to appear before the Pope within eighty days; a needless citation, since he was detained a prisoner. The 14<sup>th</sup> of February, Bonner and Thirleby were sent to Oxford to degrade him. Bonner executed his commission with his usual insolence, and with bitter raileries and invectives against Cranmer, during the ceremony. But Thirleby melted into tears. Cranmer was clothed in pontifical robes made of canvas, to render him ridiculous, and then stripped of that ludicrous attire, piece by piece, according to the ceremonies of degradation practised in the Church of Rome[148]. But what was ridiculous, was, his being condemned for non-appearance at Rome, though he was all the while a close prisoner.

### **Cranmer Signs an Abjuration**

**1556 AD]** Death should of course have immediately followed the sentence of the commissioners, and his degradation. But so many snares were laid to overcome the constancy of this prelate, that, by infirmity, and the hopes of saving his life, he was prevailed with to sign an abjuration[149].

### **The Queen Signs a Warrant to Have Him Burnt**

His enemies, it seem should have been satisfied with engaging him in this weakness, but his death was what they wanted, and nothing less would content them. The Queen, who pretended a merit in forgiving him his private offences, and in being moved only by a zeal for religion, seeing all her measures broke by his abjuration, pulled off the mask, and signed a warrant for burning him, notwithstanding his abjuration.

Then it was that Cranmer came to himself, and, full of shame and confusion, retracted at the stake, and resolved, the hand which had signed the fatal abjuration, should first suffer. He held it extended in the fire till it dropped off[150], and then was observed to beat his breast with the other.

### **Pole Succeeds to The Archbishopric**

Thus he expired, testifying a repentance for the fault he had committed. His heart was found entire in the ashes, after his whole body was consumed, which occasioned divers reflections, foreign to my purpose. The enemies of the Reformation triumphed in the fall of this prelate, and the Protestants excused him in the best manner they could[151]. Pole was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury the day after his death. It seems he had his *Congé d' elire* with his election, and his Bulls from Rome dispatched before this time, because the order for the restitution of the

temporalities bears date the 21<sup>st</sup> of March, the day of Cranmer's death[152]. It is therefore without foundation that Pole is accused of hastening his death, to take possession of his archbishopric, because there was almost a month between the Queen's warrant for burning Cranmer, and the execution.

Pole had no need of Cranmer's death to be possessed of his Archbishopric, vacant ever since his predecessor's, condemnation. And indeed, he was now Archbishop of Canterbury before Cranmer died, having been elected in England, and approved by the Pope, as is expressed in the order for restoring the temporalities, dated 21<sup>st</sup> of March.

### **The Persecution Continues with Horrible Brutality**

All the rest of this year was a continual and violent persecution of the Protestants. The furious Bonner, who had the care of punishing heretics, not contented to burn them one by one, sent them in troops to the flames, so that in the year 1556, eighty five perished by his barbarity.

The very women were not spared, and the fury of the persecution fell upon innocent infants. In the Isle of Guernsey, a woman big with child being condemned to be burnt, and the violence of the fire burning her womb, a boy fell into the flames, which being snatched out by one more merciful than the rest, was, after a short consultation, thrown in again by command of the magistrates who assisted at the execution.

### **The Queen Repairs Monasteries and Erects New Ones**

While by these violent proceedings the utter ruin of the Protestant religion was endeavoured, the Queen, on the other hand, laboured to support that of the church of Rome, by repairing old monasteries, and founding new ones[153]. Perhaps she would have more advanced her design to restore the religious houses, had not the nobility and gentry taken the alarm.

It happened even in the last session of the Parliament, but some of the Commons, upon hearing a proposal concerning that affair, laid their hands on their swords, and boldly said, they knew how to defend their own properties. The Queen seeing so many obstacles and not thinking it proper this time to push the affair, resolved to wait a more favourable opportunity, and to proceed gradually.

### **The Queen Instructs Public Records of Actions by Henry VIII against Monks and The Pope to be Removed From the Public Records**

Meanwhile, she gave a commission to Bonner, and some others, to erase out of the public records what ever had been done by Henry VIII, against the monks and the Pope, and particularly the accounts of the visitations of the monasteries, and the renunciations of the papal authority by the monks. This has made the ecclesiastical history of that time very defective, and yet, notwithstanding the care of the commissioners, many records of this nature escaped their diligence, and remain to this day.

### **Affairs Between France and Spain**

The war still continuing between France and Spain, without the intervention of the English, Philip was desirous of either a peace or a truce, to have leisure to fix himself firmly on the throne, lately resigned to him by the Emperor's father. His Queen had mediated for this peace or truce, and obtained, that the two Kings should send their ambassadors between Calais and Ardres, where they had indeed met 21<sup>st</sup> of May last year, but without coming to any conclusion[154].

The advancement of Paul the 4th to the papal throne, rendered the place still more difficult. He was a Pope of the most extravagant pride, and though fourscore years old, was forming vast projects. He cannot be better compared than to Julius II. He had two nephews, one a cardinal, and the other governor of the ecclesiastical state, and both mortal enemies of the family of the Colonna, whose ruin they had resolved, and consequently the King of Spain, who supported it.

To effect their design, they persuaded the Pope their uncle, that they had discovered a conspiracy formed against him by the Spaniards. In consequence of this pretended discovery, they opened the packets of the Duke of Alva. Viceroy of Naples, and therein pretended to find incontestable proofs. They committed Cardinal Colonna to prison, and arrested the envoys of Philip and the Queen of England. Then they seized Palliano and Nettuno, two towns belonging to the Colonna.

### **Pope Paul IV Makes a League with France Against Spain**

But not satisfied with this, they soon after induced their uncle the Pope, to declare war with Spain, without having either money or troops to support it. He was therefore obliged to have recourse to the King of France, who was in actual war with Philip. For this purpose, he proposed to him the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples, and offered him all his forces to execute that design, provided he would assist him in the war he had undertaken.

This proposal being laid before the council of France, the Cardinal of Lorraine supported it with all his interest. This Cardinal had then such influence over the court, that no person almost durst contradict him, though it was easy to see that a league with the Pope could bring no advantage to the King. The Cardinal's aim was to procure for his brother, the Duke of Guise, the command of the Army which should be sent into Italy.

### **A Truce Concluded Between France and Spain**

This league, both offensive and defensive, was therefore began at Paris, and signed at Rome Rome, where the cardinals of Lorraine and Tournon had repaired the beginning of October 1555. The Pope promised the investiture of Naples to a son of France; and the king, on his part, engaged to send into that country and army of 12,000 foot, 500 men at arms, and many light horse. But shortly after, the mediation of Mary, Henry II and Philip concluded five years truce, signed the fifth of February, 1556.

### **The Pope Prevails with King of France to Break it**

The Pope complained loudly, that the King of France had left him to the vengeance of the Spaniards. Indeed the Duke of Alva had now approached Rome, and taken some places, and amongst the rest, Ostia, which the Pope's nephews had neglected. In this extremity, the Pope and his nephews had no other refuge, than to prevail with the King of France to break the truce with Spain.

It was with this view that Cardinal Caraffa repaired to Paris, as *Legate à Lateré*, declaring, that he came to effect a peace between the two crowns. At the same time, the Pope loaded with praises the Queen of England, for mediating a truce, and exulted her not to leave her work unfinished, but endeavoured to change the truce into a firm and lasting peace.

### **The Bones of Bucer and Fagius Burnt at Cambridge**

Meantime, the legate, by his intrigues and magnificent promises, prevailed at last with the King to break the truce, without alleging a reason, then the Pope was suppressed by the Spaniards, though his Holiness had first declared war against Spain. In January 1557, Cardinal Pole visited both the universities. Whilst he was at Cambridge, Bucer and Fagius two German divines, dead

some years before, were ridiculously cited before the commissioners to give an account of their faith, and upon their nonappearance, both were condemned to be burnt. This sentence was followed by a warrant from the court to execute it, and the two bodies in their coffins were tied to stakes, and consumed to ashes[155].

### **The Wife of Peter Martyr Dug up**

**1557 AD]** At Oxford, Peter Martyr's wife was dug out of her grave by order of the legate, and buried in a dunghill, because having been a nun, she had broken her vow. At first the process was intended against her as a heretic. But she had never learned to speak English, no witness could be produced to swear, they had ever overheard her utter any heresy. If all had been thus dug up, who might have been presumed to die heretics since the Reformation, there would have been work enough.

In all appearances, the suffering of Peter Martyr to go out of the kingdom was heartedly repented. If the body of his wife was thus treated, what must he have expected, had he been still in the hands of his persecutors[156]?

The violence hitherto acted upon both the dead and the living, had a quite contrary effect to what the Queen had imagined. The ecclesiastics only continued their rage; but the magistrates began to relax, and scrupled to be the instruments of these barbarities. The Council being informed of it, writ circular letters to all the towns, to inflame their zeal in the persecution of heretics. But these letters produced no great effect.

The Queen and her ministers enraged to hear from all parts that the number of the Protestants increased rather than lessened, resolved, as some have assured, to erect an inquisition in England, like that in Spain. To this end a commission was granted the last year, empowering twenty one commissioners[157] to fit upon trials of heresy, with a power so unlimited, that no other rules than their discretion, nor any person whatever exempted from their jurisdiction. This was followed by a persecution, in which seventy nine Protestants perished.

While these things passed in England, the Duke of Guise arrived in Italy, with the army designed for conquest of Naples. He stayed some time at Rome, where he found nothing ready of what the Pope had promised. Nevertheless, he entered the Kingdom of Naples in April, where he performed no great exploits. Shortly after, he was recalled by the Pope to the relief of Rome, closely blocked up by the Duke of Alva.

