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THE REFORMATION AND THE RENAISSANCE

(1485—1547)

COMPILED BY
FRED. W. BEWSHER, B.A.
ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL



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INTRODUCTION

THIS series of English History Source Books is intended for use with any ordinary textbook of English History. Experience has conclusively shown that such apparatus is a valuable—nay, an indispensable—adjunct to the history lesson. It is capable of two main uses : either by way of lively illustration at the close of a lesson, or by way of inference-drawing, before the textbook is read, at the beginning of the lesson. The kind of problems and exercises that may be based on the documents are legion, and are admirably illustrated in a *History of England for Schools*, Part I., by Keatinge and Frazer, pp. 377-381. However, we have no wish to prescribe for the teacher the manner in which he shall exercise his craft, but simply to provide him with materials hitherto not readily accessible for school purposes. The very moderate price of the books in this series should bring them within the reach of every secondary school. Source books enable the pupil to take a more active part than hitherto in the history lesson. Here is the apparatus, the raw material: its use we leave to teacher and taught.

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In regard to choice of subject-matter, while trying to satisfy the natural demand for certain "stock" documents

of vital importance, we hope to introduce much fresh and novel matter. It is our intention that the majority of the extracts should be lively in style—that is, personal, or descriptive, or rhetorical, or even strongly partisan—and should not so much profess to give the truth as supply data for inference. We aim at the greatest possible variety, and lay under contribution letters, biographies, ballads and poems, diaries, debates, and newspaper accounts. Economics, London, municipal, and social life generally, and local history, are represented in these pages.

The order of the extracts is strictly chronological, each being numbered, titled, and dated, and its authority given. The text is modernised, where necessary, to the extent of leaving no difficulties in reading.

We shall be most grateful to teachers and students who may send us suggestions for improvement.

S. E. WINBOLT,
KENNETH BELL.

NOTE TO THIS VOLUME.

THE purpose of this volume is to supply several of those documents which are of great historical importance, and which, at present, find no place in the series of documents published by the Oxford University Press. Further, while most of the more important historical events are dealt with, an attempt has been made to introduce the student to the Tudor Atmosphere, and to reproduce as much as possible, both the mental and bodily energy, the prosperity, and the general virility of the period.

F. W. B.

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL,
September 1912.

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THE REFORMATION AND THE RENAISSANCE

(1485—1547)

DEVICE FOR THE CORONATION OF KING HENRY VII. (1485).

Source.—*Rutland Papers*, p. 12. Published by the Camden Society, 1842.

This done, the Cardinal, as Archbishop of Canterbury, shewing the King to the people at the iiij parties of the said pulpit, shall say in this wise; "Sirs, I here present Henry, true and rightful, and undoubted inheritor of the laws of God and man, to the crown and royal dignity of England, with all things thereunto annexed and appertaining, elect, chosen, and required by all three estates of the same land, to take upon him the said crown, and royal dignity, whereupon ye shall understand that this day is prefixed and appointed by all the peers of this land for the consecration, enunciation, and coronation." Whereunto the people shall say, with a great voice, "Yea. Yea. Yea. So be it King Henry ! King Henry!"

Soon upon the said Cardinal, as Archbishop of Canterbury, being reuysshed¹ as appertaineth for celebration of mass and also the foresaid Bishops of Exeter and Ely on both sides as above, with other Bishops, and with the Abbot of Westminster, who oweth always to be near the King for his information in such things as concerneth the solemnity of the coronation, the

¹ - revested.

King shall be brought honourably from his said seat unto the high altar, where the Chancellor of England shall set down the chalice, and likewise the Bishop of Chichester his patten.

The Queen following the King thither, going afore her the lords as above bearing her crown, sceptre, and rod, and the abovesaid Bishops sustaining her, for her shall be ordained, on the left side of the high altar, a folding stool wherein she shall sit while the King shall be required of the keeping of the customs and laws of England, and that done, whilst "Veni Creator Spiritus" is a singing, and all the while the King is anointed, she shall kneel praying for the King and her self.

At the which altar the King ought to offer a pall, and a pound of gold, xxiiij¹¹¹ in coin, which shall be delivered unto him by the Chamberlain; and, forthwith, the pavement afore the high altar worshipfully arrayed with carpets and cushions, the King shall then lie down grovelling, whilst the said Cardinal as Archbishop, say upon him, "Deus humilium," which done, the said Cardinal may, at his pleasure, command some short sermon to be said, during the which the said Cardinal shall sit before the altar, his back towards the same, as is the custom, and the King shall sit opposite him, face to face, in a chair prepared as to his high estate accordeth.

The sermon ended, if any such be, the Cardinal and the King that is to be crowned so sitting as is above said, the same Cardinal with an open and distinct voice shall ask the King under this form: "Will ye grant and keep, to the people of England, the laws and customs to them as of old rightful and devout kings granted, and the same ratify and confirm by your oath and especially the laws, customs, and liberties to be granted to the clergy and people by your noble predecessor and glorious King Saint Edward?" The King shall answer, "I grant and promise." And when the King, before all the people, hath promised truly to grant and keep all the promises, then shall the said Cardinal open unto him the special articles whereunto the King shall be sworn, the same Cardinal saying as followeth: "Ye shall keep, after your strength and power,

¹ = £24 in coin.

to the Church of Gcd, to the clergie, and the people, whole peace, and goodly concord." The King shall answer, " I shall keep."

" Ye shall make to be done after your strength and power, equal and rightful justice in all your dooms and judgements, and discretion with mercy and truth." The King shall answer, " I shall do." " Do ye grant the rightful laws and customs to be holden, and promise ye, after your strength and power, such laws as to the worship of God shall be chosen by your people by you to be strengthened and defended ? " The King shall answer, " I grant and promise."

YEOMEN OF THE GUARD FIRST BROUGHT IN.
THE SWEATING SICKNESS (1486). *

Source.—Holinshed's *Chronicle*, Vol. III., p. 482. [London, 1808.]

Shortly after for the better preservation of his royal person, he constituted and ordained a certain number as well of archers, as of divers other persons, hardy, strong, and active to give daily attendance on his person, whom he named yeomen of his guard, which precedent men thought that he learned of the French king when he was in France. For it is not remembered that any king of England before that day used any such furniture of daily soldiers. In this same year a kind of sickness invaded suddenly the people of this land, passing through the same from the one end to the other. It began about the one and twentieth of September, and continued until the latter end of October, being so sharp and deadly that the like was never heard of to any man's remembrance before that time.

For suddenly a deadly burning sweat so assailed their bodies and distempered their blood with a most ardent heat, that scarce one amongst an hundred that sickened did escape with life; for all in manner as soon as the sweat took them, or within a short time after, yielded the ghost. Beside the great number which deceased within the city of London, two mayors

successively died within eight days and six aldermen. At length, by the diligent observation of those that escaped (which marking what things had done them good, and holpen to their deliverance, used the like again), when they fell into the same disease the second or third time as to divers it chanced, a remedy was found for that mortal malady which was this. If a man on the day time were taken with the sweat, then should he straight lie down with all his clothes and garments and continue in the sweat four and twenty hours after so moderate a sort as might be. If in night he chanced to be taken, then should he not rise out of his bed for the space of four and twenty hours, so casting the clothes that he might in no wise provoke the sweat, but lie so temperately that the water might distil out softly of its own accord. And to abstain from all meat if he might so long suffer hunger and to take no more drink neither hot nor cold than would moderately quench and assuage his thirsty appetite. Thus with lukewarm drink, temperate heat and measurable clothes many escaped : few which used this order (after it was found out) died of that sweat. Marry ! one point diligently above all other in this cure is to be observed, that he never did put his hand or feet out of the bed to refresh or cool himself, which to do is no less jeopardy than short and present death. Thus this disease coming in the first year of King Henry's reign, was judged (of some) to be a token and sign of a troublesome reign of the same king, as the proof partly afterwards shewed itself.

LAMBERT SIMNEL (1486).

Source.—Holinshed's *Chronicle*, Vol. III., p. 484. [London, 1808.]

Amongst other such monsters and limbs of the devil, there was one Sir Richard Simond, priest, a man of base birth and yet well learned, even from his youth. He had a scholar called Lambert Simnel, one of a gentle nature and pregnant wit, to be the organ and chief instrument by the which he might convey and bring to pass his mischievous attempt.

The devil, chief master of such practices, put in the venomous brain of this disloyal and traitorous priest to devise how he might make his scholar the aforesaid Lambert to be reputed as right inheritor to the crown of this realm. Namely for that the jame went that King Edward's children were not dead, but fled secretly into some strange place, and there to be living : and that Edward, Earl of Warwick, son and heir to the Duke of Clarence, either was, or shortly should be put to death.

These rumours though they seemed not to be grounded of any likelihood to the wise sort of men, yet encouraged this peevish priest to think the time come that his scholar Lambert might take upon him the person and name of one of King Edward's children. And thereupon at Oxford, where their abiding was, the said priest instructed his pupil both with princely behaviour, civil manners and good literature, declaring to him of what lineage he should affirm himself to be descended, and omitted nothing that might serve for his purpose. Soon after, the rumour was blown abroad, that the Earl of Warwick was broken out of prison. And when the priest, vSir Richard Simond heard of this, he straight intended now by that occasion to bring his invented purpose to pass, and changing the child's name of baptism, called him Edward, after the name of the young Earl of Warwick, the which were both of like years and of like stature.

Then he with his scholar sailed into Ireland, where he so set forth the matter unto the nobility of that country, that not only the Lord Thomas Gerardine, Chancellor of that land, deceived through his crafty tale, received the counterfeit earl into his castle with all honour and reverence, but also many other noble men determined to aid him (with all their powers) as one descended of the blood royal and lineage come of the house of York, which the Irish people evermore highly favoured, honoured and loved above all other. By this mean every man throughout all Ireland was willing and ready to take his part and submit themselves to him ; already reputing and calling him of all hands king. So that now they of this

sect (by the advice of the priest) sent into England certain privy messengers to get friends here.

Also they sent into Flanders to the Lady Margaret, sister to King Edward and late wife to Charles, Duke of Burgoyne, to purchase, aid and help at her hands. This Lady Margaret bore no small rule in the low countries, and in very deed sore grudged in her heart that the King Henry (being descended of the house of Lancaster) should reign and govern of the realm of England, and therefore though she well understood that this was but a coloured matter, yet to work her malicious intention against King Henry, she was glad to have so fit an occasion, and therefore promised the messengers all the aid that she should be able to make in furtherance of the quarrel, and also¹ to procure all the friends she could in other places to be aiders and partakers of the same conspiracy.

King Henry, advertised of all these doings, was greatly vexed therewith, and therefore to have good advice in the matter he called together his council at the Charterhouse beside his manor of Richmond, and there consulted with them, by which means lest this begun conspiracy might be appeased and disappointed without more disturbance. It was therefore determined that a general pardon should be published to all offenders that were content to receive the same. This pardon was so freely granted that no offence was excepted, no not so much as high treason committed against the King's royal person. It was further agreed in the same council for the time then present that the Earl of Warwick should personally be shewed abroad in the city and other public places ; whereby the untrue report falsely spread abroad that he should be in Ireland, might be among the community proved and known for a vain imagined lie.

When all things in this counsel were sagely concluded and agreed to the King's mind, he returned to London, giving in commandment that the next Sunday ensuing, Edward, the young Earl of Warwick, should be brought from the Tower through the most public streets in all London, to the **cathedral** church of St. Paul. Where he went openly in procession, **that**

every man might see him, having communication with many noble men and with them especially that were suspected to be partakers of the late begun conspiracy, that they might perceive how the Irishmen upon a vain shadow moved war against the King and his realm. But this medicine little availed evil disposed persons. For the Earl of Lincoln, son to John de la Poole, Duke of Suffolk, and Elizabeth, sister to King Edward the Fourth thought it not meet to neglect and omit so ready an occasion of new trouble.

Wherefore they determined to uphold the enterprise of the Irishmen, so that consulting with Sir Thomas Broughton, and certain other of his most trusty friends, he proposed to sail into Flanders to his aunt, the Lady Margaret, Duchess of Burgoyne, trusting by her help to make a puissant army and to join with the companions of the new raised sedition. Therefore after the dissolution of the parliament which was then holden, he fled secretly into Flanders unto the said Lady Margaret, where Francis, Lord Lovell, landed certain days before.. Here, after Jong consultation as how to proceed in their business, it was agreed, that the Earl of Lincoln and the Lord Lovell should go into Ireland, and there attend upon the Duchess her counterfeit nephew, and to honour him as a king with the power of the Irishmen to bring him into England.

Now they concluded, that if their doings had success, then the aforesaid Lambert (misnamed the Earl of Warwick) should by consent of the council be deposed, and Edward the true Earl of Warwick delivered out of prison and anointed king. King Henry supposing that no man would have been so mad as to have attempted any further enterprise in the name of the new found and counterfeit earl, he only studied how to subdue the seditious conspiracy of the Irishmen. But learning that the Earl of Lincoln was fled into Flanders, he was somewhat moved therewith, and caused soldiers to be put in readiness out of every part of his realm, and to bring them into one place assigned, that when his adversaries should appear, he might suddenly set upon them, vanquish and overcome them.

Thus disposing things for his surety, he went towards St. Edmund's Bury, and being certified that the Marquis of Dorset was coming towards his majesty to excuse himself of things he was suspected to have done when he was in France, he sent the Earl of Oxford to arrest the said Marquis by the way, and to convey him to the Tower of London there to remain till his truth might be tried. From thence the King went forth to Norwich and tarrying there Christmas Day, he departed after to Walsingham, where he offered to the image of Our Lady, and then by Cambridge he shortly returned to London. In which mean time, the Earl of Lincoln had gotten together by the aid of the Lady Margaret about two thousand Almains, with one Martin Sward, a valiant and noble captain to lead them.

With this power the Earl of Lincoln sailed into Ireland and at the city of Dublin caused young Lambert to be proclaimed and named King of England, after the most solemn fashion, as though he were the very heir of the blood royal lineally born and descended. And so with a great multitude of beggarly Irishmen almost all naked and unarmed, saving skins and mantles, of whom the Lord Thomas Gerardine was captain and conductor, they sailed into England with this new found king and landed for a purpose at the pile of Fowdreie, within a little of Lancaster, trusting there to find aid by the means of Sir Thomas Broughton, one of the chief companions of the conspiracy. The King had knowledge of the enemies' intent before their arrival, and therefore having assembled a great army (over which the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Oxford were chief captains), he went to Coventry where he was advertised that the Earl of Lincoln was landed at Lancaster with his new king. Here he took advice of his counsellors what was best to be done, whether to set on the enemies without further delay or to protract time a little. But at length it was thought best to delay no time but to give them battle before they should increase their power, and thereupon he removed to Nottingham, and there by a little wood called Bowres he pitched his field.

Shortly after this came to him the Lord George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Strange, Sir John Cheyne, right valiant captains, with many other noble and expert men of war, namely of the counties near adjoining, so that the King's army was wonderfully increased. In this space the Earl of Lincoln being entered into Yorkshire passed softly on his journey without spoiling or hurting any man, trusting thereby to have some company of people resort unto him. But after he perceived few or none to follow him, and that it was too late now to return back, he determined to try the matter by dint of sword, and thereupon direct his way from York to Newark-upon-Trent.

BENEVOLENCES (1490).

Source.—Holinshed, Vol. III., p. 496.

King Henry, sorely troubled in his mind therewith, determining no more with peaceable message, but with open war to determine all controversies betwixt him and the French King, called his high court of Parliament and there declared the cause why he was justly provoked to make war against the Frenchmen, and thereupon desired them of their benevolent aid of men and money towards the maintenance thereof. The cause was so just that every man allowed it and to the setting forth of the war taken in hand for so necessary an occasion, every man promised his helping hand. The king commended them for their true and faithful hearts. And to the intent that he might spare the poorer sort of the commons (whom he ever desired to keep in favour) he thought good first to exact money of the richest sort by way of a benevolence.

Which kind of levying money was first devised by King Edward the Fourth, as it appeareth before in his history. King Henry, following the like example, published abroad that by their open gifts he would measure and search their benevolent hearts and good minds towards him, and he that gave little to be esteemed according to his gift. By this it appeareth

that whatsoever is practised for the prince's profit and brought to a precedent by matter of record, may be turned to the great prejudice of the people, if rulers in authority will so adjudge and determine it. But by this means King Henry got innumerable great sums of money, with some grudge of the people, for the extremity shewed by the commissioners in divers places.

THE REBELLION OF THE CORNISHMEN (1496).

Source.—*Holinshed*, Vol. I 11, p. 514.

These unruly people, the Cornishmen, inhabiting in a barren country and unfruitful, at the first sore repined that they should be so grievously taxed and burdened by the king's council as the only cause of such polling and pilling, and so being in their rage, menaced the chief authors with death and present destruction. And thus being in a rave, two persons of the affinity, the one called Thomas Flammock, a gentleman, learned in the laws of the realm, and the other Michael Joseph, a smith, men of stout stomachs and high courage, took upon them to be captains of this seditious company. They laid the fault and cause of this exaction unto John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and to Sir Reginald Bray, because they were chief of the King's council. Such reward have they commonly that be in great authority with kings and princes. The captains Flammock and Joseph exhorted the common people to put on harness and not be afeared to follow them in that quarrel, promising not to hurt any creature, but only to see them punished that procured such exactions to be laid on the people, without any reasonable cause, as under the colour of a little trouble with the Scots, which (since they were withdrawn home) they took to be well quieted and appeased. So these captains, bent on mischief (were their outward pretence never so finely coloured), yet persuaded a great number of people to assemble together and condescend to do as their captains would agree and appoint. Then these captains praising much the hardiness of the people, when all

things were ready for their important journey, set forth with their army and came to Taunton, where they slew the Provost of Perin, which was one of the commissioners of the subsidy, and from thence came to Wells, so intending to go to London, where the King then sojourned.