### **Philip Endeavours to Bring Mary to a Rupture With France**

On the other hand, Philip finding, the French had broken the truce, resolved to exert his utmost to establish his reputation in the beginning of his reign. He raised for this purpose an army of fifty thousand men, who were to act in Picardy; and to make himself more, formidable, tried all ways to gain the Queen to his interests, notwithstanding the agreement in their marriage articles, and his oath to give no occasion of rupture between England and France.

His Creatures about Mary perpetually insinuated to her, that she was ill treated by the King of France, who not content with receiving the English fugitives that retired into his dominions, had even given pensions to several. These insinuations began to operate on the Queen. But to put her quite out of humour with Henry, an artifice was used, which succeeded according to the desires of those who contrived it, probably, to do Philip service.

Dr. Wotton, the English ambassador in France, sent for one of his nephews to Paris, and gave him proper instructions to accomplish the project. This young man applying himself to one of the King's Gentlemen, desired a private audience of the King, saying, he had an affair of great



consequence to communicate to his majesty. The King refusing to see him, ordered him to apply to the Constable of Montmorenci. Wotton, in his conference with the constable, told him, he was sent by the inhabitants of Calais, who were generally Protestants, and desirous to put themselves into the hands of the French King, provided they might have liberty to profess their religion.

The constable listening to this proposition, bid him explain how it might be effected, and liking the project, told Wotton to come to him again and talk of this affair. But Wotton[158], instead of returning to the constable, crossed the seas back into England and made his report to the Queen and her ministers of what passed at Paris.

Whereupon the Queen thought the king of France was no longer to be regarded, since in the midst of peace, he was forming projects to surprise Calais. It appears, that in February she had resolved upon a rupture with France[159], since, by an order of the 19<sup>th</sup> of the same month, commissioners were sent to the sheriffs and justices of the peace to levy forces, and have them in a readiness to march upon the first notice. Shortly after, another affair happened, which furnished her with the desired pretence to declare war against France.

### **Stafford at The Head of Some Men Raises An Insurrection**

One Stafford[160] having secretly obtained assistance from the court of France, assembled some English fugitives, and embarking them, landed them in Scotland, towards the end of April, and marched directly to Scarborough, where he seized the castle, and published a manifesto against the Queen, pretending she had forfeited all right to the Crown, by introducing Spaniards into the kingdom.

He had even the boldness to assume the title of protector of England. But the Earl of Westmorland assembled some troops in the north, retook Scarborough, and made Stafford prisoner, with three of his accomplices[161].

### **Philip Arrives in England - Then Declares War on France**

King Philip arrived 20<sup>th</sup> of March[162] in England, where eight thousand men were ready to pass into the Low Countries. Shortly after his arrival, the Queen sent a herald to declare war against France. The 17<sup>th</sup> of June the eight thousand English[163] under the conduct of the earls of Pembroke left England, and joined the Spanish army commanded by the Duke of Savoy; after which Philip himself departed in July[164] to return to Brussels.

The Duke of Savoy having made a feint, four months, to attack several places in Picardy, fell suddenly upon St. Quentin[165] which was all in ill condition, and only had a garrison of three hundred men. All that the constable, who commanded the French army, could do, was to detach his nephew Admiral Chatillou with three thousand men, to throw himself into the town.

The admiral succeeded in part, having got in the night through the quarters of the besiegers. But instead of three thousand, only seven hundred followed him, the rest having lost their way. With this reinforcement he made a gallant defence, in the hopes that the constable, though much weaker than the enemy, would use all possible endeavours to relieve him, and indeed nothing was neglected by the constable. He was even so successful as to throw Andelot, brother of the admiral, into the place with five hundred men.

### **The Battle of St. Laurence**

But in his return, after his success, he was attacked by the Duke of Savoy, who routed his army, killed two thousand of his men, and took him prisoner. In this battle, called the battle St Lawrence, (because fought the 10<sup>th</sup> of August, the day dedicated to that St.) France lost a great number of

princes and nobleman killed or made prisoners[166]. The consternation was so great that if the Duke of Savoy had marched directly to Paris, it was believed nothing could have prevented his entrance.

But instead of this, he drew back to his lines, and eight days after carried the town by storm[167], and took the admiral prisoner on the breach. France exclaimed against the Pope, who had occasioned this rupture. But the blow was struck. The King of France's last resource was to call the Duke of Guise out of Italy, where he was making no great progress.

## **The Pope Intends to Recall Pole**

When the Pope heard the Queen of England had declared war against France, he was so angry with Pole, as if he could have hindered it, that he recalled all his legates[168] including Pole in the number; but Karne the English ambassador remonstrated to him by some cardinals the mischief which from thence might ensue to religion.

At last, after many solicitations and remonstrances, the Pope, without revoking his order, promised only it should not be notified to Pole, and told the ambassador he was inclined to continue the Cardinal in his legation, if the Queen should desire it. This was before the battle of St Laurence. But when the news of the loss of this battle, and the recalling of the Duke of Guise were brought to him, he was again extremely incensed against Pole, and resolved to sacrifice him to his revenge.

For this purpose he sent for Peyto the Queen's confessor to Rome, and, creating him Cardinal, and put into his hands the bull of Pole's revocation, and appointed him for his Legate in England, But the Queen, being informed of this writ to Peyto, who was on his return, that if he offered to set foot in England, she would bring him within the Præmunire. This letter stopped his journey[169].

Meanwhile, though the Pope's brief was not delivered to him, Pole abstained from the functions of his legateship, being unwilling to give the haughty Pontiff, a plausible pretence of complaint, who had long hated him.

When the Duke of Guise had quitted Italy, the Pope unable to defend himself against the Duke of Alva, who was near Rome, made a peace with Spain, and left France in the lurch[170]. By a secret article of this treaty, Pole was restored to his office of legate.

## **The Duke of Guise Returns to France**

Mean time, Henry being recovered from his consternation by Philip not improving his advantages, the Duke of Guise had time to come to his assistance, and was immediately constituted his Lieutenant-General. On the other hand, Henry solicited the Queen Regent of Scotland to break the peace with England, and that Princess was as ready to oblige him. But she had a powerful party against her, which was for preserving the peace.

Wherefore, as she could not bring; the States to the resolution she desired, she took another course to accomplish her design. She fortified Aymouth, contrary to an express article of the treaty lately concluded with England; and thereby engaged the English to oppose it with force. This produced indeed a breach between the two nations[171]; and the Scotch army under the conduct of d' Oysel, even entered the frontiers of England.

But the States still hoping to repair the breach made in the peace without their consent, required d' Oysel, by an express order, to return, which he was forced to obey. The Regent seeing how low her authority was, pressed the court of France to hasten the marriage of the Queen her

## **A Marriage between The Queen of Scots and The Dauphin Negotiated**

daughter with the Dauphin, to the end that Prince being in possession of Scotland, might be more master of its forces and counsels. Henry improving this advice, immediately sent ambassadors into Scotland to settle with the States the marriage articles[172].

### **The Queen in Great difficulties**

The War which was preparing in Scotland, and that already began in France, greatly embarrassed the Queen, because she wanted money. She tried to raise money by way of loans: but without success. She was therefore obliged to call a Parliament for the 20th of January, though with regret, because she feared, that to obtain a supply, she should be forced to remit her severities against the Protestants.

### **Philip Gives Notice to Take Care of Calais**

About the end of the year, Philip gave notice to the Queen of a design forming by the Court of France upon Calais, and made her an offer of his forces to strengthen the garrison, which he knew to be weak. This advice, being laid before the council, was immediately suspected to be an artifice of Philip, to put himself in possession of Calais, on pretence of reinforcing the Garrison. This, though a bare suspicion, was not entirely improbable.

Meanwhile, the counsellors, as if it had been a most evident truth, could not believe that France had any intention to besiege the town, though it was not provided with the fourth part of the necessary troops and ammunition. It seemed, that the sole reputation of the town was to be its security. So, the advice was neglected and nothing done for its relief, though the governor, William Lord Wentworth, was not wanting in his solicitations[173].

### **The Seige and Loss of Calais**

Nothing less was to be expected from a council composed chiefly of Ecclesiastics, who were only intent upon the ruin of the Protestants. After so shameful a neglect of providing for the safety of Calais, the Queen and her ministers were in the utmost consternation, upon the news that the town was actually lost[174].

The Duke of Guise besieged it the first of January, and carrying the Fort called Newnambridge[175], which commanded the avenues from the land, and also the Risbank which commanded the harbour[176], obliged the governor to capitulate the seventh day of the siege. After he was master of the place he ordered all the English to depart, as Edward III. had expelled the French two hundred and ten years before.

Then he sat down before Guisnes, commanded by Lord Grey[177], with a garrison of eleven hundred men. But the garrison was so discouraged by the loss of Calais, that on the first attack, they quitted the town, and retired into the citadel.

Meanwhile the English governor perceiving the French were fallen to plundering, made a sally and beat them out of the town; but despairing to keep it, set it on fire, and retired. Soon after, the French closely invested the citadel, and in an assault the garrison lost three hundred men, after this, the governor seeing no possibility of a longer resistance, surrendered himself prisoner of war with his whole garrison.

The castle of Hames, situated in an almost inaccessible marsh, might have made some resistance; but the garrison fled, and left it to the French. Thus in the middle of winter, and in less than fifteen days, the English lost all the remains of their antient conquests in France, by the incapacity

of a Queen, whose thoughts were wholly engrossed by one affair, as if the destruction of the Protestants had alone merited her application; and by the negligence, if it deserves no worse name, of her council.