When the King was advertised of these doings, he was somewhat astonished, and not without cause, being thus troubled with the war against the Scots and this civil commotion of his subjects at one instant. But first meaning to subdue his rebellious subjects and after to proceed against the Scots, as occasion should serve, he revoked the Lord Daubeney which (as you have heard) was going against the Scots, and increased his army with many chosen and picked warriors. Also mistrusting that the Scots might now (having such opportunity) invade the realm again, he appointed the Lord Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey (which after the death of the Lord Dinham was made high treasurer of England) to gather a band of men in the county Palatine of Durham, that they, with the aid of the inhabitants adjoining and the borderers, might keep back the Scots if they chanced to make any invasion. The nobles of the realm, hearing of the rebellion of the Cornishmen, came to London every man with as many men of war as they could put in a readiness to aid the King if need should be. In the which number were the Earl of Essex and the Lord Mont joy, with divers other.

In the meantime, James Twitchet, Lord Audely being confederate with the rebels of Cornwall, joined with them, being come to Wells, and took upon him as their chief captain to lead them against the natural lord and king. From Wells they went to Salisbury, and from thence to Winchester, and so to Kent where they hoped to have had great aid, but they were deceived in that their expectation. For the Earl of Kent, George, Lord of Abergavenny, John Brook, Lord Cobham, Sir Edward Poinings, Sir Richard Gilford, Sir Thomas Bourchier, John Peche, William Scot, and a great number of people, were not only prest and ready to defend the country to keep the people in due obedience, but bent to fight with such as

would lift up sword or other weapon against their sovereign lord, insomuch that the Kentishmen would not once come near the Cornishmen to aid or assist them in any manner or wise. Which thing marvellously dismayed the hearts of the Cornishmen when they saw themselves thus deceived of the succours which they most trusted upon, so that many of them (fearing the evil chance that might happen) fled in the night from their company and left them, in hope so to save themselves. The captains of the rebels, perceiving they could have no help of the Kentishmen, putting their only hope in their own puissance, brought their people to Blackheath, a four miles distant from London, and there in a plain on the top of an hill they ordered their battles either ready to fight with the King if he would assail them, or else assault the city of London ; for they thought the King durst not have encountered with them in battle. But they were deceived, for the King, although he had power enough about to have fought with them before their coming so near to the city, yet he thought it best to suffer them to come forward, till he had them far off from their native country, and then to set upon them being destitute of aid of some place of advantage.

The city was in a great fear at the first knowledge given how the rebels were so near encamped to the city, every man getting himself to harness and placing themselves some at the gates some on the walls, so that no part was undefended. But the King delivered the city of that fear ; for after that he perceived how the Cornishmen were all day ready to fight and that on the hill, he sent straight to John, Earl of Oxenford, Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex, Edmund de la Poole, Earl of Suffolk, Sir Rise ap Thomas, and Sir Humphrey Stanley, noble warriors with a great company of archers and horsemen, to environ the hill on the right side, and on the left, to the intent that all byways being stopped and foreclosed, all hope of flight should be taken from them. And incontinently he himself, being as well encouraged with manly stomachs as furnished with a populous army and plenty of artillery, set forward out of the city, and encamped himself in Saint

George's field, where he on the Friday at night then lodged.

On the Saturday in the morning, he sent the Lord Daubeney with a great company to set on them early in the morning, which first got the bridge at Dertford Strand, which was manmilly defended by certain archers of the rebels, whose arrows (as is reported) were in length a full cloth yard. While the earls set on them on every side, the Lord Daubeney came into the field with his company, and without long fighting the Cornishmen were overcome; and first they took the Lord Daubeney prisoner, but whether it were for fear or for hope of favour, they let him go at liberty without hurt or detriment. There were slain of the rebels which fought and resisted, above two thousand men (as Edward Hall noteth), and taken prisoners an infinite number, and amongst them the blacksmith and other the chief captains, which were shortly after put to death. When this battle was ended, the King wanted of all his numbers but three hundred which were slain at that conflict.

Some affirm, that the King appointed to have fought with them not till the Monday and preventing the time set on them on the Saturday before, taking them unprovided and in no array of battle, and so by that policy obtained the field and victory. The prisoners as well as captains and others were pardoned, saving the chief captains and first beginners, to whom he shewed no mercy at all. The Lord Audley was drawn from Newgate to Tower Hill in a coat of his own arms painted upon paper reversed and all torn, and there was beheaded the four and twentieth of June. Thomas Flammock and Michael Joseph were hanged, drawn and quartered after the manner of traitors, and their heads and quarters were pitched upon stakes and set up in London and in other places, although at the first the King meant to have sent them into Cornwall to have been set up there for a terror to all others. But hearing that the Cornishmen at home were ready to begin a new conspiracy, lest he should the more irritate and provoke them by that unpleasant sight, he

changed his purpose, for doubt to wrap himself in more trouble than needed.

PERKIN WARBECK'S CONFESSION (1499).

Source.—Holinshed, Vol. III., p. 522,

The confession of Per kin as it was written with his own hand, which he read openly upon a scaffold by the Standard in Cheape.

" It is first to be known that I was born in the town of Turney in Flanders, and my father's name is John Osbeck, which said John Osbeck was controller of the said town of Turney, and my mother's name is Katherine de Faro. And one of my grandsires upon my father's side was named Diricke Osbecke, which died. After whose death my grandmother was married unto Peter Flamin, that was receiver of the forenamed town of Turney and dean of the boatmen that row upon the water or river called the Schelt. And my grandsire upon my mother's side was Peter de Faro, which had in his keeping the keys of the gate of St. John's within the same town of Turney. Also I had an uncle called Master John Stalin, dwelling in the parish of St. Pias within the same town which had married my father's sister whose name was Johne Jane with whom I dwelt a certain season. And after, I was led by my mother to Antwerp for to learne Flemish in a house of a cousin of mine, an officer of the said town called John Stienbeck, with whom I was the space of half a year. And after that I returned again to Turney by reason of wars that were in Flanders. And within a year following I was sent with a merchant of the said town of Turney named Berlo, to the mart of Antwerp where I fell sick, which sickness continued upon me five months. And then the said Berlo sent me to board in a skinner's house that dwelled beside the house of the English nation. And by him I was from thence carried to Barrow mart and I lodged at the ' Sign of the Old Man ' where I abode for the space of two months.

"After this the said Berlo sent me with a merchant of Middlesborough to service for to learn the language, whose name was John Strew, with whom I dwelt from Christmas to Easter, and then I went into Portugal in company of Sir Edward Brampton's wife in a ship which was called the queen's ship.' And when I was come thither, then was I put in service to a knight that dwelled in Lushborne, which was called Peter Vacz de Cogna, with whom I dwelt an whole year, which said knight had but one eye. And because I desired to see other countries I took licence of him and then I put myself in service with a Breton called Pregent Meno, who brought me with him into Ireland. Now when we were there arrived in the town of Cork, they of the town (because I was arrayed with some cloths of silk of my said masters) came unto me and threatened upon me that I should be the Duke of Clarence's son that was before time at Dublin.

" But forasmuch as I denied it, there was brought unto me the holy evangelists and the cross, by the mayor of the town which was called John Lllelewyn, and there in the presence of him and others I took mine oath (as the truth was) that I was not the foresaid duke's son, nor none of his blood. And after this came unto me an English man whose name was Stephen Poitron and one John Water, and laid to me, in swearing great oaths, that they knew well that I was King Richards bastard son, to whom I answered with like oaths that I was not. Then they advised me not to be afeared but that I should take it upon me boldly, and if I would do so they would aid and assist me with all their power against the King of England, and not only they, but they were well assured that the Earl of Desmond and Kildare should do the same.

" For they forced not¹ what they took, so that they might be revenged on the King of England, and so against my will made me learn English and taught me what I should do and say. And after this they called me the Duke of York, second son to King Edward the fourth, because King Richard's bastard son was in the hands of the King of England. And

¹ = cared not.

upon this the said Water, Stephen Poitron, John Tiler, Hughbert Burgh with many others, as the aforesaid earls, entered into this false quarrel, and within short time others. The French King sent an ambassador into Ireland whose name was Loit Lucas and master Stephen Friham to advertise me to come into France. And thence I went into France and from thence into Flanders, and from Flanders into Ireland, and from Ireland into Scotland, and so into England/

RECEPTION OF PRINCESS CATHARINE (1500).

HENRY VII. TO SIR JOHN PASTON.

To our trusty and well beloved knight Sir John Paston.

BY THE KING.

Source.—*Paston Letters*, Vol. III., Letter 943. March 20th, 1500 A.D

" Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, letting you know that our dearest cousins, the King and Queen of Spain, have signified unto us by their sundry letters that the right excellent Princesse the Lady Catharine, their daughter, shall be transported from the parties of Spain aforesaid to this our Realm, about the month of May next coming, for the solemnization of matrimony between our dearest son the Prince and the said Princess. Wherefore we, considering that it is right fitting and necessary, as well for the honour of us as for the honour and praise of our said Realm, to have the said Princess honourably received at her arrival, have appointed you to be one among others to give attendance for the receiving of the said Princess ; willing and desiring you to prepare yourself for that intent, and so to continue in readiness upon an hour's warning, till that by our other letters we shall advertise you of the day and time of her arrival, and where ye shall give your said attendance ; and not to fail therein as ye tender our pleasure, the honour of yourself and this our fore-said Realm.

" Given under our signet at our Manor of Richmond, **the** xxth day of March."

CARDINAL MORTON'S FORK (1504).

Source.—Holinshed, p. 532.

The clergy was of two sorts, the one shewing themselves as they were wealthy, seemly and comely ; the other pretending that which was not, poverty, bareness and scarcity, but both were of one mind, and devised all the ways they could to save their purses. The first being called alledged that they were daily at great charges and expenses in keeping of hospitalities, in maintaining themselves, their house and families, besides extraordinaries which daily did grow and increase upon them, and by that means they were but bare and poor, and prayed that they be borne with all and pardoned for that time. The other sort alledged that their livings were but small and slender and scarce able to maintain themselves with all which compelled them to go bare and to live a hard and poor life, and therefore (they having nothing) prayed that they might be excused. The bishop when he heard them at full and well considered thereof, very wittily and with a pretty dilemma answered them both, saying to the first: " It is true you are at great charges, are well beseen in your apparell, well mounted upon your fair palfreys and have your men waiting upon you in good order; your hospitality is good and your daily expenses are large, and you are for the same well reported amongst your neighbours ; all which are plain demonstrations of your wealth and ability, otherwise you would not be at such voluntary charges. Now having store to spend in such order, there is no reason but that to your prince you should much more be well willing and ready to yield yourselves contributory and dutiful, and therefore you must pay." To the other sort he said : "Albeit your livings be not of the best, yet good, sufficient, and able to maintain you in better estate than you do employ it, but it appeareth that you are frugal and thrifty men. and what others do voluntarily spend in apparell, house and family, you warily do keep and have it lie by you ; and therefore it is good reason

that of your store you should spare with a good will and contribute to your prince, wherefore be contented, for you shall pay." And so by this pretty dilemma he reduced them to yield a good payment to the King.

THE MEETING OF HENRY VII. AND THE KING OF CASTILE (1506).

WILLIAM MAKEFYN TO DARCY AND ALINGTON.

Sontce.—*Paston Letters*, Vol. III., Letter 953. Jan. 17th, 1506.

To the right worshipful Master Roger Darcy and Master Giles Alyngton, being in the George in Lombard street, be this delivered in haste.

Right worshipful masters, I recommend me unto you, certifying you that the King's Grace and the King of Castile met this day at three of the Clock, upon Cleworth Green, 2 miles out of Windsor, and that the King received him in the goodliest manner that ever I saw, and each of them embraced the other in arms.

To shew you the King's apparell of England, thus it was : his horse of bay, trapped with rieddlework ; a gown of purple velvet, a chain With a George¹ of diamonds, and a hood of purple velvet, which he put not off at the meeting of the said King of Castile; his hat and his bonnet he doffed and the King of Castile likewise. And the King of Castile rode upon a sorrel hoby,² which the King gave unto him ; his apparell was all black, a gown of black velvet, a black hood, a black hat, and his horse harness of black velvet. . . .

These be the Spears : Master Saint John upon a black horse, with harness of Cloth of Gold, with tassels of plunkett⁸ and white, a coat of plu ikett and white, the body of goldsmiths' work, the sieves full of spangles.

¹ =figure of St. George, i.e. part of the insignia of the Garter.
² =horse. ³ =lead ⁴ =green..

John Carr and William Parr with coats alike, the horses gray, of Parr trapped with crimson velvet with tassells of gold and gilt bells. Carr's horse bay with an Almayn harness of silver, an inch broad of beaten silver, both the coats of goldsmiths' work on the bodies, the sleeves one stripe of silver, the other of gold.

Edward Neville upon a gray horse trapped with black velvet full of small bells, his coat the one half of green velvet, the other of white cloth of gold ; these to the rutters of the spurs, with other divers well appointed.

Of the King of Castilles party, the Lord Chamberlain the chief, I cannot tell his name as yet; his apparell was sad, and so was all the residue of his company with cloaks of sad tawny black, guarded, some with velvet, some with sarsenet, not passing a dozen in number. It is said there is many behind which comes with the Queen of Castille, which shall come upon Tuesday.

When the King rode forth to Windsor Castle, the King rode upon the right hand of the King of Castile, howbeit the King's Grace offered to take him upon the right hand, the which he refused. And at the lighting the King of Castile was off his horse a good space or our King was alight; and then the King's grace offered to take him by the arm, the which he would not, but took the King by the arm, and so went to the King of Castiles chamber, which is the richestly hanged that ever I saw : 7 chambers together hanged with cloth of Arras, wrought with gold as thick as could be ; and as for three beds of estate, no king christened can shew such three.

This is so far as I can shew you of this day, and when I can know more, ye shall have knowledge.

From Windsor this Saturday, at five of the Clock,

By your,

WILLIAM MAKEFYN.

SUPERSTITION (1509).

Source.—Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, p. 90. 1887. Hamilton Adams, Glasgow.

The next to be placed among the regiment of fools are such as make a trade of telling or inquiring after incredible stories of miracles and prodigies. Never doubting that a lie will choke them, they will muster up a thousand several strange relations of spirits, ghosts, apparitions, raising of the devil, and such like bugbears of superstition, which the farther they are from being probably true, the more greedily they are swallowed, and the more devoutly believed. And those diversities do not only bring an empty pleasure, and cheap diversisement, but they are a good trade, and procure a comfortable income to such priests and friars as by this craft get their gain.

To these again are related such others as attribute strange virtues to the shrines and images of saints and martyrs, and so would make their credulous proselytes believe, that if they pay their devotion to St. Christopher in the morning, they shall be guarded and secured the day following from all dangers and misfortunes. If soldiers when they first take arms, shall come and mumble over such a set prayer before the picture of St. Barbara, they shall return safe from all engagements. Or if any pray to Erasmus on such particular holidays, with the ceremony of wax candles, and other poperies, he shall in a short time be rewarded with a plentiful increase of wealth and riches. The Christians have now their gigantic St. George, as well as the Pagans have their Hercules: they paint the saint on horseback, and drawing the horse in splendid trappings, very gloriously accoutred, they scarce refrain in a literal sense from worshipping the very beast.

What shall I say of such as cry up and maintain the cheat of pardons and indulgences? That by these compute the time of each soul's residence in purgatory, and assign them a longer and shorter continuance, according as they purchase more or fewer of these paltry pardons and saleable exemptions? Or

what can be said bad enough of others, who pretend that by the force of such magical charms, or by the fumbling over their beads in the rehearsal of such and such petitions, which some religious impostors invented, either for diversion or what is more likely for advantage ; they shall procure riches, honour, pleasure, health, long life, and lusty old age, nay, after death a sitting at the right hand of our Saviour in His kingdom.

Though as to this last part of their happiness, they care not how long it be deferred, having scarce any appetite towards a tasting the joys of heaven; till they are surfeited, glutted with, and can no longer relish their enjoyments on earth. By this easy way of purchasing pardons, any notorious highwayman, I any plundering soldier, or any bribe-taking judge, shall disburse some part of their unjust gains, and so think all their grossest impieties sufficiently atoned for. So many perjuries, lusts, drunkenness, quarrels, bloodsheds, cheats, treacheries, and all sorts of debaucheries, shall all be as it were, struck a bargain for, and such a contract made, as if they had paid oil all arrears and might now begin upon a new score.

And what can be more ridiculous, than for some others to be confident of going to heaven by repeating daily those seven verses out of the Psalms which the devil taught St. Bernard, thinking thereby to have put a trick on him, but that he was overreached in his cunning.

And of all the prayers and intercessions that are made to these respective saints the substance of them is no more than downright folly. Among all the trophies that for tokens of gratitude are hung upon the walls and ceilings of churches, **you shall** find no relics presented as a memorandum of any that were ever cured of folly or had been made one dram the wiser.

Almost all Christians being wretchedly enslaved to blindness and ignorance, which the priests are so far from preventing or removing, **that** they blacken the darkness, and promote delusion. Wisely foreseeing **that** the people, like cows, **which never give down** their milk so well as **when they are gently**

stroked, would part with less if they knew more, their bounty only proceeding from a mistake of Charity.

Now if any wise man should stand up, and unseasonably speak the truth, telling everyone that a pious life is the only way of securing a happy death ; that the best title to a pardon of our sins is purchased by a hearty abhorrence of our guilt, and sincere resolutions of amendment; that the best devotion that can be paid to any saints is to imitate them in their exemplary life. If he should proceed thus to inform them of their several mistakes, there would be quite another estimate put upon tears, watchings, masses, fastings, and other severities, which before were so much prized, as persons will now be vexed to lose that satisfaction formerly they found in them.

THE MAKING OF BEGGARS AND THIEVES (1516).

Source.—Sir Thomas More, *The First Booke of Utopia*, 1516.
Cambridge Press, p. 29, 1. 18.

But let us consider those things that chance daily before our eyes. First, there is a great number of gentlemen, which cannot be content to live idle by themselves, like drones, of that which others have laboured for ; their tenants I mean, whom they poll and shave to the quick, by raising their rents (for this only point of frugality do they use, men else through their lavish and prodigal spending likely to bring them to very beggary). These gentlemen, I say, do not only live in idleness themselves, but also carry about with them at their tails a great flock or train of idle and loitering serving men, which never learned any craft whereby to *get* their livings. These men as soon as their master is dead, or be sick themselves, be incontinent thrust out of doors. For gentlemen had rather keep idle persons, than sick men, and many times the dead man's heir is not able to maintain so great a house, and keep so many serving men as his father did. Then in the mean

season they that be thus destitute of service, either starve for hunger, or manfully play the thieves. For what would you have them to do ? When they have wandered abroad so long, until they have worn threadbare their apparell, and also appaired their health, these gentlemen, because of their pale and sickly faces, and patched coats, will not take them into service. And husbandmen dare not set them a work, knowing well enough that he is nothing meet to do true and faithful service to a poor man with a spade and a mattock for small wages and hard fare, which being daintily and tenderly pampered up in idleness and pleasure, was wont with a sword and buckler by his side to strut through the street with a bragging look, and to think himself too good to be any man's mate. Nay, by Saint Mary, Sir (quod the lawyer), not so. For this kind of men must we make most of. For in them as men of stouter stomachs, bolder spirits, and manlier courages than handycraftsmen and plowmen be, doth consist the whole power, strength, and puisance of our army, when we must fight in battle. Forsooth, Sir, as well you might say (quod I) that for war's sake you must cherish thieves. For surely you shall never lack thieves, while you have them. No, nor thieves be not the most false and faint-hearted soldiers, nor soldiers be not the cowardliest thieves : so well these two crafts agree together. But this fault, though it be much used among you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but common also to most nations. Yet France, besides this, is troubled and infected with a much sorer plague. The whole realm is filled and besieged with hired soldiers in peace time (if that be peace) **which** be brought in under the same colour and pretence, that **hath** persuaded you to keep these idle serving men. For these wise fools and very archdolts thought the wealth of the **whole country** herein to consist, if there were ever in a readiness a strong and sure garrison, specially of old practised **soldiers**, for they put no trust at all in men unexercised. **And therefore** they must be forced to seek for war, to the **end they may ever have practised** soldiers and cunning manslayers, lest that (as it is prettily said of Sallust) their hands through

idleness or lack of exercise should wax dull; but how pernicious and pestilent a thing it is to maintain such beasts, the Frenchmen by their own harms have learnt. For not only the kingdom but also their fields and cities by divers occasions have been overrunned and destroyed by their own armies beforehand had in a readiness. Now how unnecessary a thing this is, hereby it may appear that the French soldiers, which from their youth have been practised and inured in feates of arms, do not crack nor advance themselves to have very often got the upper hand and mastery of your new made and unpractised soldiers. But in this point I will not use many words, lest perchance I may seem to flatter you.

Yet this is not only the necessary cause of stealing. There is another, which, as I suppose, is proper and peculiar to you Englishmen alone. Your sheep that were wont to be so meek and tame, and so small eaters, now, as I hear say, be become so great devourers and so wild, that they eat up, and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses and cities. For look in what parts of the realm doth grow the finest and therefore dearest wool, these noblemen and gentlemen, yea, and certain abbots, holy men no doubt, not contenting themselves with the yearly revenues and profits, that were wont to grow to their forefathers and predecessors of their lands, nor being content that they live in rest and pleasure nothing profiting, yea, much annoying the weal public, leave no ground for tillage, they enclose all into pastures; they throw down houses; they pluck down towns, and leave nothing standing, but only the church to be made a sheep house. And as though you lost no small quantity of ground by forests, chases, lands and parks, those good holy men turn all dwelling places and all glebeland into desolation and wilderness. Therefore that one covetous and insatiable cormorant may compass about and enclose many thousand acres of ground together within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust out of their own, or else either by coveyn¹ and fraud or by violent oppression they be put

¹ = conspiracy.

besides it, or by wrongs and injuries they be so wearied, that they be compelled to sell all; by one means therefore or by other, either by hooke or crooke they must needs depart away, poor, silly, wretched souls, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woful mothers, with their young babes, and their whole household small in substance and much in number, as husbandry requireth many hands. Away they trudge, I say, out of their known and accustomed houses, finding no place to rest in. All their household stuff, which is very little worth, though it might well abide the sale; yet being suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they have wandered abroad till that be spent, what can they else do but steal, and then justly pardy¹! be hanged, or else go about a begging. And yet then also they be cast in prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not: whom no man will set at work, though they never so willingly profer themselves thereto. For one shepherd or herdnian is enough to eat up that ground with cattle, to the occupying whereof about husbandry many hands were requisite. And this is also the cause why victuals be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this the price of wool is so risen, that poor folks, which were wont to work it and make cloth thereof, be now able to buy none at all. And by this means very many be forced to forsake work, and to give themselves to idleness. For after that so much ground was inclosed for pasture, an infinite number of sheep died from the rot, such vengeance God took of their inordinate, unsatiable covetousness, sending among the sheep that pestiferous murrain, which much more justly should have fallen on the sheep masters own heads. And though the number of sheep increase never so fast, yet the price falleth not one mite, for there be so few sellers. For they be almost all come into a few rich mens hands, whom no need forceth to sell before they lust, they lust not before they may sell as dear as they lust. Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the other kinds of cattle, yea and that so much the more, because that after

¹ =pardieu.

farms plucked down and husbandry decayed, there is no man that passeth for the breeding of young store. For these men bring not up the young of great cattle as they do lambs. But first they buy them abroad very cheap, and afterward, when they be fatted in their pastures, they sell them again exceeding dear. And therefore, I suppose, the whole incommoditv hereof is not yet felt. For yet they make dearth only in those places where they sell. But when they shall fetch them away from thence where they be bred faster than they can be brought up; then shall there also be felt great dearth, store beginning then to fail, when the ware is bought. Thus the unreasonable covetousness of a few hath turned that thing to the utter undoing of your land, in the which thing the chief felicity of your realm did consist. For this great dearth of victuals causes men to keep as little houses and as small hospitality as they possible may, and to put away their servants: whither, I pray you, but a begging: or else (which these gentle bloods and stout stomachs will sooner set their minds unto) a stealing ?

ENCLOSURES (1520)

Source.—Holinshed, p. 659.

About this time the King having regard to the common wealth of his realm, considered how for the space of fifty years past and more, the nobles and gentlemen of England had been given to grazing of cattle, and keeping of sheep, and inventing a means how to increase their yearly revenues, to the great decaying and undoing of husbandmen of the land. For the said nobles and gentlemen, after the manner of the Numidians, more studying how to increase their pastures, than to maintain tillage, began to decay husband tacks^x and tenements, and to convert arable land into pasture, furnishing the same with beasts and sheep, and also deer, so inclosing the field with hedges, ditches, and pales, which they held in their own hands,

¹ = rented farms.

ingrossing¹ wools, and selling the same, and also sheep and beasts at their own prices, and as might stand most with their own private commodity.

Hereof a threefold evil chanced to the commonwealth, as Pplydore noteth. One, for that thereby the number of husbandmen was sore diminished, the which the prince useth chiefly in his service for the wars : another for that many towns and villages were left desolate and became ruinous : the third, for that both wool and cloth made thereof, and the flesh of all manner of beasts used to be eaten, was sold at far higher prices than was accustomed. These enormities at the first beginning being not redressed, grew in short space to such force and vigour by evil custom, that afterwards they gathered to such an united force, that hardly they could be remedied. Much like a disease, which in the beginning with little pain to the patient, and less labour to the surgeon may be cured ; whereas the same by delay and negligence being suffered to putrify, becometh a desperate sore, **and** then are medicines nothing available, and not to be applied. The King therefore causing such good statutes as had been devised and established for reformation in this behalf to be reviewed and called upon, took order by directing forth his commissions unto the justices of peace, and other such magistrates, **that** presentment should be had and made of all such inclosures, and decay of husbandry, as had chanced within the space of fifty years before that present time. The justices and other magistrates, according to their commission, executed **the** same. And so commandment was given, that the decayed houses should be built up again, that the husbandmen should be placed eftsoones in the same, and that inclosed grounds should be laid open, and sore punishment appointed against **them that** disobeyed.

These so good and wholesome ordinances shortly after were **defeated** by means of bribes given unto the cardinal: for when **the** nobles and gentlemen which **had for** their pleasures **imparted the common fields, were loath to have the** same again disparked,

¹ = " cornering."

they redeemed their vexation with good sums of money; and so had licence to keep their parks and grounds inclosed as before;

Thus the great expectation which men had conceived of a general redress, proved void: howbeit, some profit the husbandmen in some parts of the realm got by the moving of this matter, where inclosures were already laid open, ere Mistress Money could prevent them; and so they enjoyed their commons, which before had been taken from them.

VISIT OF CHARLES V. TO ENGLAND (1522).

Source.—*Rutland Papers* (Camden Society), p. 79.

Remembrances as touching the Emperor's coming.

First, the certainty to be known how many messes¹ of meat shall be ordered for the Emperor and his nobles at the King's charge; viii messes, x messes more or less?

Item, how many of these messes shall be served as noblemen, and how many otherwise.

Item, how many messes of meat shall be served for my Lord Cardinal and his chamber at the King's charge, v or vi more or less? Or whether his grace will be contented with a certainty of money by the day to his diet, and cause his own officers to make provision for the same, and to serve it.

Item, whether the emperor and his nobles shall be served with his own diaper,² or else with the king's? **THE EMPEROR AND HIS COURT WITH THE KING'S.**³

Item, whether the Emperor shall be served with his own silver vessels, or else with the king's? **AT DOVER WITH THE KING'S.**³

Item, how many of the emperors carriages shall be at the king's charge, and whether any parcell of the King's carriage shall be at the King's charge or us?

Item, whether any of the great officers, as my lord Steward, Master Treasurer, or Master Comptroller, shall give attendance upon the Emperor at Dover or not?

¹A sufficient quantity of provisions for four persons.

²Linen.

³=the answer to the question in the original written in the margin.

Item, whether there shall be any banquetting, and in what places ? AT ¹GREENWICH, LONDON, RICHMOND, AND WINDSOR.

Item, placards to be had for the purveyors of the poultry and others.

Item, letters to be directed to the Lords both spiritual and temporal, for fishing of their ponds for dainties.

Item, a warrant to be had and directed to Master Micklow for ready money. •

Item, to know whether the King's grace will have any of his sergeant officers to attend upon the emperor, or yeomen for his mouth daily or not ?

Wines laid in divers places for the King and the Emperor between Dover and London.

Dover ii days.	Gascon Wine, hi dolia. ² . Rhenish Wine, i vat ³ of ii alnes. ⁴
Canterbury iii days.	Gascon Wine, iii dolia. Rhenish Wine, ii vats of v alnes.
Sittingbourne i day.	Gascon Wine, i doliuin. Rhenish Wine, demy vat.
Rochester ii meals.	Gascon Wine, i dolium. Rhenish Wine, demy vat.
Gravesend and upon Thames ii meals.	Gascon Wine, i dolium. Rhenish Wine, demy vat.
Greenwich iii meals.	Gascon Wine, plenty, , Rhenish Wine. plenty
To Blackfriars in Lon- don viii meals.	Gascon Wine, viii dolium. Rhenish Wine, iii vats of vi alnes. Gascon Wine.
Richmond x meals.	Rhenish Wine. plenty Gascon Wine.
Hampton Court.	Rhenish Wine. Gascon Wine. ,
Windsor.	Rhenish Wine. plenty'

¹ =the answer to the question in the original written in the margin

² =cask.

³ vat—about 20 gallons.

⁴alne = ell: i.e., 45 inches. This refers to the dimensions of the barrel.

Remembrances for my Lord Mayor of London.

First, to assign iiii bakers within the city of London to serve the noblemen belonging to the Emperor that be lodged in the Canons' houses of Paules and their abbots and other places within the City.

Item, to assign the King's wax chandler to serve them of torches.

Item, to assign a tallow chandler for white lights.

Item, to assign iiii butchers for serving of oxen, sheep, calves, hogges of gresse,¹ flitches of bacon, marrow bones, and such other as shall be called for.

Item, to assign ii fishmongers for provision of lynges to be ready watered, pikes, tenches, breams, caller salmon, and such other dainties of the fresh water.

Item, to appoint ii fishmongers for provision of sea-fish.

Item, to appoint iiii poulterers to serve for the said persons of all manner poultry.

Item, to provide into every lodging wood, coal, rushes, straw, and such other necessities.

Item, it is requested that there may be always two carpenters in readiness to furnish every place with such things as shall be thought good, as cupboards, forms, boards, trestles, bedsteads, with other necessities, where lack shall be.

Item, to see every lodging furnished with pewter dishes, and saucers as shall be thought sufficient.

Item, to furnish every house with all manner kitchen stuff, if there be any lack of such like within any of the said houses, as broches² of diverse sorts, pots and pans, ladles, skimmers, gridirons, with such other stuff as shall be named by the officers of the said noblemen.

Item, appoint ii men to serve all manner of sauces for every lodging.

Item, to appoint ii tallow chandlers to serve for all manner of sauces.

Item, to warn every owner of the house to put all their stuff

¹= fat hogs. ² as spits.

of household in every office against their coming to be'in a readiness.

Item, the King's grocers to be appointed to serve in all manner of spices.

Bill of fare for the ordinary dieting of the Emperor's attendants per diem.

ccviii noblemen and gentlemen, by estimation every of them to have a mess full furnished of this fare as followeth.

ccviii messes.

The first course for dinner.

Potage.

Boiled Capon. xxxiiii^{dd} viii.

Young Veal, xxxii.

Grene¹ Gese. lxix¹ iii.

Kid or lamb, ciiii.

Custards, ccviii.

Fruttour.² ccviii messes.

The second course.

Jussell.⁴

Chickens. cxxxviii^{dd} viii.

Peacocks. cxxxviii^{dd} viii

Rabbits. cxxxviii^{dd} viii.

Tarts, cc.

The first course supper

Potage.

Chickens boiled. lxix^{dd}.

Legges of Mutton, xxi.

Capons, xxxiiii^{dd} vi.

Kid or lamb, ciiii.

Dowcettes.³

The second course.

Jelly Ipocras/

Peacocks. cxxxviii^{dd} viii.

Chickens. cxxxviii^{dd} viii.

Rabbits. cxxxviii^{dd} viii.

Tarts, ccviii.

CARDINAL WOLSEY (1522).

" WHY COME YE NOT TO COURTE."

Source.—John Skelton, *Chalmers' Works of the English Poets*.

London, T8IO. Vol. II., p. 274.

Once yet again
Of **you** I would frayne,⁶

Why come ye not to court ?
To which court ?

¹ =:Goslirtgs. ² A compdte of fruit. ³ = Pasties.

⁴The recipe for Jussell was "grated bread, eggs, sage, saffron and good broth."

⁵ A kind of sweet wine.

⁶Pray.

To the King's court ?
 Or to Hampton Court:
 The king's court
 Should have the excellence ;
 But Hampton Court
 Hath the preeminence,
 And Yorkes Place,¹
 With my lord's grace,
 To whose magnificence
 Is all the confluence,
 Suits and supplications,
 Embassies of all nations.
 Be it sour or be it sweet
 His wisdom is so discreet,
 That in a fume or an heat—
 " Warden of the fleet,
 Set him fast by the feet! "
 And of his royal power
 •When him list to lower,
 Then," Have him in the tower,
 V Saunz aulter ' remedy !
 Have him for the by and by
³ To the Marshalsea,
 Or to the King's bench ! "
 He diggeth so in the trench
 Of the court royal,
 That he ruleth them all.
 So he doth undermine
 And such sleights doth find,
 That the king's mind
 "By him is subverted,
 And so straightly coerced⁴
 In credensynge his tales,
 That all is but nutshells
 That any other saith ;
 He hath in him such faith.
 And, yet all this might be,
 Suffered and taken in gre⁵

If that that he wrought
 To any good end were brought:
 But all he bringeth to nought,
 By God, that me dear bought!
 He beareth the king on hand,
 That he must pull his land,
 To make his coffers rich.
 But he layeth all in the ditch
 And useth such abusion
 That in the conclusion
 He cometh to confusion,
 Perceive the cause why,
 To tell the truth plainly
 He is so ambitious
 And so superstitious
 And so much oblivious
 From whence that he came,
 That he falleth into a " cae-
 ciam"⁶
 Which, truly to express,
 Is a forgetfulness
 Or wilful blindness.
 "A caecitate cordis,"
 In the Latin sing we,
 " Libera nos, Domine ! "
 But this mad Amalecke
 Like to a Mamelek,
 He regardeth lordes,
 No more than potsherdes,⁷
 He is in such elation
 Of his exaltation,
 And the supportation
 Of our sovereign lord
 That, God to record,
 He ruleth all at will
 Without reason or skill,
 How be it the primordial
 Of his wretched original,

¹ Wolsey's Palace as Archb. of York: after his fall it became the Royal Palace of Whitehall.