Such was the fruit, England reaped from her alliance with Spain, notwithstanding all Gardiner's care to prevent a mixture of interests between the two crowns. The non-performance of this article shows, how the rest would have been observed, if Philip, had he had any children by the Queen, could have introduced himself, as their guardian, into the government of the Kingdom.

### **The Queen's Uneasiness at The Loss of Calais**

The Loss of Calais made great noise in England. The Protestants took occasion to arraign the government; and the creatures of the court were so confounded, that they durst not open their mouths in justification of the ministry. Some accused them of treason, others of incapacity, and their most zealous adherents could but own their negligence.

The two Governors of Calais[178] and Guisnes were the most unhappy. Besides the loss of their reputation, the Ministers, to insinuate to the people that these places were lost by their fault, suffered them to remain prisoners, and no care was taken for their release. But no one had a more lively sense of this loss than the Queen[179]. She perfectly knew the value of Calais after it was taken, which rendered England always formidable to France, because the English could, in twenty-four hours, land great Armies in that Kingdom.

The greatness of the loss has since been still more sensibly felt. From that time, France, except when distracted with civil wars, no more showed for England that regard, she was before forced to pay.

### **Philip Presses The Queen to Re-Take Calais**

Immediately after the taking of Calais, Philip strongly pressed the Queen to make a vigorous effort to recover it, before France had time to repair and fortify it. But it was not possible for the ministers to find means to execute such an undertaking. Upon a computation of the necessary expense for the fleet and army, it was judged dangerous, considering the general discontent, to load the people with so great a burden, even though the Parliament could be brought to a compliance[180].

This was sent to Philip in a letter of thanks for his advice and offers. But besides this reason, there was another of great weight, namely, the fears of the Ministry, the Council, and the Queen herself, that the siege of Calais would oblige them to interrupt the persecution. So, in the belief that one year more would suffice to destroy the Reformation and the reformed, they judged it proper to defer the siege of Calais till a more convenient season.

### **Parliament Grants a Subsidy to The Queen**

**1558 AD]** The Parliament[181] which met the 20<sup>th</sup> of January, did nothing considerable, besides granting a subsidy to the Queen, after the clergy had led the way[182]. The House of Commons was filled with perpetual complaints that by the pernicious counsels of the ministers, the Queen had exhausted her treasury, by the restitution of the church lands, and new foundations of the monasteries.

### **A Proposal in The House of Commons Causes Great Suspicion**

This affair being finished, the friends of the court brought in a bill to confirm all the Queen's Letters Patents, without explaining themselves farther. This was strenuously opposed by one of

the Members, who urged that a power so unlimited would put the Kingdom in danger, and the Queen in a capacity to dispose of the crown from the right heirs. The Commons were offended with these insinuations against the Queen, and sent the member to prison[183].

But though the Queen seemed pleased with the zeal of the Commons for her reputation, she clearly saw how far they were from any thoughts to deprive the Princess Elizabeth of the Crown. It is not known what was the intent of so general a confirmation: but it is likely, the authors had some view disadvantageous to Elisabeth.

In this session, Ambrose and Robert Dudley, sons of the late Duke of Northumberland, were restored in blood. Henry, their brother, lost his life at the siege of St. Quintin. After this, the Parliament was prorogued from the 7<sup>th</sup> of March to the 7<sup>th</sup> of November.

### **The Dauphin Marry's The Queen of Scots**

In April, this year, the Dauphin at last married married the young Queen of Scots[184]. After many difficulties the States of Scotland granted the Dauphin the title, of King of Scotland, upon a solemn promise from his father, that he should content himself with the bare title, and not concern himself in the government of the Kingdom.

### **The Princess Elizabeth in Great Danger**

The Princess Elizabeth was now in more danger than ever. The Queen sensibly declined in her health. She had not been well managed during her pretended pregnancy, because she having committed herself to the care of women who only flattered her, she had neglected to consult the physicians, who might have prevented the consequences of that accident. From that time she never enjoyed a sound health.

She was naturally melancholy, and this temper was increased by her many mortifications in the two former reigns. Afterwards, the disgust of the King her husband, of which she was but too sensible, still augmented her melancholy; and the loss of Calais, brought her to such a state, that she could bear the sight, but of very few persons. The body sympathized with the mind, and she felt herself grow daily weaker.

In this condition, she was troubled with the same reflections on her sister Elizabeth's account, that had before disturbed Edward on her's; namely, that after her death, what she had with so much pains established, would be infallibly overturned. The Bishops were strongly persuaded of this. They were not ignorant that Elizabeth, whatever pains she took to conceal it, was a Protestant in her heart, and even induced to be so from her temporal interest.

Hence some were perpetually insinuating to the Queen, the necessity of putting her out of the way. Gardiner had been of this opinion, and frequently said, it was in vain to lop off the branches while the tree was suffered to stand. It is astonishing this advice had never been followed!

The Queen was a bigot to the last degree. It gave her no remorse to spill human blood, when religion was the pretence. So, in all appearance, she would not have spared a sister, whom she considered as a bastard, had not God suffered the politics of Philip to prevail over the zeal of the Queen his spouse.

For at the very time I am speaking of, when the spirit of persecution rendered men deaf to reason, Justice and humanity, to what can be ascribed, but to the particular protection of Heaven, the preservation of this Princess, whom so many reasons demanded as a sacrifice to the Romish religion? But God who has set bounds to the sea, restrains also the fury of persecutors and prevents them from massacring those persons whom he has reserved for the peace of his church.

However this be, Elizabeth was, contrary to all probability, preserved through Mary's whole reign, and particularly in the latter part of it, when she appeared to be most in danger.

## **The King of Sweden Demands The Princess Elizabeth in Marriage**

Some time after the prorogation of the Parliament; the King of Sweden sent a gentleman to Elizabeth to inform her of his design to demand her in marriage, and to desire her consent[185]. This messenger desiring a private audience, she would not grant it, without first knowing his message. After she was informed, she sent him a positive answer, that she would receive no such proposal, but by the Queen's direction.

The messenger replied, his master acted like a lover, who would not espouse a princess, without being first sure of her consent, by which he testified his esteem for her; but when, she had once allowed his address, he would then, as a King, demand her by his ambassador. But this was not capable to make her alter her resolution.

On the contrary, she signified to him, that the King of Sweden would oblige her, in thinking no more of her. This answer, one would think, should have satisfied the Swedish ambassador, then arrived in London, since the King their master resolved not to marry Elizabeth without her consent, and yet they proposed the marriage to the Queen.

This gives occasion to suspect, that the Swedish gentleman who desired a private audience of the Princess, had not received his commission immediately from the King his master, but from the ambassadors, and that the Queen's ministers had induced them to sound the Princess, in order to draw her into a snare.

However this be, presently after, the Queen ordered her to be told[186], that she was pleased with her answer to the Swedish gentleman: That the ambassadors had in their King's name demanded her in marriage, in which she desired to know her mind. Elizabeth answered, she was content with her condition, and that if the Queen would allow her to pursue her own inclination, she protested, a single life was to her preferable to a marriage with the greatest Prince in the world. Thus the affair proceeded no farther.

## **The Queen's Extreme Rage Against The Protestants**

The loss of Calais, and the session of the Parliament, had given some respite to the Protestants?. But in the end of March, the persecution was renewed with greater fury than ever. The Queen herself, exceeding her prerogative, published a proclamation:—

"That whoever had any heretical books, and did not presently burn them without reading, should be esteemed rebels, and executed without delay by the martial Law."

On the other hand, she expressly forbid to pray for those who were executed, or even to say, God help them. This caused the author of the *History of the Reformation* judiciously to remark, that it was not so much the conversion, as the destruction of those they called heretics, that the Bishops desired a convincing proof of this was seen shortly after.

## **A Strange Instance of Barbarity**

One Benbridge being tied to the stake, through the violence of the flames, cried out, I recant. Whereupon, the sheriff[187] ordered the fire to be immediately extinguished, and the sufferer signed an abjuration dictated to him. But soon after he received an order from court to burn the condemned person, and come himself to London, where he was committed to prison. The fury of the persecutors was so extreme, that though they were going to lose the Queen, they ceased

not these severities. About a week before her death, five persons were burnt at Canterbury, and in this last year of her reign, thirty nine protestants suffered Martyrdom in several places. Authors are not agreed concerning the number of those who died in the flames during Mary's Reign. Those who say the least, reckon two hundred and eighty four; but others affirm, that in the two first years of the persecution, which began in 1555, eight hundred were put to death[188].

### **The Queen Sends a Fleet to Sea Without Success**

While these tragedies were acting in different places of the Kingdom, the Queen, who was deeply affected with the loss of Calais, was willing to make one effort to repair it. Philip had advised to try to seize Brest. For this purpose, she put to sea a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships[189] commanded by the Lord Clinton[190], who landed at Conquest, and burnt that small town, but the country rising upon the English, obliged them to retire to their ships, with the loss of six hundred of their men[191].

The whole Country being in arms to oppose a second descent, and fresh troops daily arriving in these parts, the English admiral, who had only seven thousand men, thought it not proper to engage in any new action, and returned. Such was the benefit the Queen reaped from this expensive armament. She was now sensible, that the continuation of the war would procure her no advantage, and readily consented to a negotiation then proposed for a peace between France, England, and Spain. Cambray was the place appointed for the congress, which was opened in October[192].