² Sans autre. ³ The name of a prison. ⁴ Restrained. ⁵ Good will.

⁶ Caecitatem = blindness. ⁷ Potsherdes=broken pieces of earthenware.

And his base progeny,
 And his greasy genealogy,
 He came of the sank¹ royal,
 That was cast out of a
 butcher's stall.

But however he was borne,
 They would have the less
 scorn,

If he could consider
 His birth and room together,
 And call to his mind
 How noble and how kind
 To him he hath found,
 Our sovereign lord, chief
 ground

Of all this prelacy
 And set him nobly
 In great authority,
 Out from a low degree
 Which he cannot see.
 For he was, parde!²
 Nor doctor of divinity,
 Nor doctor of the law,
 Nor of none other saw;³
 But a poore master of arte,
 God wot, had little parte
 Of the quatrivials,⁴
 Nor yet of trivials,⁵
 Nor of philosophy,
 Nor of philology,
 Nor of good policy,
 Nor of astronomy,
 Nor acquainted worth a fly
 With honourable Italy,
 Nor with royal Ptholomy,
 Nor with Albumasar
 To treate of any star
 Fixed or else mobile;

His Latin tongue doth hobble,
 He doth but clout and cobble
 In Tully's faculty
 Called humanity;

Yet proudly he dare pretend
 How no man can him amend
 But have ye not heard this,
 How an one-eyed man is
 Well sighted when
 He is among blind men?

^G Than our process for to
 stable,

This man was full unable
 To reach to such degree,
 Had not our prince be
 Royal Henry the eight,
 Take him in such conceit,
 That to set him on sight
 In exemplifying
 Great Alexander the King
 In writing as we find;
 Which of his royal mind,
 And of his noble pleasure,
 Transcending out of measure
 Thought to do a thing
 That pertaineth to a king,
 To make up one of nought,
 And made to him be brought
 A wretched poore man
 Which his living won
 With planting of lekes
 By the days and by the wekes,
 And of this porevassall
 He made a king royal,
 And gave him a realm to rule,
 That occupied a shovel,
 A mattock and a spade,
 Before that he was made

¹ Sang (Fr.), blood.

² Pardieu.

³ Sort.

⁴ Quatrivials = astrology, geometry, arithmetic, music.

⁵ The trivials = grammar, rhetoric, and logic.

⁶ To make good our story.

A king, as I have told,
 And ruled as he would.
 Such is a king's power,
 To make within an hour,
 And work such a miracle,
 That shall be a spectacle,
 Of renown and worldly fame :
 In likewise now the same

Cardinal is promoted,
 Yet with lewd conditions
 coted,
 Presumption and vain glory,
 Envy, wrath, and lechery,
 Covetousness and gluttony,
 Slothful to do good,
 Now frantick, now starke wode.¹

WOLSEY AND THE POPEDOM (1524).

Cardinal Wolsey to King Henry.

LETTER I.

Source.—Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, Part III.; *Collection of Records*, Book I, No. 7.

FROM THE ORIGINALS LENT ME BY SIR WILLIAM COOK.

SIR,

It may like your highness to understand I have this hour received letters from your Orators Resident in the court of Rome, mentioning how the xivth day of this instant month, it pleased Almighty God to call the Pope's Holiness to His mercy, whose soul our Lord pardon. And in what train the matters then were at that time for election of the future Pope, your Highness shall perceive by the letters of your said Orators, which I send unto the same at this time, whereby appeareth that mine absence from thence shall be the only obstacle (if any be) in the election of me to that dignity; albeit there is no great semblance that the college of Cardinals shall consent upon any being there present, because of the sundry factions that be among themselves, for which cause, though afore God, I repute myself right unmeet and unable to so high and great dignity, desiring much rather to demure, continue and end my life with your Grace, for doing of such service as may be to your Honour and Wealth of this

¹Mad.

your realm, than to be x Popes, yet nevertheless, remembering what mind and opinion your grace was of, at the last vacation, to have me preferred thereunto, thinking that it should be to the honour, benefit, etc. advancement of your affairs in time coming ; and supposing that your Highness persisteth in the same mind and intent, I shall devise such instructions, commissions and other writings, as the last time was delivered to Mr. Pace for that purpose : And the same I shall send to your grace by the next post, whom it may like to do farther therein as will stand with your gracious pleasure, whereunto I shall always conform myself accordingly. And to the intent it may appear farther to your grace what mind and determination they be of, towards mine advancement, which as your Orators wrote, have now at this present time the principal authority and chief stroke in the election of the Pope, making in manner *Triumviratum*, I send unto your Highness their several letters to me addressed in that behalf, beseeching Our Lord that such one may be chosen as may be to the Honour of God, the weal of Christ's Church, and the benefit of all Christendom. And thus Jesu preserve your most Noble and Royal Estate : At the More the last Day of September, by

Your most humble chaplain,

T. CARLIS. EBOR.

LETTER II.

Source.—Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, Vol. III. ; *Collection of Records*, Part I., No. 8.

SIR,

It may like your Grace to understand **that** ensuing the tenor of my letter sent unto your Highness yesterday, I have devised such Commissions and Letters to be sent **unto your** counsellors **the** Bishop of Bath, Mr. Richard Pace, and Mr. Thomas Hanibal, **jointly** and severally, as **at the last time of vacation of the Papal Dignity** were delivered **unto the said Mr. Richard Pace; for the Preferment either of me, or that failing of the Cardinal de Medici unto the same, which letters and commissions if it stand with your gracious pleasure to**

have that matter set forth, it may like your Highness of your benign Grace and Goodness to sign, so to be sent to the Court of Rome in such diligence as the importance of the same, with the brevity of the time doth necessarily require. And to the intent also that the Emperor may the more effectually and speedily concur with your Highness for the furtherance hereof, albeit, I suppose verily that ensuing the Conference and Communications which he hath had with your Grace in that behalf, he hath not praetermitted before this time to advance the same, yet nevertheless for the more acceleration of this furtherance to be given thereunto, I have also devised a familiar letter in the name of your grace to be directed unto his Majesty, which if it may please your Highness to take the pain for to write with your own hand, putting thereunto your secret sign and mark, being between your Grace and the said Emperor, shall undoubtedly do singular benefit and furtherance to your gracious Intent and virtuous purpose in that behalf. Beseeching Almighty God that such effect may ensue thereof, as may be in his pleasure, the contentation of your highness, the weal and exaltation of your most Royal estate, realm, and affairs, and howsoever the matter shall chance, I shall no less knowledge myself obliged and bounden far above any my deserts unto your Highness, than if I had attained the same, whereunto I would never in thought aspire, but to do honour good and service unto your Noble Person and this your Realm. And thus Jesu preserve your most Noble and Royal Estate, at the More the first day of October, by

Your most humble chaplain,

T. CARLIS. EBOR.

WOLSEY AND THE KING'S MARRIAGE (1527).

A Part of Cardinal Wolsey's Letter to the King.

Source.—Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, **Part III.**, **Book I.** ;
Collection of Records, Number 12.

We daily and hourly musing and thinking on your Grace's great and secret affair, and how the same may come to good

effect and desired end, as well for the deliverance of your Grace out of the thrauld,¹ pensive, and dolorous life that the same is in, as for the continuance of your health and the surety of your realm and succession, considering also that the Pope's consent, or his Holiness detained in captivity, the authority of the cardinals now to be convoked into France equivalent thereunto, must concur for approbation of such process as I shall make in that behalf ; and that if the Queen shall fortune, which it is to be supposed she will do, either appeal or utterly decline from my Jurisdiction (one of the said authorities is also necessarily requisite). I have none other thought nor study but how in available manner the same may be attained. And after long discussion and debating with myself, I finally am reduced and resolved to two points ; the one is that the Pope's consent cannot be obtained and had in this case, unless his deliverance out of captivity be first procured ; the other is that the Cardinals can nothing do in this behalf, unless there be by them consultation and order taken, what shall be done *in Adminisratione rerum Ecclesiasticarum durante dicta captivitate sumrni Pontificis*.

As touching the restitution of the Pope to liberty, the state of the present affairs considered the most prompt sure and ready way is, by conclusion of the peace betwixt the Emperor and the French King : for the advancement and setting forward whereof I shall put myself in extreme devour, and by all possible means induce and persuade the said French King to strain himself and condescend to as much of the Emperor's demands as may stand with reason and surety of his and your Grace's affairs ; moving him further, that forasmuch as the Emperor takcth your Highness as a Mediator making fair demonstration in words, that he will at your contemplation and arbitre, not only declare the bottom of his mind concerning his demand, but also remit and relent in the same, he will be contented that your Grace forbearing the intimation of hostility may in the managing of the said Peace and inducing the Emperor to reasonable conditions, be so taken and reputed of

¹ Enslaved.

him, without any outward declaration to the contrary until such time as the conducing of the said peace shall be clearly desperate. Whereby if the said French King can be induced thereunto, may in the mean season use the benefit of their intercourse in the Emperor's Low-Countries : not omitting nevertheless for the time of soliciting the said peace, me diligent zeal and effectual execution of the sword by Monsieur de Lautrek in the parties of Italy : whereby your Grace's said mediation shall be the more set by and regarded.

And in case the said peace cannot be by these means brought to effect, whereupon might ensue the Pope's deliverance, by whose authority and consent your Grace's affair should take most sure honourable effectual and substantial end, and who I doubt not considering your Grace's gratitude, would facily be induced to do all things therein that might be to your Grace's good satisfaction and purpose, then and in that case there is none other remedy but the Convocation of the said Cardinals ; who as I am informed will not nor can conveniently converse in any other place but at Avignon, where the Administration of the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction hath been in scmlable cases heretofore exercised. To the which place if the said Cardinals can be induced to come, your Highness being so contented, I purpose also to repair, not sparing any labour, travail or pain in my body, charges or expense, to do service unto your Grace in that behalf; according to that most bounden duty and Jhearty desire, there to consult and devise with them for the governance and administration of the authority of the Church during the said captivity : which shall be a good ground and fundament for the effectual execution of your Grace's secret affair.

And forasmuch as thus repairing to Avignon I shall be near to the Emperor's confines, and within an hundred miles of Perpinian, which is a commodious and convenient place to commune and treat with the Emperor's person, I think in my poor opinion that the conducing of peace by your Grace's mediation not being desperate, nor intimation of hostility made on your behalf, it should much confer as well for the

deliverance of the Pope, as for concluding of the Peace between the French King and the Emperor, if his Majesty can be so contented that a meeting might be between him, my Lady the French king's mother, and me at the said Perpinian; to the which . . .

(The rest of this letter has been lost.)

WILLIAM TYNDALE ON THE TRANSLATION OF
THE SCRIPTURES (1528).

Source.—Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man and how Christian Rulers ought to Govern*, 1528, p. 12.

That thou mayest perceive how that the Scripture ought to be in the mother tongue, and that the reasons which our spirits make for the contrary are but sophistry and false wiles to fear thee from the light, that thou mightest follow them blindfold and be their captive to honour their ceremonies and to offer to their belly.

First God gave the children of Israel a law by the hand of Moses in their mother tongue, and all the prophets wrote in their mother tongue, and all the psalms were in the mother tongue. And there was Christ but figured and described in ceremonies, in riddles, in parables and in dark prophecies. What is the cause that we may not have the Old Testament with the New also, which is the light of the old, and wherein is openly declared before the eyes that there was darkly prophesied? I can imagine no cause verily, except it be that we should not see the work of Antichrist and juggling of hypocrites. What should be the cause that we which walk in the broad day should not see as well as they that walked in the night, or that we should not see as well at noon as they did in the twilight? Came Christ to make the world more blind? By this means, Christ is the darkness of the world, and not the light as he saith himself, John viii.

Moreover, Moses saith, Deutero. vi, "Hear, Israel, let these words which I command thee this day stick fast in thine heart, **and** whet them on thy children, and talk of them as thou

sittest in thine house and as thou walkest by the way and when thou liest down and when thou risest up, and bind them for a token of thine hand, and let them be a remembrance between thine eyes, and write them on the posts and gates of thine house." This was commanded generally unto all men. How cometh it that God's word pertaineth less unto us than unto them ? Yea, how cometh it that our Moseses forbid us and command us the contrary, and threat us if we do, and will not that we once speak of God's word ? How can we whet God's word (that is put in practise, use and exercise) upon our children and household, when we are violently kept from it and know it not ? How can we (as Peter commandeth) give a reason for our hope, when we wot not what it is that God hath promised or what to hope ? Moses also commandeth in the said chapter : if the son ask what the testimonies, laws and observances of the Lord mean, that the father teach him. If our children ask what our ceremonies (which are no more than the Jewses were) mean, no father can tell his son. And in the xi chapter he repeateth all again, for fear of forgetting.

They will say haply " the Scripture requireth a pure mind and a quiet mind. And therefore the lay-man, because he is altogether cumbered with worldly business, cannot understand them." If that be the cause, then it is a plain case that our prelates understand not the Scriptures themselves. For no lay-man is so tangled with worldly business as they are. The great things of the world are ministered by them. Neither do the lay people any great thing but at their assignment.

" If the Scripture were in the mother tongue," they will say, " then would the lay people understand it every man after his own ways/' Wherefore serveth the curate but to teach them the right way ? Wherefore were the holidays made but that the people should come and learn ? Are ye not abominable schoolmasters in that ye take so great wages, if ye will not teach ? If ye would teach, how could ye do it so well and with so great profit as when the lay. people have the Scripture before them in their mother tongue ? For then should they see, by the order of the *text*, whether thou juggledest or not. A l l

then would they believe it because it is the Scripture of God, though thy living be never so abominable. Where now, because your living and your preaching are so contrary and because they grope out in every sermon your open and manifest lies and smell your unsatiable covetousness, they believe you not when you preach truth. But alas, the curates themselves (for the most part) wot no more what the New or Old Testament meaneth than do the Turks. Neither know they of any more than that they read at masse, matins, and evensong, which yet they understand not. Neither care they but even to mumble up so much every day (as the pic and popinjay speak they wot not what) to fill their bellies with all. If they will not let the lay-man have the word of God in his mother tongue, yet let the priests have it, which, for a great part of them, do understand no Latin at all ; but sing and say and patter all day with the lips only that which the heart understandeth not.

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE BURNT (1529).

Source.—Edward Hall's *Henry VIII.* Grafton's Edition, 1548 ¹

Here is to be remembered, that at this present time, William Tindale had newly translated and imprinted the New Testament in English, and the Bishop of London, not pleased with the translation thereof, debated with himself, how he might compass and devise to destroy that false and erroneous translation, (as he said). And so it happened that one Augustine Packington, a Mercer and Merchant of London, and of great honesty, the same time was in Antwerp, where the Bishop then was, and this Packington was a man that highly favoured William Tindale, but to the bishop utterly showed himself to

¹ No reference has been given to the paging, as it is improbable that readers will have access to the Grafton Edition. Should there be need for further reference to Hall's Life, no difficulty will be found, as in all editions each year has a separate chapter.

the contrary. The bishop desirous to have his purpose brought to pass, communed of the New Testament, and how gladly he would buy them. Packington then hearing that he wished for, said unto the bishop, my Lord, if it be your pleasure, I can in this matter do more, I dare say, than most of the Merchants of England that are here, for I know the Dutchmen and strangers, that have bought them of Tyndale, and have them here to sell, so that if it be your lordship's pleasure, to pay for them (for otherwise I cannot come by them, but I must disburse money for them) I will then assure you, to have every book of them, that is imprinted and is here unsold. The Bishop thinking that he had God by the toe, when indeed he had (as after he thought) the Devil by the fist, said, gentle Master Packington, do your diligence and get them, and with all my heart I will pay for them, whatsoever they cost you, for the books are erroneous and naughty, and I intend surely to destroy them all, and to burn them at Paul's Cross. Augustine Packington came to William Tyndale and said, William I know thou art a poor man, and hast a heap of new Testaments and books by thee for the which thou hast both endangered thy friends, and beggared thyself, and I have now gotten thee a Merchant, which with ready money shall dispatch thee of all that thou hast, if you think it so profitable for yourself. Who is the merchant, said Tyndale. The bishop of London, said Packington. O that is because he will burn them, said Tyndale. Yea Mary, quod Packington. I am the gladder, said Tyndale, for these two benefits shall come thereof, I shall get money of him for these books, to bring myself out of debt, and the whole world shall cry out upon the burning of Gods word. And the overplus of the money that shall remain to me, shall make me more studious, to correct the said New Testament, and so newly to imprint the same once against and I trust the second will much better like you, than ever did the first: And so forward went the bargain, the bishop had the books, Packington the thanks, and Tyndale had the money. Afterwards, when more new Testaments were, imprinted, they came thick and threefold into England. The

bishop of London hearing that still there were so many New Testaments abroad, sent for Augustin Packington and said unto him: Sir, how comoth this that there are so many New Testaments abroad, and you promised and assured me that you had bought all? Then said Packington, I promise you I bought all that there was to be had: but I perceive they have made more since, and it will never be better, as long as they have the letters and stamps; therefore it were best for your lordship, to buy the stamps too, and then are you sure: the bishop smiled at him and said, Well Packington, well. And so ended this matter.