The Parliament meeting the 11<sup>th</sup> of November, the Queen demanded assistance to continue the war, in case the negotiation should miscarry. The House of Commons was so little inclined to grant her request, that she was obliged to send the chancellor and ten other lords, to lay the ill state of her affairs before them, and pray them to hasten the necessary supplies.

### **The Queen's Death**

This solicitation producing some effect, the commons debated, that and the two following days, upon a subsidy. But the Queen's death put an end to their consultation.

She had been some time afflicted with a dropsy, which being much increased the beginning of November, carried her off the 17<sup>th</sup> of the same month, in the 43<sup>rd</sup> year of her age, after a reign of five years, four months, and eleven days.

### **Pole's Death and Character**

Cardinal pole followed her within sixteen hours. He prelate of a sweet and moderate temper, who would have been glad to bring back, by fair and lawful means, the English to their ancient belief, but approved not the methods of fire and sword. This gave his enemies room to represent him as a little inclined to the Protestant religion, or at least, as one of too tender a disposition for that time.

Neither the Queen, nor Philip, nor the Pope, nor Gardiner, nor the bishops substituted in the place of the ejected Protestant bishops, were persons to be guided by his moderate maxims. Accordingly, Pole was never consulted on religion, though in all other affairs the Queen placed a great confidence in him.

Pope Paul IV was his sworn enemy. It was he who by his slanders prevented his ascending the Papal throne on the death of Paul III, though he was elected in the conclave. From that time believing, Pole could not forgive him such an injury, he never ceased doing him ill offices. And

when he was himself Pope, he often gave him marks of his enmity. It is even pretended, that when he recalled him from his legation, to put Peyto in his room, he intended to punish him severely for having been too gentle to the Protestants. But Philip and Mary took him into their protection[193].

## Queen Mary's Character

The excessive bigotry of Queen Mary is evident from the history of her reign. To this she joined a temper cruel and vindictive, which she endeavoured to confound with zeal for religion. But when it was not possible to unite them, she plainly shewed, she was inclined to cruelty, as well by nature as zeal. She had the misfortune to be encouraged in this disposition by all who approached her.

King Philip was naturally morose. Gardiner was one of the most revengeful men living. Bonner was a fury; and the other bishops were chosen from amongst the most cruel and barbarous of the clergy. This was the quality by which alone a man was thought worthy of the Episcopal dignity. The persecution therefore against the Protestants in this reign, has nothing which ought to seem strange.

Dr. Burnet says, Mary had a generous disposition of mind. It were to be wished, he had given us some passages of her life, where this generosity appeared. For my part, I find but one action to approve in her whole reign. This was her rejecting the Spanish ambassador's project, to make herself absolute at the expense of the laws and liberties of the nation. She discovered no great capacity in the government of her dominions; and the loss of Calais, though there was not something more odious, would be an everlasting blot upon her reign.

## Money During The Reign of Queen Mary

By an indenture of the first of Queen Mary; a pound weight of gold, of the old standard, was coined into thirty six pounds; and a pound weight of silver, eleven ounces fine, was coined into three pounds by tale.



The gold coins of this Queen, are, sovereigns at 30s. Half-Sovereigns at 15s. angels at 10s. and half angels at 5s. a piece. The money before her marriage has her Head half-faced, crowned, **MARIA D. G. ANG. FRA. Z. HIB. REGI.** Reverse, the arms of France and England quartered, **VERITAS. TEMPORIS. FILIA.** (Fig. 1). Those after her marriage have only her head as before, but her husband's name in the legend, **PHILIP. Z. MARIA. D. G. REX. Z. REGINA,** reverse, **POSVIMVS. DEVM. ADIVTO. NOS.** Her Sovereign, (called by Mr. Evelyn, a ryal, and which, he says, was scattered at her coronation) has, on one side, the Queen in her robes, with down. Sceptre, and ball, sitting upon her throne; at her feet a portcullice, **MARIA. D. G. ANG. FRA.**



**Z. HIB. REGINA. MDLIII.** Reverse, a large full blown rose, filling; up the space, with the arms of France and England, quartered in the centre, **A. DNO. FACTV. EST. ISTVD. Z. EST. MIRA. IN. OCVL. NRIS.** The angel has on the reverse, the queen's arms in a ship, with a cross for the mast, and the star and letter **M.** on each side, inscribed, **A. DNO. FACTVM. EST. ISTVD.** Camden mentions a crown of gold of this Queen whereon was, **MVNDI. SALVS. VNICA** The silver moneys of Queen Mary are, shillings, six-pences, and groats; to which Bishop Nicolson adds, half groats, and pennies; but Thoresby says, he never saw or heard of any of these last. Upon the shillings of Philip and Mary are both their heads facing each other under a crown, **PHILIP. ET. MARIA. D. GR. ANG. FR. NEAP. PR. HISP.** 1554. Reverse, the arms of Spain and the Queen's, impaled, crowned, and **XII. POSVIMVS.** &c. There is another sort of these shillings, waiting the Date. (See Fig. 2.)



Another, **PHILIP. ET MARIA. D. G. REX. ET. REGINA. ANG.** Reverse, as the former. The Emperor Charles V. resigning Spain to his son Philip in 1555, occasioned an alteration in Philip's style, his and the Queen's title, being now upon the great seal, **Rex & Regina, ANGL. HISPANIAR. FRANC, UTRIVSQUE SIALIE, &C.** The Irish shilling, before the Queen's marriage gave her head crowned, **MARIA, D. G. ANG. FRA. Z. HIB. REGINA** - Reverse,

## Notes to Chapter 2

- 1) At Hunsdon in Hertfordshire. Hollingshead, p. 1084.
- 2) On the 9th of July. Ibid.
- 3) She was then at Durham House, which was the place of her residence. Burnet, Tom. II, p. 234-
- 4) Roger Ascham, Tutor to the Lady Elizabeth, coming once to wait upon her at her father's house in Leicestershire found her reading Plato's works in Greek, when all the rest of the family were hunting in the park. He asked her how she could be absent from such pleasant diversion? She answered. The pastimes in the park were but a shadow to the delight she had in reading Plato's Phædon, which then lay open before her. Ibid. What a noble pattern is here for the education of young ladies of quality, and how different from the modern way of bringing them up!

- 5) Of which Edward Lord Clinton, High Admiral, was appointed constable, in the room. of Sir James Croft. Strype's Eccl. Mem. Tom. III, p. 2.
- 6) The Archbishop of Canterbury; the Lord Chancellor; the Duke of Suffolk and Northumberland; the Marques of Winchester and Northampton, the Earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Huntington, Bedford, and Pembroke; the Lords Cobham and Darcy; Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir William Petre, Sir William Cecil, Sir John Cheek, Sir John Mason, Sir Edward North and Sir Robert Bowes. Burnet, Tom. II p. 235.
- 7) One Gilbert Pots. Stow, p. 160.
- 8) Rapin says, the Lord Mordant, which is a mistake, it was Sir John Mordant his Son.
- 9) Sir William Drury, Sir John Shelton, Sir Henry Bedingfield, Henry Jerningham, John Sulierd, Richard Freston, Sergeant Morgan, Clement Higham, &c, Stow, p, 610. Godwin, p, 330. *Complete History*.
- 10) He was dispatched, July 11, Stripe, p, 4,
- 11) He marched out of London at the head of two thousand horse, and six thousand foot, But as he rode through Bishopsgate Street and Shorditch, though there were great crowds of spectators, none cried out to wish him success, which gave a sad indication how ill they were affected to him. Burnet, Torn. II. p. 238.
- 12) On July 76, Hollingshead. p, 1087.
- 13) Namely, when he went to wait on her, and offered to preach in her house, which she refused. See Fox, at the end of Tom. II.
- 14) Rapin says of Canterbury, which is a mistake.
- 15) He had eight thousand foot, and two thousand horse, when he arrived at Cambridge, Godwin, p. 331.
- 16) The Earl of Huntingdon's Brother. Ibid.
- 17) Sir Thomas Cheney, Warden of the Cinque Ports, declared also for her. Ibid.
- 18) At Baynard's Castle. Godwin, p. 331.
- 19) July 21. Strype, Tom. III. p. 13.
- 20) Cholmley and Montague were committed on July 17, and the Duke of Suffolk and Sir John Cheek the 28<sup>th</sup> Burnet, Tom. II. p. 240.
- 21) July 31. the Queen made Sir Henry Jernegan Vice-Chamberlain, and Captain of the Guard; and Sir Edward Hastings, Master of the horse. Strype, p. 17.
- 22) Two thousand. See Strype, Tom. III. p. 14.
- 23) He observed to the Emperor, That the English were averse to the Papacy upon a double account. The one was, for the Church lands, which they had bought, and should be in danger of losing again. The other was, the fear they had of the Papal dominion, which had been for about twenty five years represented to them as a most intolerable tyranny. Burnet, Tom, II. p. 241.

24) August 23. Godwin, p. 333.

25) Day, the deprived Bishop of Chichester, preached the funeral Sermon. Godwin, p. 334. And very probably performed the rest of the service; for it does not appear likely, that Cranmer should be suffered to officiate, he being now under displeasure, and about this time confined to his house. See Burnet, tom. II. Collect. p. 409; and Hollingshead, p, 1089.

26) August 13. Rapin.