TWO LETTERS WRITTEN BY KING HENRY TO THE
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. FOR THEIR OPINION
IN THE CAUSE OF HIS MARRIAGE (1529).

LETTER I. BY THE KING.

Source.—Burnet's *History of (he Reformation*, Book HI. ; *Collection of Records*, Book II. No 17.

Trusty and well beloved subjects, we greet you well. And whereas we have, for an high and weighty cause of ours, not only consulted many and substantial well learned men within our Realm and without, for certain considerations our conscience moving, we think it also very convenient to feel the minds of you amongst you in our University of Oxenford, which be erudite in the faculty of Divinity, to the intent we may perceive of what conformity ye be with the others, which marvellously both wisely and substantially have declared to us their intent and mind: not doubting but that ye for the allegiance and fidelity that ye are bound unto us in, will as sincerely and truly without any abuse declare your minds and conscience in this behalf, as any of the other have done. Wherefore we will and command you, that ye not leaning to **wilful and** sinister opinions of your own several minds, not **giving** credence to misreports and sinister opinions or per-

suasions, considering we be your sovereign Liege Lord, totally giving your true mind and affection to the true overture of Divine learning in this behalf, do shew and declare your true and just learning in the said cause, like as ye will abide by; wherein ye shall not only please Almighty God, but also us your Liege Lord. And we for your so doing shall be to you and our University there so good and gracious a Sovereign Lord for the same, as ye shall perceive it well employed to your well fortune to come; in case you do not uprightly according to Divine Learning hand yourselves herein, ye may be assured, that we, not without great cause, shall so quickly and sharply look to your unnatural misdemeanour herein, that it shall not be to your quietness and ease hereafter. Wherefore we heartily pray you, that according both to Duty to God and your Prince, you set apart all untrue and sinister informations, and accommodate yourselves to mere truth as it becometh true subjects to do; assuring you that those that do, shall be esteemed and set forth, and the contrary neglected and little set by: trusting that now you know our mind and pleasure, we shall see such conformity among you, that we shall hereof take great consolation and comfort, to the great alлегement of our conscience; willing and commanding you among you to give perfect credence to my Lord of Lincoln our Confessor in this behalf and matter: and in all things which he shall declare unto you or cause to be declared in our behalf, to make unto us either by him or the authentic letters full answer and resolution, which, your duties well-remembered, we doubt not but that it shall be our high contention and pleasure.

Given under, etc.

LETTER II. BY THE KING.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And of late being informed, to our no little marvel and discontentation, that a great part of the youth of that our University with contentious factions and manner, daily cojnbinning together, neither regarding their duty to us their Sovereign Lord, -nor

yet conforming themselves to the opinions and orders of the virtuous, wise, sage, and profound learned men of that University, wilfully to stick upon the opinion to have a great number of regents and non-regents to be associate unto the doctors, proctors, and Bachelors of Divinity, for the determination of our question ; which we believe hath not been often seen, that such a number of right small learning in regard to the other, should be joined with so famous a sort, or in a manner stay their seniors in so weighty a cause : which as we think should be no small dishonour to our University there, but most especially to you the seniors and rulers of the same, assuring you that this their unnatural and unkind demeanour is not only right much to our displeasure, but much to be marvelled of, upon what ground and occasion they being our mere subjects, should show themselves more unkind and wilful in this matter, than all other universities both in this and in all other regions do. Finally, we trusting in the dexterity and wisdom of you and other the said discreet and substantial learned men of that University, be in perfect hope, that ye will condemn and frame the said young persons unto good order and conformity, as it becometh you to do. Wherefore we be desirous to hear with incontinent diligence, and doubt you not we shall regard the demeanour of everyone of **the** University, according to their merits and deserts. And if **the** youth of the University will play masteries, as they begin to do, we doubt not but that they shall well perceive **that non est bonum irritare crabrones.**

Given under, etc.

CARDINAL CAMPEGGIO'S JUDGMENT ON THE DIVORCE OF QUEEN KATHARINE (1529).

Source.—Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 229.

" I will give no judgement herein until I have made relation unto the Pope of all our proceedings, whose counsel and commandment in this high case I will observe. The case is too

high and notable known throughout the world, for us to give any hasty judgement, considering the highness of the persons and the doubtful allegations; and also whose commissioners we be, and under whose authority we sit here. It was therefore reason, that we should make our chief head of counsel in the same, before we proceed to judgement definitive. I come not so far to please any man, for fear, meed, or favour, be he king or any other potentate. I have no such respect to the persons that I will offend my conscience. I will not for favour or displeasure of any high estate or mighty prince do that thing that should be against the law of God. I am an old man, both sick and impotent, looking daily for death. What should it then avail me to put my soul in the danger of God's displeasure, to my utter damnation, for the favour of any prince or high estate in this world? My coming and being here is only to see justice ministered according to my conscience, as I thought thereby the matter either good or bad. And for as much as I do understand, and having perceivance by the allegations and negations in this matter laid for both the parties, that the truth in this case is very doubtful to be known, and also that the party defendant will make no answer thereunto, but doth rather appeal from us, supposing that we be not indifferent, considering the king's high dignity and authority within his own realm which he hath over his own subjects; and we being his subjects, and having our livings and dignities in the same, she thinketh that we cannot minister true and indifferent justice for fear of his displeasure. Therefore to avoid all these ambiguities and obscure doubts, I intend not to damn my soul for no prince nor potentate alive. I will therefore, God willing, wade no farther in this matter, unless I have the just opinion and judgement, with the assent of the pope, and such other of his counsel as hath more experience and learning in such doubtful laws than I have. Wherefore I will adjourn this court for this time, according to the order of the court in Rome, from whence this court and jurisdiction is derived. And if we should go further than our commission doth warrant us, it were folly and vain,

and much to our slander and blame; and we might be accounted the same breakers of this order of the higher court from whence we have (as I said) our original authorities."

ANNE BOLEYN'S HATRED OF WOLSEY (1529).

Source.—Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* (published by Harding and Lepard, 1827), p. 2.41.

And as I ¹ heard it reported by them that waited upon the king at dinner, that Mistress Anne Boleyn was much offended with the King, as far as she durst, that he so gently entertained my lord, saying, as she sat with the King at dinner, in communication of him, " Sir," quoth she, " is it not a marvellous thing to consider what debt and danger the cardinal hath brought you in with all your subjects ? " " How so, sweet-heart ? " quoth the King. " Forsooth," quoth she, " there is not a man in all your realm, worth five pounds, but he hath indebted you unto him," (meaning by a loan that the king had but late of his subjects). " Well, well," quoth the King, " as for that there is in him no blame ; for I know that matter better than you, or any other." " Nay, Sir," quoth she, " besides all that, what things hath he wrought within this realm to your great slander and dishonour ? There is never a nobleman within this realm that if he had done but half so much as he hath done, but he were well worthy to lose his head. If my Lord of Norfolk, my Lord of Suffolk, my lord my father, or any other noble person within your realm, had done much less than he, but they should have lost their heads ere this." " Why, then, I perceive," quoth the king, " ye are not the Cardinal's friend ? " " Forsooth, Sir," then quoth she, " I have no cause, nor any other that loveth your grace, no more have your grace if ye consider well his doings."

¹" I " refers to Cavendish, who was Wolsey's Gentleman Usher.

WOLSEY'S FALL (1529).

Source.—Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 246.

After Cardinal Campeggio was thus departed and gone, Michaelmas Term drew near, against the which my lord returned unto his house at Westminster ; and when the Term began, he went to the Hall in such like sort and gesture as he was wont most commonly to do, and sat in the Chancery, being Chancellor. After which day he never sat there more. The next day he tarried at home, expecting the coming of the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, who came not that day : but the next day they came thither unto him : to whom they declared how the king's pleasure was that he should surrender and deliver up the great seal into their hands, and to depart simply unto Asher, (Esher) a house situate nigh Hampton Court, belonging to the Bishoprick of Winchester. My lord, understanding their message, demanded of them what commission they had to give him any such commandment, who answered him again, that they were sufficient commissioners in that behalf, having the King's commandment by his mouth so to do. " Yet," quoth he, " that is not sufficient for me, without further commandment of the King's pleasure ; for the great seal of England was delivered me by the King's own person, to enjoy during my life, with the ministration of the office and high room of Chancellorship of England: for my surety whereof, I have the King's letters patent to show." Which matter was greatly debated between the Dukes and him, with many stout words between them ; whose words and checks he took in patience for the time ; in so much that the dukes were fain to depart again, without their purpose at that present: and returned again unto Windsor to the King : and what report they made I cannot tell; howbeit the next day they came again from the King, bringing with them the King's letters. After the receipt and reading of the same by my lord, which was done with much reverence, he delivered unto them, the great seal, contented to obey the King's high

commandment: and seeing that the King's pleasure was to take his house, with the contents, was well pleased simply to depart to Asher, taking nothing but only some provision for his house.

A LETTER WRITTEN BY CARDINAL WOLSEY TO DR. STEPHEN GARDNER (1530).

Source.—Cavendish's *Life of Wohey* (published by Harding and Lepard, 1827). p. 474.

MY OWN GOOD MASTER SECRETARY,

After my most hearty commendations I pray you at the reverence of God to help, that expedition be used in my pursuits, the delay whereof so replenisheth my heart with heaviness, that I can take no rest; not for any vain fear, but only for the miserable condition that I am presently in, and likelihood to continue in the same, unless that you, in whom is my assured trust do help and relieve me therein; For first, continuing here in this moist and corrupt air, being entered into the passion of the dropsy, *Cum prostratione appetitus et continuo insomnio*. I cannot live: Wherefore of necessity I must be removed to some other dryer air and place, where I may have commodity of physicians. Secondly, having but Yorke, which is now decayed, by £800 by the year, I cannot tell how to live, and keep the poor number of folks which I now have, my houses there be in decay, and of everything meet for household unprovided and furnished. I have no apparel for my houses there, nor money to bring me thither, nor to live with till the propice time of the year shall come to remove thither. These things considered, Mr. Secretary, must needs make me in agony and heaviness, mine age therewith and sickness considered, alas Mr. Secretary, ye with other my lords showed me, that I should otherwise be furnished and seen unto, ye know in your learning and conscience, whether t should forfeit my spiritualities of Winchester or no. Alas! the qualities of mine offences considered, with the great punishment and loss of goods that I have sustained, ought to move

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pitiful hearts ; and the most noble king, to whom if it would please you of your charitable goodness to show the premises after your accustomed wisdom and dexterity, it is not to be doubted, but his highness would have consideration and compassion, augmenting my living, and appointing such thing as should be convenient for my furniture, which to do shall be to the king's high honour, merit, and discharge of conscience, and to you great praise for the bringing of the same to pass for your old bringer up and loving friend. This kindness exhibited from the king's highness shall prolong my life for some little while, though it shall not be long, by the means whereof his grace shall take profit, and by my death not. What is it to his Highness to give some convenient portion out of Winchester, and St. Albans, his Grace taking with my hearty good will the residue. Remember, good Mr. Secretary, my poor degree, and what service I have done, and how now approaching to death, I must begin the world again. I beseech you therefore, moved with pity and compassion, succour me in this my calamity, and to your power which I know is great, relieve me ; and I with all mine shall not only ascribe this my relief unto you, but also pray to God for the increase of your honour, and as my poor shall increase, so I shall not fail to requite your kindness. Written hastily at Asher,¹ with the rude and shaking hand of

Your daily bedesman

and assured friend,

T. CARLIS EBOR.

To the right honourable

and my assured 'friend, Master Secretary.

¹ Esher,

THE KING'S LAST LETTER TO THE POPE (1532).

Source —Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, Part I . ; *Collection of Records*, Book II. xlii.

"After most humble commendations, and most devout kissing of your blessed feet. Albeit that we have hitherto deferred to make answer to those letters dated at Bonony, the 7th day of October ; which letters of late were delivered unto us by Paul of Casali. Yet when they appear to be written for this cause, that we deeply considering the contents of the same, should provide for the tranquillity of our own conscience, and should purge such scruples and doubts conceived of our cause of Matrimony. We could neither neglect those letters sent for such a purpose, nor after that we had diligently examined and perpended the effects of the same, which we did very diligently, noting, conferring and revolving every thing in them contained, with deep study of mind, pretermitt nor leave to answer unto them. For since that your Holiness seemeth to go about that thing chiefly, which is to vanquish those doubts, and to take away inquietations which daily do prick our conscience : and insomuch as it doth appear at the first sight to be clone of zeal, love and piety, we therefore do thank you of your good will. Howbeit since it is not performed in deed, that you pretend, we have thought it expedient to require your Holiness to provide us other remedies : wherefore forasmuch as your Holiness would vouchsafe to write unto us concerning this matter, we heartily thank you greatly lamenting also both the chance of your Holiness and also ours, unto whom both twain it hath chanced in so high a matter of so great moment to be frustrated and deceived: that is to say, that your Holiness not being instructed, nor having knowledge of the matter, of your self should be compelled to hang upon the judgement of others, and so put forth and make answers, gathered of other men, being variable and repugnant **among** themselves. And that we being so long sick and **exagitate with this** same sore, should so long time in vain look **for**

remedy : which when we have augmented our aegritude and distress, by delay and protracting of time, you do so cruciate the patient and afflicted as who seeth it should much avail to protract the cause, and thorough vain hope of the end of our desire to lead us whither you will. But to speak plainly to your Holiness ; forasmuch as we have suffered many injuries, which with great difficulty we do sustain and digest; albeit that among all things passed by your Holiness, some cannot be laid, alleged, nor objected against your Holiness, yet in many of them some default appeareth to be in you, which I would to God we could so diminish as it might appear no default; but it cannot be hid, which is so manifest and though we could say nothing, the thing itself speaketh. But as to that that is affirmed in your letters, both of God's law, and man's, otherwise than is necessary and truth, let that be ascribed to the temerity and ignorance of your Counsellors, and your Holiness to be without all default save only for that you do not admit more discreet and learned men to be your Counsellors, and stop the mouths of them which liberally would speak the truth. This truly is your default, and verily a great fault, worthy to be alienated and abhorred of Christ's Vicar, in that you have dealt so variably, yea, rather so inconstantly and deceivably. Be ye not angry with my words and let it be lawful for me to speak the truth without displeasure ; if your Holiness shall be displeased with that we do rehearse, impute no default in us, but in your own deeds, which deeds have so molested and troubled us wrongfully that we speak now unwillingly, and as enforced thereunto. Never was there any prince so handled by a Pope, as your Holiness hath intreated us. First when our cause was proponed to your Holiness, when it was explicated and declared afore the same ; when certain doubts in it were resolved by your Counsellors, and all things discussed, it was required that answer might be made thereunto by the order of the Law. There was offered a commission, with a promise also that the same .commission should not be revoked ; and whatsoever sentence should be given, should straight without delay be confirmed.

The judges were sent unto us, the promise was delivered to us, subscribed with your Holiness' hand ; which avouched to confirm the sentence and not to revoke the Commission, nor grant anything else that might let the same ; and finally to bring us in a greater hope, a certain Commission Decretal, defining the cause, was delivered to the Judges' hands. If your Holiness did grant us all these things justly, you did unjustly revoke them ; and if by good and truth the same was granted, they were not made frustrate or annihilate without fraud ; so as if there were no deceit nor fraud in the revocation, then how wrongfully and subtly have been done those things that have been done ! Whether will your Holiness say, that you might do those things that you have done, or that you might not do them ? If you will say that you might do them, where then is the faith which becometh a friend, yea, and much more a Pope to have those things not being performed, which lawfully were promised ? And if you will say that you might not do them, have we not then very just cause to mistrust those medicines and remedies with which in your letters you go about to heal our conscience, especially in that we may perceive and see those remedies to be prepared for us, not to relieve the sickness and disease of our mind, but for other means, pleasures and worldly respects ? And as it should seem profitable that we should ever continue in hope or despair, so always the remedy is attempted ; so that we being always a-healing, and never healed, should be sick still. And this truly was the chief cause why we did consult and take the advice of every learned man, being free without all affection, that the truth (which now with our labour and study we seem partly to have attained) by their judgements more manifestly divulged, we might more at large perceive ; whose judgements and opinions it is easy to see how much they differ from that, that those few men of yours do shew unto you, and by those your letters is signified. Those few men of yours do affirm the prohibition of our marriage to be inducted only by the law positive, as your Holiness has also written in your letters ; but all others say the prohibition to be inducted, both by the **law** of God

ind Nature. Those men of yours do suggest, that it may be dispensed for avoiding all slanders. The others utterly do contend, that by no means it is lawful to dispense with that, that God and Nature have forbidden. We do separate from our cause the authority of the See Apostolic, which we do perceive to be destitute of that learning whereby it should be directed; and because your Holiness doth ever profess your ignorance and is wont to speak of other men's mouths, we do confer the sayings of those, with the sayings of them that be of the contrary opinion; for to confer the reasons it were too long. But now the Universities of Cambridge, Oxford in our realms; Paris, Orleans, Biturisen,¹ Andegavon² in France; and Bonony³ in Italy, by one consent; and also divers other of the most famous and learned men, being freed from all affection, and only moved in respect of verity, partly in Italy, and partly in France, do affirm the Marriage of the brother with the brother's wife to be contrary both to the Law of God and Nature, and also do pronounce that no dispensation can be lawful or available to any Christian man in that behalf. But others think the contrary by whose counsels your Holiness hath done that, that since you have confessed you could not do, in promising to us as we have above rehearsed, and giving that Commission to the Cardinal Campeggio to be shewed unto us; and after, if it so should seem profitable to burn it, as afterwards it was done indeed as we have perceived. Furthermore, those which so do moderate the power of your Holiness, that they do affirm that the same cannot take away the Appellation which is used by man's law and yet is available to Divine matters everywhere without distinction. No princes heretofore have more highly esteemed, nor honoured the See Apostolic than we have, wherefore we be the more sorry to be provoked to this contention which to our usage and nature is most alienate and abhorred. Those things so cruel we write very heavily, and more glad would have been to have been silent if we might, and would have left your authority untouched with a good will and constrained to seek the verity,

¹ Bourges.² Anjou.³ Bologna.

we fell, against our will into this contention, but the sincerity of the truth prohibited us to keep silence and what should we do in so great and many perplexities ! For truly if we should obey the letters of your Holiness in that they do affirm that we know to be otherwise, we should offend God and our conscience and we should be a great slander to them that do the contrary, which be a great number, as we have before rehearsed. Also, if we should dissent from those things which your Holiness doth pronounce we would account it not lawful, if there were not a cause to defend the fact as we now do, being compelled by necessity, lest we should seem to condemn the Authority of the See Apostolic. Therefore, your Holiness ought to take it in good part though we do somewhat at large and more liberally speak in this cause which does so oppress us, especially forasmuch as we pretend none atrocity, nor use no rhetoric in the exaggerating and increasing the indignity of the matter; but if I speak of anything that toucheth the quick, it proceedeth of the mere verity, which we cannot nor ought not to hide in this cause, for it toucheth not worldly things but divine, not frail but eternal; in which things no feigned, false nor painted reasons, but only the truth shall obtain and take place ; and God is the truth to whom we are bound to obey rather than to men ; and nevertheless we cannot but obey unto men also, as we were wont to do, unless there be an express cause why we should not, which by those our letters we now do to your Holiness, and we do it with charity, not intending to spread it abroad nor yet further to impugn your authority, unless you do compel us ; albeit also, that that we do, doth not impugn your authority, but confirmeth the same, which we revoke to its first foundations; and better it is in the middle way to return than always to run forth headlong and do ill. Wherefore if your Holiness do regard or esteem the tranquillity of our mind, let the same be established with verity which hath been brought to light by the consent of so many learned men ; so shall your Holiness reduce and bring us to a certainty and quietness, and shall deliver us from **all anxiety, and shall** provide both

finally shall do your office and duty. The residue of our affairs we have committed to our Ambassadors to be propounded unto you, to whom we beseech your Holiness to give credence, etc/'

THE SUBMISSION OF THE CLERGY AND RESTRAINT OF APPEALS (1534).

Source.—25 H. VIII. cap. 19. (*Statutes of the Realm*, III 469.)

. . . And be it further enacted by authority aforesaid, that from the Feast of Easter, which shall be in the year of our Lord God, 1534, no manner of appeals shall be had, provoked, or made out of this realm, or out of any of the King's Dominions, to the Bishop of Rome, nor to the See of Rome, in any causes or matters happening to be in contention, and having their commencement or beginning in any of the courts within this realm, or within any of the King's dominions, of what nature, condition, or quality soever they be of; but that all manner of appeals, of what nature or condition soever they be of, or what cause or matter soever they concern, shall be made and had by the parties agreed, or having cause of appeal, after such manner, form and • condition, as is limited for appeals to be had and prosecuted within this realm in causes of matrimony, tithes, oblations and observations, by a statute made and established since the beginning of this present Parliament, and according to the form and effect of the said statute : any usage, custom, prescription or any thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

And for lack of justice at or in any the courts of the Archbishops of this realm, or in any the king's dominions, it shall be lawful to the parties grieved to appeal to the King's Majesty in the King's Court of Chancery; and that upon every such appeal, a commission shall be directed under the great seal to such persons as shall be named under the King's Highness, his heirs or successors, like as in case of appeal from the Admiral's Court, to hear and definitely determine such appeals

and the causes concerning the same. Which commissioners, or appointed, shall have full power and authority to hear and so by the King's Highness, his heirs or successors, to be named definitively determine every such appeal, with the causes and all circumstances concerning the same ; and that such judgement and sentence as the said commissioners shall make and decree, in and upon any such appeal, shall be good and effectual, and also definitive ; and no further appeals to be had or made from the said commissioners for the same.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL APPOINTMENTS ACT. THE
ABSOLUTE RESTRAINT OF ANNATES, ELEC-
TION OF BISHOPS AND LETTERS MISSIVE ACT
(1534)-

Source.—25 H. VIII. cap. 21. (*Statutes of the Realm*, III. 462.)

And for as much as in the said Act it is not only plainly and certainly expressed in what manner and fashion archbishops and bishops shall be elected, presented, invested, and consecrated within this realm and in all other the King's Dominions ; be it now therefore enacted by the King our sovereign Lord, by the assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in "this Present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said Act, and everything herein contained shall be and stand in strength, virtue, and effect; except only, that no person or persons hereafter shall be presented, nominated, or commended to the said Bishop of Rome, otherwise called the Pope, or to the See of Rome, to or for the dignity or office of any archbishop or bishop within this realm, or in any other the King's Dominions, nor shall send nor procure there for any manner of bulls, briefs, palls or other things requisite for an archbishop or bishop, nor shall pay any sums of money for Annates, first-fruits or otherwise, for expedition of any such bulls, briefs or palls ; but that by the **authority of** this act, such presenting, nominating, or **commending** to the said Bishop **of Rome**, or to the See **of Rome**,

and such bulls, briefs, palls, annates, first-fruits, and every other sums of money heretofore limited, accustomed, or used to be paid at the said See of Rome, for procuration or expedition of any such bulls, briefs or palls, or other thing concerning the same, shall utterly cease and no longer be used within this realm or within any of the King's Dominions : anything contained in the said Act aforementioned, or any use, custom, or prescription to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

ACT FORBIDDING PAPAL DISPENSATIONS AND THE PAYMENT OF PETER'S PENCE (1534).

Source.—25 H. VIII. cap. 21. (*Statutes of the Realm*, III. 464.)

For where this your Grace's realm recognizing no superior under God, but only your Grace, has been and is free from subjection to any man's laws, but only to such as have been devised, made, and ordained within this realm, for the wealth of the same, or to such other as, by sufferance of your Grace and your progenitors, the people of this your realm have taken at their free liberty, by their own consent, to be used amongst them, and have bound themselves by long use and custom to the observance of the same, not as to the observance of the laws of any foreign prince, potentate, or prelate, but to the accustomed and ancient laws of this realm, originally established as laws of the same, by the said sufferance, consents, and custom, none otherwise.

FIRST ACT OF SUCCESSION (1534).

Source.—25 H. VIII. cap. 22. (*Statutes of the Realm*, III. 471.)

... In consideration whereof, your said most humble and obedient subjects, the nobles and Commons of this realm, calling further to their remembrance that the good unity, peace and wealth of this realm, and the succession of the

subjects of the same, most especially and principally above all worldly things consists and rests in the certainty and surety of the procreation and posterity of your Highness, in whose most royal person, at this present time, is no manner of doubt nor question ; do therefore most humbly beseech your Highness, that it may please your Majesty, that it may be enacted by your Highness, with the assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the marriage heretofore solemnized between your Highness and the Lady Katherine, being before lawful wife to Prince Arthur, your elder brother, shall be, by authority of this Present Parliament, definitively, clearly and absolutely declared, deemed, and adjudged to be against the laws of Almighty God, and also accepted, reputed, and taken of no value nor effect, but utterly void and annulled, and the separation, thereof, made by the said Archbishop, shall be good and effectual to all intents and purposes ; any licence, dispensation, or any other act or acts going afore, or ensuing the same, or to the contrary thereof, in anywise notwithstanding ; and that every such licence, dispensation, act or acts, thing or things heretofore had, made and done or to be done, to the contrary thereof, shall be void and of none effect; and that the said Lady Katherine shall be henceforth called and reputed only dowager to Prince Arthur, and not Queen of this realm, and that the lawful matrimony had and solemnized between your highness and your most dear and entirely beloved wife Queen Anne, shall be established, and taken for undoubtful, true, sincere, and perfect ever hereafter, according to the just judgement of the said Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of all this realm, whose grounds of judgement have been confirmed, as well by the whole clergy of this realm in both the Convocations, and by both the universities thereof, as by the Universities of Bologna, Padua, Paris, Orleans, Toulouse, Anjou, and divers others, and also by the private writings of many right excellent well-learned men ; which grounds so confirmed, and judgement of the said Archbishop ensuring the same, together with your

marriage solemnized between your Highness and your said lawful wife Queen Anne, we your said subjects, both spiritual and temporal, do purely, plainly, constantly, and firmly accept, approve and ratify for good and consonant to the laws of Almighty God, without end or default, most humbly beseeching your Majesty, that it may be so established for ever by your most gracious and royal assent.

THE SUPREMACY ACT (1534).

Source.—25 H. VIII. cap. I (*Statutes of the Realm*, III. 492.)

Albeit the King's Majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognized by the clergy of this realm in their Convocations, yet nevertheless for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirpate errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same ; be it enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the king our sovereign lord, his heir and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia : and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity of supreme head of the same Church belonging and appertaining. And that pur said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have **full** power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, **and** enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any **manner, spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed**, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, **restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase**

of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this realm ; any usage, custom, foreign law, foreign authority, prescription or any other thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

LETTERS OF HENRY VIII. TO ANNE BOLEYN.

CIRC. 1534.

Source —*Henry VIII. Lettres a Anne Boleyn.* Crapelet, Paris.

Letter XII.

There came to me in the night the most afflicting news possible. For I have reason to grieve upon three accounts. First, because I heard of the sickness of my mistress, whom I esteem more than all the world, whose health I desire as much as my own, and the half of whose sickness I would willingly bear to have her cured. Secondly, because I fear I shall suffer yet longer that tedious absence, which has hitherto given me all possible uneasiness, and, as far as I can judge, is like to give me more. I pray God he would deliver me from so troublesome a tormentor. The third reason is, because the Physician, in whom I trust most, is absent at present, when he could do me the greatest pleasure. For I should hope by him and his means, to obtain one of my principal joys in this world, that is my mistress cured ; however, in default of him, I send you the second, and the only one left, praying God that he may soon make you well, and then I shall love Him more than ever. I beseech you to be governed by his advices with relation to your illness ; by your doing which, I hope shortly to see you again, which will be to me a greater cordial than all precious stones in the world. Written by the Secretary who is, and always will be,

H. (B) Rex.

THE SWEATING SICKNESS.

Source.—*Henry VIII. Lettres a Anne Boleyn.* Crapelct, Paris.

Letter XIII.

Since your last letters, mine own darling, Walter Welsh, Master Brown, John Case, John Cork the pothecary be fallen of the sweat in this house, and, thanked be God, all well recovered, so that as yet the plague is not fully ceased here ; but [trust shortly it shall. By the mercy of God the rest of us /et be well, and I trust shall pass it, either not to have it, or at the least as easily as the rest have done. . . . As touching /our abode at Heme, do therein as best shall like you; for you mow best what air does best with yon ; but I would it were :ome thereto (if it pleased God), that neither of us need care for that; for I ensure you I think it long. Suche is fallen sick of the sweat; and therefore I send you this bearer, because I think you long to hear tidings from us, as we do likewise from you. Written with the hand *de votre sent.* H. Rex.

QUEEN ANN BOLEYN TO KING HENRY, FROM
THE TOWER, MAY 6 (1536).

Source—From Appendix to Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, Vol. I., p. 154.

SIR,

Your Grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess in truth, and so to obtain your favour), by such a one whom you know to be my ancient professed enemy ; I no sooner receive this message, than I rightly conceive your meaning : and, if as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command. But let not your (brace ever imgaine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, when not so much as a thought ever proceeded : and to speak a truth, never Prince had wife more

loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Bullen ; with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your Grace's pleasure had so been pleased. Neither did I at any time forget myself in my Exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find, the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your Grace's fancy, the least alteration whereof, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other subject.

You have chosen me from a low estate to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my desert or my desire : if then you find me worthy of such Honour, Good your Grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of my enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me ; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your Good Grace, ere cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial; and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judge, yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truths shall fear no open shames ; then shall you see, either my innocency cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared : so that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace is at liberty, both before God and Man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unfaithful wife, but to follow your affection, already settled on that party for whose sake I now am as I am, whose name I could some while since have pointed to, your grace not being ignorant of my suspicion therein. But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must v-ring you the enjoying of a desired Happiness : then I desire of God, that he will pardon your great sin herein and likewise by enemies, the instruments thereof; and that he will not dl you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage me, at his general judgement-seat, where both you and -self must shortly appear, and in whose just judgement, soubt not, whatsoever the world may think of me,

my innocency shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

My last and only request shall be, that myself may bear the burden of your Grace's displeasure and it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor Gentlemen, who, as I understand, are in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Ann Bullen hath been pleasing in your ears, let me obtain this last request, I will so leave to trouble your Grace any further, with my earnest prayers to the Trinity, to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions.

Your most loyal and faithful wife,

ANN BULLEN.

From my doleful prison in the Tower,
The sixth of May, 1536.

ACT FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF THE LESSER MONASTERIES (1536).

Source.—27 Henry VII. cap. 28. (*Statutes of the Realm*, III. 575.)

Forasmuch as manifest sin, vicious, carnal and abominable living is daily used and committed among the little and small abbeys, priories, and other religious houses of monks, canons, and nuns, where the congregation of such religious persons is under the number of twelve persons, whereby the governors of such religious houses, and their convent, spoil/'destroy, consume, and utterly waste, as well their churches, monasteries, priories, principal houses, farms, granges, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, as the ornaments of their churches, and their goods and chattels, to the high displeasure of Almighty God slander of good religion, and to the great infamy of the King highness and the realm, if redress should not be had there^{*r} And albeit that many continual visitations hath been here^r fore had, by the space of two hundred years and more, for

honest and charitable reformation of such unthrifty carnal and abominable living, yet nevertheless little or none amendment hath been hitherto had, but their vicious living shamelessly increases and augments, and by a cursed custom so rooted and infested, that a great multitude of the religious persons in such small houses do rather choose to rove abroad in apostasy, than to conform themselves to the observation of good religion, so that without such small houses be utterly suppressed, and the religious persons therein committed to great and honourable monasteries of religion in this realm, where they may be compelled to live religiously for reformation of their lives, there cannot else be no reformation in this behalf:

In consideration whereof the king's most royal majesty, being supreme head on earth, under God, of the Church of England, daily finding and devising the increase, advancement and exaltation of true doctrine and virtue in the said Church, to the glory and honour of God, and the total extirping and destruction of vice and sin, having knowledge that the premises be true, as well by the accounts of his late visitations, as by sundry credible informations, considering also that divers and great solemn monasteries of this realm, wherein (thanks be to God) religion is right well kept and observed, be destitute of such full numbers of religious persons, as they ought and may keep—has thought good that a plain declaration should be made of the premises, as well to the Lords spiritual and temporal, as to other his loving subjects, the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled : whereupon the said Lords and Commors, by a great deliberation, finally be resolved, that it is, and shall be much more to the pleasure of Almighty God, and for the honour of this his realm, that the possessions of such small religious houses, now being spent, spoiled and wasted for increase and maintenance of sin, should be used and converted to better uses, and the unthrifty religious persons, so spending the same, to be compelled to reform their lives: and thereupon most humbly desire the king's highness, that it may be enacted by authority of this present Parliament, that his

majesty shall have and enjoy to him and his heirs for ever, all and singular such monasteries, priories, and other religious houses of monks, canons and nuns, of what kinds of diversities of habits, rules, or orders soever they be called or named, which have not in lands, tenements, rents, tithes, portions, and other hereditaments above the clear yearly value of two hundred pounds.

SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERY OF TEWKESBURY (1536).

Sonroe.—Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, 1st Part; *Collection of Records*, Book III. 3, Sec. V. "Copied from a book that is in the Augmentation Office," 1536.

COUNTY : GLOUCESTER.

(Surrender to the use of the King's Majesty and of his Heirs and Successors for ever made bearing date under the Covent-Seal¹ of the same late monastery, the 9th day of January, in the 31st year of the reign of our most dread victorious Sovereign Lord, King Henry the Eighth : and the said day and year clearly dissolved and suppressed.

The clear yearly value of all the said possessions belonging to the Monastery	As well Spiritual as Temporal, over and besides £136 8s. id. in Fees, Annuities and Custodies, granted to divers persons by Letters Patents under the Covent-Seal of the said late Monastery for term of their lives £1595 15 6
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¹ Covent =convent; cf. Covent Garden.

			i	s. d.
		John Wich, late Abbot there -	266	13 04
		John Beley, late Prior there -	16	00 00
Pensions		J. Bromsegrave, late Prior of Delehurst	13	06 08
assigned to the		Robert Circester, Prior of St. James -	13	06 08
late Religious		Will Didcote, Prior of Cranborne	10	00 00
dispatched:		Robert Cheltenham, B.D. -	10	00 00
that is to say,		Two Monks, £8 a piece	16	00 00
to		One Monk	07	00 00
		27 Monks £6 13s. 6d. each	180	00 00
			£	s. d.
		And so remains clear	1044	08 10

Records and Evidences

Remain in the Treasury there under
 Belonging late The custodyy of John Whittington,
 Monastery I Kt the keys therof beimg delivered
 Ito Richard Pauler, Receiver.