27) Bonner taking occasion of the Gospel of that day, to speak somewhat largely in justifying Bonner, who was present, said, "That he, upon the same text, in that place, that day four years, had preached before, and was upon the same most cruelly unjustly cast into the most vile dungeon, of the Marshalsea and there kept during the time of King Edward." The matter of this sermon tended so much to the derogation and dispraise of King Edward, and his words sounded so evil in the ears of the hearers, that they proceeded to the extremities here related, Fox Tom, III, p. 17, Ed. 1631. Heylin affirms that the preacher inveighed in favour of Bishop Bonner. *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 19. And Hollingshead says that, "This matter being set forth with great vehemence, so much offended the audience, that they could not help insulting Bourn, who reflecting on the administration of King Edward, whose memory was so justly dear to them, p. 1089.

28) August 18. Rapin.

29) August 18. Rapin.

30) It was said, the Duke of Norfolk had never been truly attainted, and that the act against him was not a true act of Parliament, so without any pardon or restitution in blood, he was still Duke of Norfolk. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 243.

31) Nicolas Heath.

32) Some say, that having a promise, and being put in hope of pardon, even though his head were upon the block, if he would recant and hear mass, he consented thereto, and denied in words that true religion, which he had before professed. Fox, Tom., III, p. 16. He went to Mass in the tower, and received the sacrament after the Popish manner. He begged his life with all possible meanness, that he might do penance all the days of his life, if it were in a mouse hole. Gardiner interceded for him: But the Emperor, being afraid he should hinder the intended marriage between Philip and Mary had him put out of the way. Burnet, Tom. III. p. 222, He was buried in the tower chapel. Stow, p. 615.

33) Strype calls him Thomas Cobb. Mem. Tom. III. p. 52.

34) The reformed ejected Bishops were, Ridley, of London, Storey, of Chichester; Coverdale, of Exeter, Hooper, of Worcester, the Court.

35) Rapin by mistake says, he was fined a thousand pounds, which was part of Montague's punishment--Hales was first put into the Marshalsea; thence removed to the Counter, and after that to the Fleet: where he was so disordered at the report of the cruelties which the warden told him were contriving against those who would not change their religion, that it turned his brains, and he endeavoured to kill himself with a penknife. He was afterwards set at liberty, but never recovered his senses, so that at last he drowned himself. Burnet, Tom. II, p. 248.

36) Her crime was, her resolute adherence to her mother's interest. Idem. p. 240, 241.

37) This last was a Prussian nobleman, minister of the German Protestant congregation in London. They had a Church granted them by King Edward, (which was the Church belonging to the late dissolved monastery of the Augustine friars, near Broad Street, London, now called the Dutch Church. See Rymer's *Fœd*, Tom, XV. p. 242, &c.) but It was now taken from them, and their corporation dissolved. Burnet, p. 250.

38) Above a thousand. Burnet, p. 251. See the names of the chief of them in *Collier's Ecclesiastical History*. Tom. II. p. 340.

39) Sir John Gage was made Lord Chamberlain; Sir John Williams, who had proclaimed the Queen in Oxfordshire, Lord Williams of Tame, &c. Burnet, p. 251. Also September 27, the Order of the Garter was restored to William Lord Paget. Strype, Tom. III. p. 34.

40) See Heylin's *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 190. This Earl was Henry Ratcliff, of a Family long since extinct. Courcy, Baron of Kingsale in Ireland enjoys this privilege of sitting covered in the royal presence, by a grant made from King John to the famous Courcy, Earl of Ulster, from whom he is descended. The present baron asserted this ancient right of his family in the reigns of the late and present King.

41) On September 28, The Queen made fifteen knights of the Bath; and October 2, ninety Knights of the Carpet, whose names see in Strype's Mem, Tom. III, p. 35, 39.

42) October 4. Rapin

43) The last Parliament of King Edward had granted him two tenths, and two fifteenths; and a subsidy of 4s. and 2s. 8d. was what the Queen remitted. See Rymer's *Fœd*. Tom. XV, p. 335, 336 and Strype, Tom., III p 32.

44) October 4. Burnet, Tom. III, p. 222.

45) It was read in the House of Commons, the 26<sup>th</sup>, 27<sup>th</sup>, and 18<sup>th</sup> of October; on which last day it was sent up to the Lords. *Journal of The House of Commons*.

46) By an act made during this session, it was also ordained, That no person who is a sheriff, shall at the same time exercise the office of justice of peace.

47) This Parliament granted the Queen tunnage and poundage for life, upon the same foot as it was granted to King Edward VI, See above, p. 61. Note (12).

48) Stow says, it was the 13<sup>th</sup> p. 617.

49) Sir Ambrose, and Henry Dudley. Hollingshead, p. 1093.

50) Cranmer appealed to the judges, for them to declare, with what reluctance he signed the instrument of the Queen's exclusion. Burnet, Tom. II, p. 257. If the Queen did in earnest forgive him the treason, it might be owing to this appeal: That is, if she forgave the treason in earnest, for the taking away his life afterwards, leaves it a very disputable point, whether this injury, added to the divorce of her mother, or his religion, wrought most powerfully on her resentments. The attainder of Cranmer, the Duke of Northumberland, Marquis of Northampton, &c. was confirmed afterwards by the Parliament; and the bill for it was read in the House of Commons the 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> of November, and December 4. See *Journal of The House of Commons*. Rymer's *Fœd*, Tom, XV. p. 361.

51) He came to Newport, where he gave out, he was the nephew of a merchant lately dead in London; and hiring two servants unknown to him, came over unsuspected to London. Burnet, p. 258.

- 52) At Dilling, a town on the Danube. Burnet, p. 259.
- 53) By Goldwell, afterwards Bishop of St. Alsaph. Burnet, *ibid.*
- 54) On December 6. *Journal of The House of Commons.*
- 55) This Sum was equal to £400,000, English, the crown being then a noble. The Emperor made his son bind himself to repay him that sum, when he had once attained the crown of England. Of this the Emperor made so little a secret, that when, a year after, some towns in Germany, that had lent a part of this money, desired to be repaid; he answered them, that he had lent his son 1200,000 crowns to marry him to the Queen of England, and had yet received of him only 360,0015 Crowns, but he had good security for the rest, and the merchants were bound to pay him £100,000 Sterling, and therefore he demanded a little more time of them. Burnet, Tom. II, p. 262.
- 56) These were Philpot Archdeacon of Winchester, Philips, Dean of Rochester, Philips, Dean of Rochester, Haddon, Dean of Exeter, Cheney, Archdeacon of Hereford, Ailmer, Archdeacon of Stow, and Young, and Young chanter of St. David's. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 263.
- 57) In the *Collection of Public Acts*, there are about one hundred and sixty presentations to livings a little before the Parliament met. This discovers the charges which were made amongst the inferior clergy. Rapin.—On the 21<sup>st</sup> of December, the Mass began to be sung again in Latin, throughout England, as in the former times of popery. Stow, p. 617.
- 58) Haddon, Ailmer and Young. Burnet, *ibid.*
- 59) On October, 18, 20, 23, 25, 27, 30. See Fox.
- 60) This year, Sir Thomas White, merchant tailor, and Mayor of London, founded St. John's College in Oxford, upon the site of Bernard College, which he purchased from the crown. He also erected schools at Bristol and Reading. Hollingshead, p. 1092.
- 61) This was the brave Count Egmont, of whom the reader will find an account below, towards the close of the year 1567.
- 62) The commissioners appointed by Queen Mary, to treat with the Emperor's ambassadors, were, Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, Henry Earl of Arundel, William Lord Paget, Sir Robert Rochester, Controller of the Household, and Sir William Petre Secretary of Stats. Rymer's *Fœd*, Tom., XV, p- 337.
- 63) See this explained in Strype's notes on Godwin, p. 339, *Complete History*. Vol. II,
- 64) Of Flemish money.
- 65) January 13. Rapin,
- 66) This Sir Thomas Wyatt had been oft employed in embassies, particularly in Spain; where he had made such observations on the cruelty and subtlety of the Spaniard, that he could not look, without a just concern, on the miseries his country was like to fall under. Burnet, Tom. III, p. 224.
- 67) It seems he was too hasty in raising men, and making other preparations. Godwin, p. 340.
- 68) The news of it came to London, January 25. *Idem.* p. 541. Stow, p. 618.

- 69) Five hundred, says Godwin, together with the Queen's Guards. Ibid.
- 70) Sir Robert Southwell, Hollingshead, p, 1094.
- 71) He was seen to weep, and called for a coat, which he stuffed with money, designing to escape. Burnet, p. 285.
- 72) Thereupon the Duke of Norfolk fled, together with the Earl of Arundel, and Sir Henry Jernegan Captain of the guard. But Wyatt coming up that moment with a party of horse, intercepted the rest; and seized eight brass guns, and all Norfolk's baggage. Godwin, p. 341.
- 73) January 31. Hollingshead, p. 1095.
- 74) On February 1. Godwin, ibid.
- 75) She armed five hundred men, most of them foreigners, whom she placed in several parts of the City. Idem., p. 342.
- 76) Where he arrived February 6, about four a clock in the afternoon. Stow, p. 620.
- 77) He advanced with five companies towards Ludgate, whilst Cuthbert Vaughan, with two companies more, marched towards Westminster, and Charingcross, Sir John Gage, Lord Chamberlain, went to oppose Wyatt, but retired in disorder. Godwin, p. 342.
- 78) Clareneaux King of Arms.
- 79) To Sir Maurice Berkley.
- 80) One Underwood, whom he had made his ranger at Astley near Coventry. Godwin, p. 341.
- 81) The 23<sup>rd</sup> says Stow, His brother Thomas was beheaded April 27. Stow. p. 62.
- 82) Edward Courtney.
- 83) February 12, and the lady Elizabeth on the 18<sup>th</sup>, says Godwin, p. 343. Stow, p. 623.
- 84) For a fortnight. Strype, Tom. III, p. 84.
- 85) The 20<sup>th</sup> of February.
- 86) He was executed April 11. Godwin, p. 343.
- 87) By Gardiner's malice a warrant was procured, signed by some Privy Counsellors for her execution. But the lieutenant by an application to the queen, to know what was her pleasure, and her denying any knowledge of the warrant, saved the life of the princess. See Fox, Tom. III. p. 537. Burnet, Tom. III, p. 227. Had the Queen immediately displaced Gardiner, she might have been thought innocent of so barbarous a design. But the confidence and trust in which he continued till his death, gave a suspicion at least that she would not have been displeased with an obedience to the warrant, which she could have denied her knowledge of, as it wanted her hand, and perhaps obtained a belief by a sacrifice of the counsellors concerned in it. Queen Elizabeth herself afterwards took that method in the affair of Mary Queen of Scots.
- 88) May 16. Rapin. On the 19<sup>th</sup> according to Hollingshead, she was released out of the tower, and committed to the custody of the Lord Williams, who treating her more courteously than

some could have wished, she was put under the custody of Sir Henry Beningfield, p. 1117, The Earl of Devonshire was removed to Fotheringay Castle, May 25, Godwin, p 343.

**89)** The 13<sup>th</sup> of March.

**90)** Bishop Tunstal, Bonner, Parfew of St. Asaph, Day of Chichester, and Kitchin of Landaff. Burnet, Tom. II, p. 274. Rymer's Fœd. Tom., XV, p. 340.

**91)** Holgate, Farrar, Bird, Bush. Those deprived two days after were, Taylor, Hoper, and Harley. Story Bishop of Chichester, renounced his wife, and fled beyond sea, and Barlow Bishop of Bath and Wells resigned and fled. Burnet, Tom. II, p. 275. In the room of these deprived bishops were placed, Morgan at St. David's, Cote: at Chester, White at Lincoln, Brokes at Gloucester, Bourn at Bath and Wells. Parfew was translated to Hereford, and Griffin made Bishop of Rochester. Strype, Tom. III. p. 116. Rymer's Fœd. Tom., XV, p. 374 376, 383, &c.

**92)** This Computation seems to be exaggerated. See Collier, Tom. II. p. 366.

**93)** The Queen had at first summoned this Parliament to meet at Oxford, because that place had showed itself very obedient and forward in restoring the Popish religion; and London, on the contrary, did not much favour her proceedings about religion, and had given her some jealousy, during Wyatt's insurrection. But she altered her mind. Hollingshead, p. 1102.

**94)** Another reason for this act, might also be, to prevent any disturbance that might arise from an opinion broached by some of Queen Mary's enemies, that it was unlawful for a woman to govern; to prove which, Knox and others writ books soon after. Strype's notes on Godwin, p. 344.

**95)** A convocation met at the same time with this Parliament. And in the writs of summons, the Queen's title, of supreme head of the Church, was omitted. See Fox, Tom. III. p. 41.

**96)** Rapin by mistake says, the Parliament was prorogued.

**97)** About April 10. Fox, Tom. III. p. 44..

**98)** It was held April 16, 17, 18, See Fox, *ibid*, &c. Godwin, p. 344.

**99)** 20<sup>th</sup> of April.

**100)** With a fleet of one hundred and sixty sail. Godwin, p. 345, John Earl of Bedford, the Lord Fitz-Walters and many other noblemen, &c. were sent into Spain to attend on him. Hollingshead, p. 1118.

**101)** Ireland; Defenders of the Faith Princes of Spain and Sicily, Archdukes of Austria; Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, Counts of Hapsburg, Flanders and Tirol. Rymer's Fœd Tom. XV. p. 404.

**102)** Twenty seven chests, each a yard and four inches long, and ninety nine horse loads, and two cartloads of coined gold and silver. Burnet, p. 286. Strype computes, that this prince's revenues were yearly worth two millions, four hundred, and seventy thousand pounds sterling. Tom. 3. p. 128.

**103)** August 12, the King and Queen made their entry into London. Stow, p. 625.

**104)** She was released about the latter end of April. Godwin, p. 349.

**105)** Robert Holgate. The Knights were, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir James Croses, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, St Nicholas Arnold, Sir Edward Warren, the George Harper, Sir William Saintlow, Sir Garwin and Sir Andrew Dudley; as also, William Gibs, Cuthbert Vaughan, Harrington, Tremain, &c. they were released January 18. Stow, p. 626----Edwards Courtney Earl of Devonshire likewise reaped the benefit of this generosity, who to give no more jealousy, retired into Italy, and the year after died, some say of poison, being buried at Padua and put an end to that illustrious family, of which he was the 11th Earl. Burnet, Tom II, p. 287. Hollingshead, p. 1129.

**106)** He died at Framlingham in Suffolk, where he was buried October 2. Stow. p. 625. Strype, Tom. III, p. 200.

**107)** In the writs of summons, it was remarkable that the Queen omitted her title of supreme head of the church, as she had done the little before in the writs of summons to the last convocation. Rapin by mistake makes this to be a session of the former parliament.

**108)** The king and queen rode together in their robes to this parliament, having two swords, and two maintenance caps carried before them. Hollingshead. p. 1122.

**109)** The other was Sir Edward Hastings. Fox, p. 105. Strype, 156.

**110)** It was thrice read in the House of Lords, on November 17; and a third time on the 19<sup>th</sup>, when it was sent down to the Commons; who read it twice a November 19, and the third time on the 20<sup>th</sup>, and sent it up the 21<sup>st</sup>. The king and queen passed it on the 22<sup>nd</sup>. *Journal of Parliament*.

**111)** He landed at Dover the 21<sup>st</sup> and came to London the 24<sup>th</sup> Fox, p. 108.

**112)** Dated November 27. In the same order all priests, and other ecclesiastical ministers, were enjoined, in their Masses and other services continually to pray Almighty God, that he will continue and bring to good effect, that he had so graciously begun. Forms of prayers were composed on this occasion by Dr Weston Dean of Westminster, and printed copies of them dispersed through the kingdom. In one of them they prayed God to "give the Queen the male infant, in fashion and body comely and beautiful, and in pregnant with notable and excellent." See the order forms in Hollingshead, p. 1123-1126, and Fox, Tom. III, p. 115 &c.

**113)** Dated March 8, 1554. Burnet, Tom. III, p. 230.

**114)** It is part of the first. See Burnet, *ibid*.

**115)** Ac cum Possessoribus bonorum Ecclesiasticorum (restitutis prius fi Tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos jndebite detentis ) super Fructibus male pceptus, &c. is mobilibus consumptis, concordandi, & tranfigendi, ac eos desupei liberandi & quietandi, &c. Burnet, Tom, III, Collect., p. 217.

**116)** 5 Richard 11; 2 Henry XV; 2 Henry V.

**117)** The other acts now made where these: **1.** An act confirming that all 22, of Henry VIII, which enjoined Egyptians (or gypsies) not to come into the kingdom, upon pain of forfeiting their goods. The present act makes it a felony in any Egyptian to remain a month in England; and forbids the bringing of them into the realm, upon the penalty of forty pounds. **2.** That persons arrested for manslaughter, or felony, shall be bailed, but in open session, except it be by two justices of the peace at least. See statute, 1 and 2. Phil. Mary, c. 4. 13.

**118)** Sir Anthony Brown, created Vicecount Montague or Montacute, on September 2, this year; as was also William Howard, Baron Howard of Effingham, March 11, Sir Jon Williams Baron



of Tame, April 5, Sir Edward no Baron of Chartlege, April 7, Sir Jon Binges, Baron Chandois of Stukly. April 8, and Gerald Fitzgerald Earl of Kildare, and Baron of Ophelley, May 14. Stow, p. 623, 624, 625.

119) See the names of the rest of the commissioners in Strype's Mem. Tom. III. p. 180.

120) John Rogers, was brought up in the university of Cambridge, and for several years officiated as Chaplain to the English merchants adventurers at Antwerp. In King Edward's reign he returned to England, and was made prebend of St. Paul's, and reader of the divinity lecture in the same cathedral. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of January, he was convened before the commissioners, excommunicated on the 29<sup>th</sup> and burnt February 4. He left a wife and eleven children. At the stake he had it in his power to have saved his life by a recantation: But neither hopes nor fears could prevail on him to desert his religion: On the contrary, he said, He resigned his life with joy, in testimony of the doctrine he had preached. Fox, Tom. III. p. 118, 119, &c.

121) John Hooper, brought up at Oxford, was, on account of his religious opinions, forced to fly into Germany, in Henry VIII's time; where he remained a considerable time. He had been very diligent in procuring Gardiner's deprivation, which undoubtedly was the cause of his ruin. He was burnt February 9. Fox, p. 14. Godwin, p. 349.

122) Laurence Sanders, brought up at Eaton School, and King's College in Cambridge; and afterwards minister of Church Langton in Lincolnshire and All Hallows, Bread Street, London: was burnt at Coventry, February 8. Fox, p. 132, &c.

123) Doctor Rowland Taylor, Rector of Hadley in Suffolk, was burnt February 9. Idem, p. 166, &c

124) He preached on February 10, 1555. Fox. p. 181.

125) Robert Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, was burnt at Caermarthen, March 30.—as was Tomas Tompkins, a weaver, in Smithfield, on March 16. Thomas Causton, at Raleigh, and Thomas Higbed, at Horndon on the Hill, in Essex, the 26<sup>th</sup>; John Laurence, at Colchester, the 29<sup>th</sup>; George Marsh, at Chester, April 24; John Cardmaker, Canon of Wells, and John Warne, upholsterer in London, May 30, in Smithfield; and others, in several other places, The Earl of Oxford, and the Lord Rich, were very busy against these poor people. See Fox, Tom. III.