Houses and Buildings assigned to remain un defaced

/The Lodging called the Newark A leading from the Gate to the late Abbots lodging, with Buttery, Pantry, Cellar, Kitchen, Larder and Pastry thereto adjoining. The late Abbots Lodging, the Hostery,¹ the Great Gate entering into the Court,' with the lodging over the same; the Abbots Stable, Bakehouse, Brewhouse and Slaughterhouse, the Almry, Barn, Dairyhouse, the great barn next the Avon, the Maltinghouse, with the garners in the same, the Oxhouse in the Barton,² the Barton Gate, \and the lodging over the same. >

Committed to the custody of John Whittington, Knight.

¹ Hostelry, i.e. the Guest House.

² = Farmyard.

Deemed to be superfluous.	The Church, with Chappels, Clois- • ters, Chapterhouse, Misericord, the two Dormitories, Infirmary with Chappels and Lodgings within the same; the workhouse, with an- other House adjoining to the same, the Convent Kitchen, the Library, the old Hostery, the chamberer's Lodging, the new-Hall, the old Parlour adjoining to the Abbots lodging ; the Cellarers Lodging, the Poultry-House, the Garden, the Almary, and all other Houses and lodgings not above reserved.	Committed as abovesaid.
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Leads ³ remaining upon	fThe Quire, Aisles, and Chapels] annex the Cloister Chapter-house, Frater/St. Michaels Chappel, Halls,! 180 Foder. ² Fermory, and Gate-house, esteemed to
---	--

Bells remaining	In the steeple there are eight poize, \ by estimation	J 14600 weight
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Jewels reserved to the use of the King's Majesty.	Mitres garnished with gilt, rugged Pearls, and counterfeit stones.
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Plate of silver reserved to the same use.	fSilver gilt - - 329 ounces. i Silver parcel gilt - 605 ounces. I Silver white - - 497 ounces.	1431.
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¹ = The Refectory.² = A measure of lead, etc., about one ton.³ i.e. the lead with which the roofing was covered.

Ornaments reserved to the said use. (One cope of Silver Tissue, with one Chasuble, and one Tunicle of the same ; one cope of gold Tissue, with one Cope and two Tunicles of the same.

Sum of all the Ornaments, Goods, and Chattels belonging to the said Monastery. Sold by the said Commissioners, as in a particular Book of Sales thereof made ready to be shewed, as more at large may appear. £ s. d. 194 08 0

Pay-ments 1 C to the late Religious and Servants despatched. (To 38 late Religious Persons" of the said late Monastery of the King's mat. (Majesty) reward. £ s. d. 80 13 4 To an 144 late Servants of the said late Monastery, for, their wages and liveries. £ s. d. 75 10 0 J

Pay-ments 1 For debts owing by the said late Monastery. [To divers Persons for Victuals and Necessaries of them had to the use of the said Monastery, with £10 paid to the late Abbot there, for and in full payment of £124 5s. 4d. by him to be paid to certain Creditors of the said late Monastery, by Covenants made with the aforesaid Commissioners. £ s. d. 18 12 0

And so remains clear

£19 12 08

Then follows a list of some small Debts owing to and by the said Monastery.

70 SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERY OF TEWKESBURY

Then follows a list of the Livings in their Gift.

County of Glouc.	Four Parsonages and 10 vicarages.
County of Worcest.	Two Parsonages and 2 vicarages.
County of War.	Two Parsonages.
County of Will.	[sic],)~.
-Bristol	Five Parsonages and 1 vicarage.
County of Wilts.	00 2 vicarages.
County of Oxon.	One Parsonage and 2 vicarages.
County of Dorset.	Four Parsonages and 2 vicarages.
County of Sommers.	Three Parsonages.
County of Devon.	00 1 vicarage.
County of Cornwall.	00 2 vicarages.
County of Glamorgan 1 and Morgan	00 5 vicarages.

In all, 21 Parsonages and 27 vicarages.

THE INSURRECTION IN LINCOLNSHIRE (1537).

Source.—Edward Hall's *Life of Henry VIII.* (1547).

In the time of this Parliament, the bishops and all the clergy of the realm held a solemn convocation at-Paules Church in London, where after much disputation and debating of matters they published a book of religion entitled, "Articles devised by the King's Highness, etc." In this book is specially mentioned but three sacraments, with the which the Lincolnshiremen (I mean their ignorant priests) were offended, and of that occasion deproved the king's doings. And this was the first beginning, as after ye shall plainly hear.

After this book, which passed by the king's authority with the consent of the Clergy, was published, the which contained certain articles of religion necessary to be taught unto the people, and among other it specially treated of no more than three sacraments, and beside this book, certain injunctions **were** that time given whereby a number of their holidays **were abrogated and** especially such as fell in **the harvest time, the keeping of which was much to the hindrance of the gathering**

THE INSURRECTION IN LINCOLNSHIRE

in of corn, hay, fruit, and other such like necessary and profitable commodities.

These articles thus ordained and to the people delivered. The inhabitants of the north parts being at that time very ignorant and rude, knowing not what true religion meant, but altogether noseled in superstition and popery, and also by the means of certain abbotts and ignorant priests, not a little stirred*and provoked for the suppression of certain monasteries, and for the extirpation and abolishment of the bishop of Rome, now taking an occasion at this book, saying " See, friends, now is taken from us four of the vii Sacraments and shortly ye shall lose the other three also, and thus the faith of the Holy Church shall utterly be suppressed and abolished : and therefore they suddenly spread abroad and raised great and shameful slanders only to move the people to sedition and rebellion, and to kindle in the people hateful and malicious minds against the King's Majesty and the Magistrates of the realm, saying, Let no folly bind ourselves to the maintenance of religion, and rather than to suffer it thus to decay, even to die in the field. And amongst them also were to many even of the nobility, that did not a little to provoke and stir up the ignorant and rude people the more stiffly to rebel and stand therein, faithfully promising them, both aid and succour against the King and their own native country (like foolish and wicked men) thinking by their so doing to have done God high pleasure and service. There were also certain other malicious and busy persons who added oil (as the adage says) to the furnace. These made open clamours in every place where opportunity served, that Christian religion should be utterly violate, despised and set aside, and that rather than so it behoved and was the parts of every true and Christian man to defend it even to the death, and not to admit and suffer by any means the faith (in which their forefathers so long and so many thousand years have lived and continued) now to be subverted and destroyed. Among these were many priests which deceived also the people with many false fables and venomous lies and imaginations (which could never enter nor

take place in the heart of any good man, nor faithful subject), saying that all manner of prayer and fasting and* all God's service should utterly be destroyed and taken away, that no man should marry a wife or be partaker of the Sacraments, or at length should eat a piece of roast meat, but he should for the same first pay unto the king a certain sum of money, and that they should be brought in more bondage and in a more wicked manner of life, than the Saracens be under the great Turk. . . . And at the last they in writing made certain petitions to the King's Majesty, professing that they never intended hurt toward his royal person. The King's Majesty received those petitions and made answer to them as followeth :

First, we begin and make answer to the four and six articles, because upon them depcndeth much of the rest. Concerning choosing of councillors, I never have read, heard, or known, that princes' councillors and prelates should be appointed by rude and ignorant common people, nor that they were persons meet, nor of liability to discern and choose meet and sufficient councillors for a prince: how presumptuous then are ye the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realm, and of the least experience, to find fault with your Prince for the electing of his councillors and prelates, and to take upon you contrary to God's law and man's law to rule your prince, whom ye are bound by all laws to obey and serve with both your lives, lands, and all goods, and for no worldly cause to withstand the contrary whereof you like traitors and rebels have attempted, and not like true subjects as ye name yourselves.

As to the suppression of religious houses, monasteries, we will that ye and all our subjects should well know that this is granted us by all the nobles spiritual and temporal of this our Realm, and by all the Commons in the same by Act of Parliament, and not set forth by any councillor or councillors upon their mere will and phantasy, as ye full falsely would persuade our realm to believe.

And when ye allege that the service of God is much diminished, the truth thereof is contrary, for there be no houses

THE INSURRECTION IN LINCOLNSHIRE

suppressed where God was well served, but where most vice, mischief, and abomination of living was used, and that doth well appear by their own confessions subscribed with their own hands in the time of their visitations, and yet we suffered a great many of them (more than we needed by the Act) to stand, wherein if they amend not their living, or fear, we have more to answer for than for the suppression of all the rest. And as*for the hospitality for the relief of the poor, we wonder that ye be not ashamed to affirm that they have been a great relief of poor people, when a great many or the most part hath not past four or five religious persons in them, and divers but one which spent the substance of the goods of their houses in nourishing of vice and abominable living. Now what unkindness and unnaturality may be impute to you and all our subjects that be of that mind, that had liefer such an unthrifty sort of vicious persons, should enjoy such possessions, profits and enrolments, as grow of the said houses, to the maintenance of their unthrifty life, than he your natural prince, Sovereign lord and king, which doth and hath spent more in your defences of your own, than six times they be worth. As touching the act of uses, we marvel what madness is in your brain, or upon what ground ye would take authority upon you to cause us to break those laws and statutes by which all the noble knights and gentlemen of this realm (whom the same chiefly toucheth) hath been granted and assented to : seeing in no manner it toucheth you the base commons of our realm.

As touching the sixteenth,¹ which ye demand of us to be released, think ye that we be so faint hearted, that perforce ye of one slfire (were ye a great many more) could compel us with your insurrections and such rebellious demeanour to remit **the same** ? or think ye that any man will or may take you to be true subjects, that first make and shew a loving grant **and** then perforce would compel your sovereign lord and king to release the same ? the time of payment whereof is not yet **come, yea and** seeing **the same** will not countrevay¹² the **tenth**

¹ = a tax of $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the assessed value of property.

² = balance.

penny of the charges, which we do and daily sustain for your tuition and safeguard : make you sure, by your occasions of these your ingratitude, unnaturalness and unkindness to us now administered, ye give no cause, which hath always been as much dedicate to your wealth as ever was king, not so much to set or study for the setting forward of the same, seeing how unkindly and untruly, ye deal now with us, without any cause or occasion : and doubt ye not, though you have no grace nor naturalness in you to consider your duty of allegiance to your king, and sovereign lord, the rest of our realm we doubt not hath : and we and they shall so look on this cause, that we trust it shall be to your confusion, if according to your former letters you submit not yourselves.

Wherefore we charge you eftsoons upon the foresaid bonds and pains, that ye withdraw yourselves to your own houses, every man, and no more to assemble contrary to our laws, and your allegiances, and to cause the provokers of you to this mischief, to be delivered to our lieutenants' hands, or ours, and you yourselves to submit you to such condign punishment as we and our nobles shall think you worthy : for doubt you not else that we and our nobles can nor will suffer this injury at your hands unavenged, if ye give not place to us of sovereignty, and shew yourselves as bounden and obedient subjects and no more to intermeddle yourselves from henceforth with the weighty affairs of the realm, the direction whereof only appertaineth to us your king and such noblemen and councillors, as we lyst to elect and choose to have the ordering of the same : and thus we pray unto Almighty God, to give you grace to do your duties, to use yourselves towards us like true and faithful subjects, so that we may have cause to order you thereafter, and rather obediently to consent amongst you to deliver into the hands of our lieutenant a hundred persons, to be ordered according to their demerits, at our will and pleasure, than by your obstinacy and wilfulness, to put yourselves, your wives, children, lands, goods and catties, beside the indignation of God, in the utter adventure of total destruction, **and utter ruin**, by force and violence of the sword.

After the Lincolnshire men had received this the King's answer aforesaid, made to their petitions, each mistrusting the other who should be noted to be the greatest meddler, even very suddenly they began to shrink and out of hand they were all divided, and every man at home in his own house in peace : but the captains of these rebels escaped not all clear, but were after apprehended, and had as they deserved : he that took upon him as captain of this rout, named himself Captain Cobles, but it was a monk called Doctor Macherel, with divers other which afterward were taken and apprehended.

NOTE.—Within six days a new insurrection broke out in the north, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. The objects of these insurgents were as follows : " the maintenance and defence of the faith of Christ, and deliverance of Holy Church sore decayed and oppressed, and also for the furtherance as well of private as public matters in the realm touching the wealth of all the king's poor subjects " [Hall ii., 275].

An army was sent to restore order, but they were prevented from reaching the rebels by a river, which suddenly overflowed its banks and was considered by the people to be a miracle. On the following day the King granted a pardon to all concerned, and the rebellion came to an end.

INJUNCTIONS TO THE CLERGY MADE BY CROMWELL (1538).

Source.—Burnet's *History of the Reformation; Collection of Records*, Part I.. Book III. xi.

First: That ye shall truly observe and keep all and singular the King's Highness' Injunctions, given unto you heretofore in my name, by his Grace's Authority; not only upon the pains therein expressed, but also in your default after this second monition continued, upon further punishment to be straitly extended towards you by the King's Highness' Arbitrament, or his Vice-gerent aforesaid.

Item : That ye shall provide on this side the Feast of **next** coming, one Book of the whole Bible of the largest **volume in English, and the** same set up in some convenient

place within the said Church that ye have use of, whereas your Parishoners may most commodiously resort to the same and read it; the charge of which Book shall be ratably born between you, the Parson, and the Parishoners aforesaid, that is to say the one half by you, and the other half by them.

Item : That ye shall discourage no man privily or apertly from the reading or hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same, as that which is the very lively word of God, that every Christian man is bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if he look to be saved : admonishing them nevertheless to avoid all contention, altercation therein, and to use an honest sobriety in the inquisition of the true sense of the same, and refer the explication of the obscure places to men of higher judgement in Scripture.

Item : That ye shall every Sunday and Holy Day through the year openly and plainly recite to your Parishoners, twice or thrice together or oftener, if need require, one particle or sentence of the Pater Noster, or creed in English, to the intent that they may learn the same by heart. And so from day to day, to give them one little lesson or sentence of the same, till they have learned the whole Pater Noster and creed in English by rote. And as they be taught every sentence of the same by rote, ye shall expound and declare the understanding of the same unto them, exhorting all parents and householders to teach their children and servants the same, as they are bound in conscience to do. And that done, ye shall declare unto them the Ten Commandments, one by one, every Sunday and Holy-day, till they be likewise perfect in the same. °

Item : That ye shall in Confessions every Lent examine every Person that cometh to Confession unto you, whether they can recite the Articles of our Faith, and the Pater Noster in English, and hear them say the same particularly ; wherein if they be not perfect, ye shall declare to the same, that every Christian person ought to know the same before They should receive the blessed Sacrament of the Altar ; and monish them to learn the same more perfectly by the next year following,

or else, like as they ought not to presume to come to God's Board without perfect knowledge of the same, and if they do, it is to the great peril of their souls ; so ye shall declare unto them, that ye look for other injunctions from the King's Highness by that time, to stay and repel all such from God's Board as shall be found ignorant in the Premisses; whereof ye do thus admonish them, to the intent they should both eschew the peril ol their Souls, and also the worldly rebuke that they might incur after by the same.

Item : That ye shall make, or cause to be made, in the said Chufch, and any other Cure ye have, one sermon every quarter of the year at least, wherein ye shall purely and sincerely declare the very Gospel of Christ, and in the same exhort your hearers to the Works of Charity, Mercy, and Faith, especially prescribed and commanded in Scripture, and not to repose their trust or affiance in any other works devised by men's fantasies besides Scripture; as in wandering to Pilgrimages, offering of Money, Candles, or Tapers, to Images, or Reliques; or kissing or licking the same over, saying over a number of Beads, not understood or minded on, or in such like superstition : for the doing whereof, ye not only have no promise or reward in Scripture, but contrariwise great threats and maledictions of God, as things tending to idolatry and superstition, which of all other offences God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that same diminisheth most of his honour and glory.

Item: That such feigned Images as ye know in any of Cures to be so abused with Pilgrimages or offerings of anything made thereunto, ye shall, for avoiding the most detestable offence of idolatry, forthwith take down, and without delay; and shall suffer from henceforth no Candles, Tapers, or Images of wax to be set afore any Image or Picture, but only the Light that commonly goeth across the church by the Rood-Loft, the Light before the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Light about the Sepulchre; which for the adorning of the Church and Divine Service ye shall suffer to remain: still admonishing your Parishoners, that images serve for none other purpose,

but as to be bookstof unlearned men, that ken no letters, whereby they might be otherwiscd admonished of the lives and conversation of them that the said images do represent: which images if they abuse, for any other intent than for such remembrances, they commit idolatry in the same, to the great danger of their souls: And therefore the King's Highness graciously tendering the weal of his Subjects' Souls, hath in part already, and more will hereafter, travail for the abolishing of such images as might be an occasion of so great an offence to God, and so great a danger to the Souls of his loving subjects.

Item : That you, and every Parson, Vicar or Curate within this Diocese, shall for every Church keep one Book or Register, wherein he shall write the day and year of every Wedding, Christening, and Burying, made within your parish for your time, and so every man succeeding you likewise ; and also there insert every persons name that shall be so wedded, christened, and buried ; and for the safe keeping of the same book the Parish shall be bound to provide, of their Common Charges, one sure Coffe with two Locks and Keys, whereof the one to remain with you, and the other with the Wardens of every such Parish wherein the said Book shall be laid up : which book ye shall every Sunday take forth, and in the presence of the said Wardens or one of them write a record in the same, all the Weddings, Christenings, and Buryings made the whole week afore; and that done to lay up the book in the said Coffe as afore. And for every time that the same be omitted, the party that shall be in the fault thereof, shall forfeit to the said Church 3s. 4d. to be employed on the reparation of the said Church.