126) Probably at Hatfield. But she was obliged to keep in her family Thomas Pope, one of the Privy Council, Gage, and some others, who were to be constant spies upon her actions. Godwin, p. 349.

127) Her answer to the dangerous questions concerning Christ's real presence in the sacrament, has something in it at once artful and solid.

**Christ was the Word that spake it;  
He took the Bread and brake it:  
And what the Word did make it.  
That I believe and take it.**

128) William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, and Lord Treasurer, Sir Robert Rochester, Controller, Sir William Petre, Secretary of State, and Sir Francis Inglefield, Master of the Wards. Fox, p. 221. Burnet, Tom, II. P. 308.

129) Anthony Brown, Viscount Montacute, and Thirlby Bishop of Ely, Glyn Bishop of Bangor, Sir Henry Hussey, &c. Strype, Tom. III. p. 210, 227.

**130)** On the 7th of June. Burnet, p. 310.

**131)** Dated May 24. The Queen particularly required of him to perform the office of a good pastor, and either to reclaim the heretics or proceed against them according to law. Burnet, Tom. II. Collection. p. 285.

**132)** John Bradford, born at Manchester in Lancashire, was fellow of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, and made by Bishop Ridley, Prebend of St. Paul's. He was condemned January 31, and burnt July the first, with one John Leafe, a tallow chandler, in Smithfield. Fox.

**133)** These two excellent prelates were burnt together at Oxford, October 16. Their behaviour was comparable to anything less upon record of the primitive martyrs. Ridley was born of a good family in Northumberland, and brought up in Newcastle school, and Pembroke Hall in Cambridge; of which last he was master. He was chaplain to King Henry VIII, by whom he was promoted to the see of Rochester, and translated by King Edward VI to that of London. He was one of the ablest champions of the Reformation. His piety, learning, and solidity of judgement, were admired by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies. The night before his execution, he invited the Mayor of Oxford and his wife to see him die. And when the good woman melted in tears, he spoke to her with an assurance, which was capable to banish her sorrow, in the thought so much firmness on so melancholy and occasion, could be the only gift of heaven, inspiring and animating him against his approaching agony. He comforted Latimer at stake, who was ready to return the kind office. He was so little diverted by the terror before him, that he even gave a serious attention to the sermon preached by a furious bigot; and was sufficiently calm to have answered the exceptional parts of it, which he offered to do; but he was not allowed to display his eloquence and reason which might have shaken his audience, and made more work for his persecutors. He left the world with an act of justice, by a petition sent to that either the tenants of the Bishopric of London might be confirmed in their leases, or their fines restored out of his goods, seized when he was imprisoned. His torment was lingering by the ill placing of the faggots to burn him; and his legs were almost consumed before the fire reached his vitals. – Latimer was born at Thurstaston in Leicestershire, and brought up in Cambridge. He was made by King Henry VIII Bishop of Worcester, which see he resigned, as is related in the former volume. He had a noble simplicity, and his sermons arraigned the vices of great sinners with plainness, which, unadorned with human elegance, found away to their hearts, and made two Felixes of the age tremble before him. One illustrious robber made restitution in his hands of money he stole from the public, all the Treasury, moved by one of his discourses on restitution, which pierced his conscious, and obliged him to sacrifice gain to godliness. He comforted Ridley at the stake (who had done as much for him) and, unshaken with all the triumphs of reigning popery, prophesied, that they too should light such a candle in England, as by God's grace should never be extinguished. He was soon out of his pain, and fell asleep; and finished a life which, for a course of 80 years, and in the corruption of the last stages, preserved the piety, simplicity, and integrity of the first. Fox, Tom. III.

**134)** Among the rest, Jon Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester, son of Sir Peter Philpot, Kt.; was burnt in Smithfield, December 18. As were several others at Canterbury. See Fox.

**135)** William Howard, the Lord admiral, was appointed to go to the Emperor, Radcliffe Lord Fitz-Walter to the French king, Sir Henry Sidney to the King of the Romans, and Richard Shelly to the King of Portugal. Strype, Tom. III. p. 219.

**136)** Fox relates, that a woman told him, before witnesses in 1568, that she lived near Aldersgate, and was delivered of a boy on June II. 1555, and after she had born it, Lord North, and another Lord, came to her, and desired to have her child from her, with very advantageous offers, as that the child would be well provided for, &c. But she would in no case part with the child. Fox, Tom. III. p. 271. This, as Burnet observes, being at a time when the Queen seemed to be every day looking for her delivery, may give some suspicions. Tom. III. p. 244.

**137)** He set out from London for Dover, August 29. Strype, p. 227.

**138)** This Bill was read in the House of Lords, on the 20<sup>th</sup>, 21<sup>st</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> of November, the Viscount Hereford, and the Lord Cobham, dissenting from it. And in the House of Commons it was read November 24<sup>th</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> and December 3<sup>rd</sup> on which last day it was carried upon a division of ninety six, against one hundred ninety six. Journ, Parl.

**139)** The laity granted her, from every person worth from five pounds to ten pounds, 8d in the pound; from ten to twenty pounds, 16d. in the pound; and from twenty pounds and upwards, 16d. And all strangers to pay double. The clergy granted 6d in the pound to be paid in three years. Stevens, p. 238, &c, Stow, p, 627.

**140)** The acts made in this Parliament were as follows: **1.** That every man, for every hundred and twenty sheep he feeds, shall keep a milch cow, and rear a calf. **2.** That two surveyors shall be chosen in Eater week in every parish, who shall take care to have the highways mended. **3.** That purveyors shall not take victuals within five miles of Oxford or Cambridge. **4.** An Act for the regulation of watermen and bargemen upon the River Thames.

**141)** He died of a dropsy, November the 12<sup>th</sup>, or, according to others, the 13<sup>th</sup>, and was buried in the cathedral of Winchester where his effigies upon his monument is yet to be seen, though somewhat defaced. Godwin, p. 351. Strype, *ibid.* Com, Hist.

**142)** He was a man of some learning; for he understood the canon and civil law as well as most of his time he wrote Latin with ease and purity; and few of his contemporaries excelled him in the Greek language. Burnet, p. 321. As to his person, his successor, Bishop Poinet, gives this description of him: He was of a swarthy colour, hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch within his head, hooked nose, wide nostrils, a sparrow mouth, great hands, and long talons, rather than nails upon his toes, which made him go uneasily. Strype notes on Godwin p. 351.

**143)** The seal was delivered to Sir Nicholas Hare, Master of the Rolls. Rymer's *Fœd.* Tom. XV. p. 426.

**144)** October 25. Strada, I., 1.

**145)** Charles, after his retirement, delighted very much in mechanical curiosities, and particularly had a great variety of clocks, which he tried a long time to cause to strike exactly together, but could never bring it about. Whereupon he broke out into this remarkable exclamation: "How vain and foolish is it for Princes to endeavour to make all their subjects be of one mind in religion, when no art is able to make a few clocks strike together." Burnet, p. 330.

**146)** This Year, the Heralds were incorporated by the Queen's letters patents, bearing date July 18. Rymer's *Fœd.* Tom. XV. p. 425 This year also, on March 14, died John Russel, the first Earl of Bedford, and was buried on the 22<sup>nd</sup> at Cheyne's in Buckinghamshire. Stow, p. 626.

**147)** James Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester was commissioner from Pole, and the King and Queen delegated two assistants, which were Dr. Martin, and Dr. Godwin, p. 3 52.

**148)** His behaviour in this ceremony was uniform and becoming. He was not sorry, he said, to be thus cut off, with all this pageantry, from any relation, to the Church of Rome, but declared it to be great injustice to condemn him for not going to Rome when he was shut up in prison and, denying the Pope had any authority over him, appealed from this sentence to a free General Council. Burnet, p. 333. This spectacle, as Godwin observes, was sufficient, not only to extort compassion from his enemies, but even to melt inanimate things into tears. The Primate of England, that lately flourished in the highest honour and authority with Princes, most venerable for his sanctity of life, for his age, person, learning, gravity, and innumerable excellencies of

mind, now by the malice of the Romanists, dressed in a ridiculous old habit, baited with scurrility and contemptuous reviling, and dragged to a most inhuman and tormenting death, p. 353.

**149)** He was prevailed upon to subscribe not only one form of recantation, but six distinct ones, which the reader may see in Strype's Mem, Tom, III. p. 233, &c.

**150)** While he was burning he sometimes cried out, "that unworthy hand." Fox. 5 Eliz.

**151)** He died in the sixty seventh year of his age, and the twenty third of his primacy, and left a son of his own name, who was restored in blood, 5 Eliz. Strype's Mem.

**152)** Rapin by mistake says, he was made Archbishop the day Cranmer died. Though he had been elected, and approved by the Pope, Pole thought it indecent to be consecrated as long as Cranmer lived, yet his choosing the next day for it, brought him under the suspicion of having procured his death, so that the words of Elijah to Ahab concerning Naboth, were applied to him, Thou has killed and taken possession. Burnet, Tom. 2. p. 340.

**153)** Last year he founded a new, the monastery of the Franciscans at Greenwich: And, this year, built two houses for the Dominicans in Smithfield; a nunnery at Sion; a Carthusian Monastery at Sheen; and turned Westminster again into a monastery. Burnet, p. 340.

**154)** The English ambassadors were Cardinal Pole, (accompanied William Cecil for whom he had a particular esteem) the Chancellor, Gardiner, the Earl of Arundel, and the Lord Paget; They went over to Calais, May 18, Strype, Tom. 3. p. 212.

**155)** February 6. Burnet, p. 345.

**156)** About the beginning of this year, came an embassy to England, from Evan Basilowitz Emperor of Russia, to settle trade between that empire and England. See Stow, p. 629. Three English ships having first in the year 1553, sailed to Russia, under the conduct of Sir Henry Willoughby, in order to settle trade in that country, in the year 1555, Queen Mary incorporated the merchant adventurers to these parts, into a company, consisting of four consuls, and 24 assistants; and Sebastian Cabot, born in Bristol, of Geonese parents, was constituted the first governor, being the chief encourager of this branch of trade. Hockluit, Vol. I.

**157)** These were, Bonner Bishop of London, and Thirleby of Ely; the Lords Windsor and North; secretary Bourne, Sir John Mordant, Sir Francis Englefield; Dr Cole Dean of St Paul's; William Roper, and Randolph Cholmley, Equeries; William Cook, Thomas Martin, John Storey, and John Vaughan, doctors of law. Burnet, Tom. 2. p. 347.

**158)** That is, Dr Wootton's nephew.

**159)** War was proclaimed in England against that kingdom, June 7. Stow, p. 641.

**160)** Thomas Stafford, second son of the Lord Stafford. Hollingshead, p. 1133.

**161)** He was executed at London, May 28. Godwin, p. 354.

**162)** Stow says, it was March 18. p. 630.

**163)** Godwin says, there was one thousand horse, 4000 foot, and 2000 pioneers. Godwin, p. 355. Also Stow, p. 631. Anthony Brown Viscount Montacute, was Lieutenant General, Lord Grey of Wilton Lord Marshall, the Earl of Rutland General of the Horse, Edward Lord Clinton Colonel of the foot: the names of other persons of distinction in this army, see Hollingshead, p. 1133.

**164)** July 7. Godwin, p. 355.

**165)** With an Army of thirty five thousand Foot, and twelve thousand horse, besides the English troops. Ibid.

**166)** See their Names in Thuanus, l. 19.

**167)** On August 27. Hollingshead, p. 1134.

**168)** In May. Burnet, p. 352.

**169)** It seems he was then in England; it was the Bulls that were stopped at Calais. See Burnet, Tom. 3, p. 411. Collect.

**170)** The Duke of Alva was forced to come to Rome, and on his knees to beg pardon for invading the patrimony of the church, which he condescended to do. Burnet, p. 354.

**171)** But Queen Mary endeavoured to adjust all differences, by appointing Henry Nevil Earl of Westmoreland, Cuthbert Bishop of Durham, and Dr. and Martin, to treat with the commissioners. See Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XV, p. 457, 464.

**172)** This year, on July 15, died at Chelsey. Ann of Cleves, the fourth wife of Henry VIII. and was buried at Westminster, August 3. Stow, p. 631. April 30. Thomas Percy was created Baron Percy, and May I, Earl of Northumberland. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XV. p. 461, 462—This year, there was so great a dearth, that wheat was sold at £2. 13s 4d the quarter; Malt £2 4s. Pease £2 6d. 8d. But the next Harvest proving plentiful. Wheat came to be sold at 5s, Malt 6s. 8d. and Rye 3s. 4d a quarter. Stow, p. 631.

**173)** The Council of England had raised numerous forces, to go to the relief of that place; but they were detained at Dover, either for want of transport ships, or else by a storm, which happened at that time, and was so violent, that the like had not been known many years before. Stow, p. 632. Hollingshead, p. 1136.

**174)** The English garrison consisted only of five hundred men, and there were not above two hundred of the townsmen, that could be serviceable in a siege. The whole number of the inhabitants amounted to about four thousand two hundred persons. Stow, p. 632.

**175)** He divided his army into two bodies, and with one attacked Newnambridge, and with the other the Risbank at the same time. Godwin, p. 356.

**176)** The town being thus shut up, the French next drew the water out of its current, by which the ditches about the town and castle were drained; and having contrived ways for their soldiers to pass over the mire, without sinking in, they made the assault, after having opened a great breach by their Cannon. Burnet, Tom. 2. p. 357.

**177)** Of Wilton. Stow.

**178)** The Lord Wentworth was tried by his Peers, April 2, 1559. on a suspicion of cowardice or treachery, in the surrender of this town, and was acquitted. Stow, p. 638.

**179)** She was so affected with it, that she abandoned herself to despair; and told those about her, she should die, though they were yet strangers to this cause of her death, but if they would know it hereafter, they must dissect her, and they should find Calais at her heart. Godwin, p. 358.

**180)** The Computation they made was thus: There could not be sent, to any purpose, under twenty thousand men: The pay of them for six months would rise to £170,000. Garrisons, and an army against the Scots, and securing the coast against the French, would come to £150,000. The setting out of a fleet, and an army by sea, would amount to £200,000. There was also great want of ammunition and ordnance. All this would rise to above £520,000. Burnet, Tom. 2. p. 359.

**181)** In this Parliament, the Abbot of Westminster, lately re-edified into a monastery, and the prior of St. John of Jerusalem, had their writs and fate in it. Journ. Parl.

**182)** The Clergy (of the Province of Canterbury only) gave eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in four years. And the laity granted a subsidy and a fifteenth. The subsidy was four shillings in the pound of lands, (eight shillings of strangers) and two shillings and eight pence of goods from every person worth five pounds, to be paid before June 24. Journ. Parl. In this Parliament it was enacted. That if any person carries away a young woman under sixteen years of age, without the consent of her parents or guardians, he shall suffer two years imprisonment; and if any one marries a woman under that age, he shall suffer five years Imprisonment.

**183)** This member's name was \*\*\*\* Copley representative for \*\*\*\* his words, as set down in the journals of the House of Commons, were, "That he feared the Queen might thereby give away the crown from the right inheritor." For this he was committed to the custody of the Sergeant at Arms, but afterwards released at the desire of the House, who pleaded his youth as an excuse.

**184)** They were married April 28. Buchanan writ an epithalamium upon this marriage, which was one of the perfectest pieces of Latin poetry

**185)** King Philip had once designed to marry her to Emanuel Philbert Duke of Savoy, but the hopes of having children by the Queen vanishing, he intended to reserve her for himself. Burnet, Tom. 2. p. 361.

**186)** By Sir Thomas Pope in April. Burnet, Tom. 2. p. 361.

**187)** Six Richard Pexall, Sheriff of Hampshire. Fox, Tom. 3.

**188)** According to Fox's account, and Bishop Burnet's calculation, there were two hundred and eighty four burnt in all. A paper found among the Lord Burghley's MSS. makes the number of those that were burnt to be two hundred and ninety. The same Lord Burghley, in a treatise writ in the year 1583, reckoneth up the number of those that died in that reign by imprisonment, torments, fire, and famine, to be near four hundred. But the author of the preface, to Bishop Ridley's book, *De Cæna Domini*, who according to Bale, (de Scrip, p. 684., 731) was William Wittingham affirms; That in the two first years of the Queen's persecution, there were above eight hundred, put to the most cruel kinds of death for religion. The reason of this diversity may be, that no exact list was kept, at the time, of the persons committed to the flames, but the accounts of them were afterwards gathered by several persons, according to the best intelligence they could receive from their friends, throughout the several parts of the Kingdom. However this be, it is generally acknowledged. That there were burnt five Bishops, one and twenty divines, eight gentlemen, eighty four artificers, one hundred husbandmen servants and labourers, twenty six wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants. sixty four more were persecuted for their religion: whereof seven were whipped, sixteen perished in prison; and twelve were buried in dunghills. It is observable, that the persecutions raged most in Bonner's diocese, and in Kent. For, as Heylin reckons it, in all the province of York, there was but one brought to the stake, and but three in the four Welsh dioceses. In those of Exeter, Wells, Peterborough, and Lincoln, there is mention but of one a piece; of two in that of Ely, and of no more than three a piece at Bristol and Salisbury: In those of Oxford, Gloucester Worcester, and Hereford none at all. And now, not to let such hellish and bloody doings pass without some reflection, I shall observe with Mr. Collier, That, "to destroy people for points of mere speculation, and which

have no ill effect on practice and civil government seems very remote from the spirit of Christianity. Supposing truth on the persecuted side, yet to burn a man because he will not belie his conscience, and turn hypocrite, is strangely unaccountable men can't believe what they please: There understandings are not all of a size. Things don't stand in the same light, and strike with the same force on everybody. Besides, if the Roman Catholics believed the reformed faith notorious heretics: If they, believed they would be so ill received in the other world, why did they not use them gentler in this? Why did they hurry them to eternal destruction before their time?" We may justly affirm, that such wisdom as this, did not proceed from above, but was earthly, sensual, and devilish. Collier Eccl. Hist. Tom. II. p. 397. Burnet, Tom. II. p. 364. Strype's Mem. Tom. III. p. 473, &c. and Catalogue 291 &c. Speed, p. 286. Heylin p. 226.

**189)** Godwin says, one hundred and forty; and about the end of July, p. 357.

**190)** Edward Fynes, Lord Clynton and Spye. Rymer.

**191)** Mostly Flemings, who were too greedy of plunder. Stow, p. 634.

**192)** The English plenipotentiaries were, the Earl of Arundel, the Bishop of Ely, and Dean Wotton. Burnet, Tom. III. p. 265.

**193 5)** Pole was buried at Canterbury.



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