Item : That no person shall from henceforth alter or change the order and manner of any Fasting-day that is commanded and indicted by the Church, nor of any Prayer or of Divine Service, otherwise than is specified in the said Injunctions, until such time as the same shall be so ordered and transported by the King's Highness' Authority. The Eves of such saints whose Holy-days be abrogated, be only excepted, which shall be declared henceforth to be no Fasting-days ; excepted also

the Commemoration of Thomas Becket, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, which shall be clean omitted, and in the stead thereof the Ferial¹ Service used.

Item : Where in times past men have used in divers places in their Processions, to sing *Ora pro nobis* to so many saints, that they had no time to sing the good Suffrages following, as *Pace nobis Domine* and *Libera nos Domine*, it must be taught and preached, that better it were to omit *Ora pro nobis*, and to sing the other Suffrages.

All which and singular Injunctions I minister unto you and your Successors, by the King's Highness* Authority to be committed in this part, which I charge and command you by the same Authority to observe and keep upon pain of Deprivation, Sequestration of your Fruits or such other coercion as to the King's Highness, or his Vice-Gerent for the time being shall seem convenient.

ACT FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF THE GREATER MONASTERIES (1539).

Source.—31 H. VIII. cap. 13. (*Statutes of the Realm*, III 733.)

Where divers and sundry abbots, priors, abesses, prioresses, and other ecclesiastical governors and governesses of divers monasteries, abbacies, priories, nunneries, colleges, hospitals, houses of friars, and other ecclesiastical and religious houses and places within this our sovereign lord the king's realm of England and Wales, of their own free and voluntary minds, good wills and assents, without constraint, coercion or compulsion of any manner of person or persons, since the fourth day of February, the twenty-seventh year of the reign of our now most dread sovereign lord, by the due order and course of the common laws of this realm of England, and by their sufficient writings of record, under their convent and common seals, have severally given, granted and by the same their writings severally confirmed all their said monasteries, abbacies, priories, nunneries,

¹ - festival.

colleges, hospitals, houses of friars, and other religious **and** ecclesiastical houses and places and all their sites, circuits and precincts of the same, and all and singular their manors, lordships, granges, manses . . . appertaining or in any wise belonging to any such monastery, abbacy, priory, etc. . . . by whatsoever name or corporation they or any of them be called, and of what order, habit, religion, or other kind or quality soever they or any of them then were reputed, known or taken; to have and to hold all the said monasteries, abbasies, priories . . . etc. to our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors for ever and the same said monasteries . . . etc. voluntarily, as is aforesaid, have renounced, left, and forsaken, and every of them has renounced, left, and forsaken.

THE SIX ARTICLES ACT (1539).

Source.—31 Henry VIII. cap. 14 (*Statutes of the Realm*, III. 739.)

. . . And forasmuch as in the said Parliament, synod, and Convocation, there were certain Articles, matters, and questions proposed and set for the teaching Christian religion, that is to say:

First, whether in the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar remaineth, after the consecration, the substance of bread and wine, or no.

Secondly, whether it be necessary by God's law that all men should communicate with both kinds or no. *

Thirdly, whether priests, that is to say, men dedicate to God by priesthood, may, by the law of God, marry after or no.

Fourthly, whether vow of chastity or widowhood, made to God advisedly by man or woman, be, by the law of God, to be observed, or no.

Fifthly, whether private masses stand with the law of God, and be to be used and continued in the Church and congregation of England, as things whereby good Christian people may and do receive both godly consolation and wholesome benefits or no.

Sixthly, whether auricular confession is necessary to be retained, continued, used and frequented in the Church or no.

The King's most royal Majesty, most prudently providing and considering, that by occasion of variable sundry opinions and judgements of the said Articles, great discord and variance has arisen, as well amongst the clergy of this his realm, as amongst a great number of vulgar people, his loving subjects of the same, and bring in a full hope and trust, that a full and perfect resolution of the said Articles, should make a perfect concord and unity generally amongst all his loving and obedient subjects, of his most excellent goodness, not only commanded that the said articles should be deliberately and advisedly, by his said archbishops, bishops, and other learned men of his clergy, be debated, argued, and reasoned, and their opinions therein to be understood, declared, and known, but also most graciously vouchsafed, in his own princely person, to descend and come into his said High Court of Parliament and council, and there, like a prince of most high prudence and no less learning, opened and declared, many things of high learning and great knowledge, touching the said Articles, matters, and questions, for a unity to be had in the same ; whereupon after a great and long, deliberate, and advised disputation and consultation, had and made concerning the said Articles, as well by the consent of the king's highness, as by the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and other learned men of the clergy in their Convocation, and by the consent of the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, it was and is finally resolved, accorded, and agreed in manner and form following, that is to*say:

First, that in the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word (it being spoken by the priest), is present really, under the form of bread and wine, the natural body and blood of pur Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary; anil that after the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread or wine, nor any other substances, but the substance of Christ, God and man.

R.R.

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Secondly, that Communion in both kinds is not necessary *ad salutem*, by the law of God, to all persons; and that it is to be believed, and not doubted of, but that in the flesh, under the form of bread, is the very blood; and with the blood, under the form of wine, is the very flesh; as well apart, as though they were both together.

Thirdly, that priests after the order of priesthood received, as afore, may not marry, by the law of God.

Fourthly, that vows of chastity or widowhood, by man or woman made to God advisedly, ought to be observed by the law of God; and that it exempts them from the liberties of Christian people, ordering themselves accordingly, to receive both godly and goodly consolations and benefits; and it is agreeable also to God's law.

Sixthly, that auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained and continued, used and frequented in the Church of God.

HENRY VIII. AND SPORT (1539).

Source.—Holinshed, 556, 557; Edward Hall, *Henry VIII*,

This year the plague was great and reigned in divers parts of this realm. The king kept his Christmas at Richmond. The twelfth of January divers gentlemen prepared to just, and the king and one of his privy chamber called William Compton secretly armed themselves in the little park of Richmond and so came into the justs, unknown to all persons. The king never ran openly before and did exceeding well. Master Compton chanced to be so sore hurt by Edward Nevill Esquire, brother to the Lord of Abergavenny, so that he was like to have died. One person there was that knew the king and cried: "God Save the King" and with that all the people were astonished, and then the king discovered himself to the great comfort of the people. The king soon after came to

Westminster and there kept his Shrovetide with great banquettings, dancings and other jolly pastimes.

In this year also came ambassadors, not only from the King of Aragon and Castile, but also from the Kings of France, Denmark, Scotland and other places, which were highly welcomed and nobly entertained. It happened on a day that there were certain noble men made a wager to run at the ring and pa/ties were taken, and which party attained or took away the ring oftenest with certain courses, should win the wager. Whereof the King's Grace hearing, offered to be on the one party with six companions. The ambassadors hearing thereof, were much desirous to see this wager tried, and sp'ecially the ambassadors of Spain, who had never seen the king in harness. At the day appointed the king was mounted on a goodly courser, trapped in a purple velvet coat, the inner side thereof was wrought with flat gold of damask in the stool, and the velvet on the other side cut in letters, so that the gold appeared as though it had been embroidered with certain reasons¹ or posies. And on the velvet between the letters were fastened castles and sheafs of arrows of ducat gold with a garment, the sleeves compassed over his harness and his bases of the same work with a great plume of feathers on his head-piece that came down to the arson of his saddle and a great company of fresh gentlemen came in with his grace, richly armed and decked with many other right gorgeously apparelled, the trumpet before them goodly to behold, whereof many strangers (but specially the Spaniards) much rejoiced, for they **had** never seen the king before that time armed.

How at his returning, many hearing of his going on Maying were desirous to see him shoot, for at that time his Grace shot as strong and as great a length as any of his guard. There came to his Grace a certain man with bow and arrows, and desired his Grace to take the muster of him and to see him shoot, **for** at that time his Grace was contented. The man put the **one** foot in his bosom, and so did shoot and shot a very good **shot and** well towards his mark, whereof, not only his Grace,

¹=s mottoes.

But all other greatly marvelled. So the king gave him a reward for his so doing, which person afterwards, of the people and of them in court, was called Foot in Bosom. The same year in the feast of Pentecost, holden at Greenwich, that is to say the Thursday in the same week, his Grace with two other with him, challenged all comers to fight with them at the Darriers with target and casting the spear of eight foot long ; and that done, his Grace with the two said aids to fight every of them twelve strokes with two handed swords with and against all comers, none excepted being a gentleman ; where the K. behaved himself so well and delivered himself so valiantly by his hardy prowess and great strength, that the praise and laud was given to his Grace and his aids, notwithstanding that divers and strong persons had assailed him and his aids.

Now when the said progress was finished, his Grace, and the queen, with all their whole train, in the month of October following, removed to Greenwich. The king not minded to see young gentlemen unexpert in martial feats, caused a place to be prepared within the park of Greenwich, for the queen and the ladies to stand and see the fight with battle axes that should be done there, where the king himself armed, fought one Grot a gentleman of Almaine, a tall man and a good man of arms. And then after they had done, they marched always two and two together, and so did their feats and enterprises every man very well. Albeit, it happened the said Grot to fight with Sir Edward Howard, which Grot was by him stricken to the ground. The morrow after this enterprise done, the king with the queen came to the Tower of London. And to fche intent that there should be no displeasure nor malice be born by any of those gentlemen, who fought with the axe against other, the king gave unto them a certain sum of gold valued at two hundred marks, to make a bank¹ among themselves withall. The which bank was made at Fishmongers Hall in Thames Street, where they all met to the number of four and twenty, all apparelled in one suit or livery, after Almaine fashion, that

¹ =banquet.

is to say, their outer garments all of yellow satin, yellow hose, yellow shoes, girdles and scabbards, and bonnets with yellow feathers; their garments and hose all cut and lined with white satin and their scabbards wound about with satin. After their bank ended they went by torchlight to the Tower and presented themselves before the king who took pleasure to behold them.

P. 561. The king about this season was much given to play at tennis and at the dice, which appetite certain crafty persons about him perceiving, brought in Frenchmen and Lombards to make wagers with him and so lost much money, but when he perceived their craft, he eschewed their company and let them go.

P. 562. . . . Then began the trumpets to sound, and the horses to run, that many a spear was burst, and many a great stripe given, and for a truth the king exceedeth in number of staves all other every day of the three days.

Edward Hall, H. VIII.

The x day of March the king having a new harness made of his own device and fashion, such as no armour before that time had seen, thought to essay the same at the tilt, and appointed a Justes to serve him. On foot were appointed the Lord Marquis Dorset and the Earl of Surrey, the king came to the one end of the tilt, and the Duke of Suffolk to the other : then a gentleman said to the Duke, " Sir, the king is come to the tilt's end." " I see him not," said the Duke, " on my faith, for my head piece taketh away from me my sight" : with these words God knoweth by what chance, the king had his spear delivered him by the Lord Marquis, the visor of his head piece being up and not down or fastened, so that his head was clean naked. Then the gentleman said to the duke, " Sir, the king cometh," then the duke set forward and charged his spear, and the king likewise unadvisedly set toward the duke : the people perceiving the king's face bare, cried, " Hold, hold," **the** duke neither saw nor heard, and whether the king remem-

bered that his visor was up or no, few can tell. Alas what sorrow was it to the people when they saw the splinters of the duke's spear strike on the king's head piece. For of a surety the duke struck the king on the brow right under the defence of the head-piece on the very coif scull or bassenet-*piece where unto the bar bet² for power and defence is charnelled, to which coif or bassenet never armourer taketh heed, for it is evermore covered with the visor, barbet and volant piece,³ and so that piece is so defended that it forceth of no charge : But when the spear on that place lighted, it was great jeopardy of death, insomuch that the face was bare, for the duke's spear broke all to shivers, and bare the king's visor or barbet so far back by the counter buff that all the king's head-piece was full of splinters. The Armourers for this matter were much blamed, and so was the lord Marquis for the delivering of the spear when his face was open, but the king said that none was to blame but himself, for he intended to have saved himself and his sight. The duke incontinently unarmed him, and came to the king, shewing him the closeness of his sight, and swore that he would never run against the king more: But if the king had been a little hurt, the king's servants would have put the Duke in jeopardy. Then the king called his Armourers and put all his pieces together and then took a spear and ran six courses very well, by the which all men might perceive that he had no hurt, which was great joy and comfort to all his subjects there present.

¹ =a close-fitting helmet.

² = the lower part of the visor.

³ =a removable part of the helmet, which covered the throat.

THE ATTAINDER OF THOMAS CROMWELL (1540).

Source.—Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, Part I., Book III.; *Collection of Records*, No. 16; from the *Parliament Rolls*, Act 60, 32 H. VIII.

Thomas Cromwell, now Earl of Essex, whom your Majesty took and received into your trusty service, the same Thomas then being a man of very base and low degree, and for singular Favour, Trust and Confidences which your Majesty bare and had in him, did not only erect and advance the same Thomas unto the state of an Earl, and enriched him with manifold gifts, as well of Goods, as of Lands and Offices, but also him, the said Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, did erect and make one of your most trusty Counsellors, as well concerning your Graces most supreme jurisdictions Ecclesiastical, as your most high secret affairs temporal. Nevertheless, your Majesty now of late hath found, and tried, by a large number of witnesses, being your faithful subjects and personages of great honour, worship and discretion, the said Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex contrary to the singular trust and confidence your Majesty had in him, to be the most false, and corrupt Traitor, Deceiver, and Circumventor against your most Royal Person, and the Imperial Crown of this your realm, that hath been known, seen or heard of in all the time of your most noble reign: Insomuch that it is manifestly proved and declared, by the depositions of the witnesses aforesaid that the same Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, usurping upon your Kingly Estate, Power, Authority, and Office: without your grace's command or assent hath taken upon him to set at liberty divers persons, being convicted and attained of Misprision of **High** Treason; and divers other being apprehended, and in Prison, for Suspicion of High Treason, and over that, divers **and many** times, at sundry places in this your Realm, for **manifold** sums of money to him given, most traitorously **hath taken upon him by** several writings to give and grant, as **well unto aliens**, as to your subjects, a great number of licences for

conveying and carrying of Money, Corn, Grain, Beans, **Beer**, Leather, Tallow, Bells, Metals, Horses, **and** other commodities of this your Realm, contrary to your Highness most Godly and Gracious Proclamations made for the Commonwealth of your people of this your realm in that behalf, and in derogation of your Crown and Dignity. And the same Thomas Cromwell, elated, and full of pride, contrary to his most bounden Duty, of his own authority and Power, not regarding your Majesty Royal; and further taking upon him your power, Sovereign Lord, in that behalf, divers and many times most traitorously hath constituted, deputed, and assigned, many singular persons of your subjects to be Commissioners in many your great, urgent, and weighty causes and affairs, executed and done in this your realm, without the assent, knowledge, or consent of your highness. And further also, being a person of as poor and low degree, as few be within this your realm; pretending to have so great a stroke about you, our, and his natural Sovereign Liege Lord, that he let not to say publicly, and declare that he was sure of you, which is detestable, and to be abhorred amongst all good subjects in any Christian realm, that any subject should enterprise or take upon him so to speak of his Sovereign Liege Lord and King. And also of his own Authority and Power, without your Highness* consent, hath made and granted, as well to strangers as to your own subjects, divers and many pass-ports, to pass over the seas, with horses, and great sums of money, without any search. Most Gracious Sovereign Lord, the same Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, hath allured and drawn unto him by retainours, many of your subjects sunderly inhabiting in every of your said shires and territories, as well as erroneously persuading and declaring to them the contents of false erroneous books, to be good, true, and best standing with the most Holy Word and Pleasure of God; as other his false and heretical opinions and errors; whereby, and by his confederacies therein, he hath caused many of your faithful subjects to be greatly infected with heresies, and other errors, **contrary to the right laws and** pleasure of Almighty **God**. And the same **Thomas**

Cromwell, Earl of Essex, by the false and traitorous means above-written, supposing himself to be fully able, by force and strength, to maintain and defend his said abominable treasons, heresies, and errors, not regarding his most bounden duty to Almighty God, and his laws, nor the natural duty of Allegiance to your Majesty, in the last day of March in the 30th year of your most gracious reign, in the parish of St. Peter the Poor, within your City of London, upon demonstration and declaration then and there made unto him, that there were certain new preachers, as Robert Barnes, clerk, and others, whereof part were committed to the Tower of London, for preaching and teaching of lewd learning against your Highness' Proclamations ; the same Thomas affirming the same preacher to be good, most detestably, arrogantly, erroneously, wilfully, maliciously, and traitorously, expressly against your Laws and Statutes, then and there did not let to declare, and say, these most traitorous and detestable words ensuing, amongst other words of like matter and effect; that is to say, *That if the King would turn from it yet I would not turn; and if the King did turn, and all his people, I would fight in the field in mine own person, with my sword in my hand, against him and all others;* and then and there, most traitorously pulled our his dagger, and held it on high, saying these words : *Or else this dagger thrust me to the heart, if I would not die in the quarrel against them all; and I trust, if I live one year or two, it shall not lie in the King's power to resist or let it if he would.* And further, then and there swearing by a great oath, traitorously affirmed the same his traitorous saying and pronunciation of words saying, *I will do so indeed*^ extending up his arm, as though he had had a sword in his hand; to the most perilous, grievous, and wicked Example of all other your loving, faithful and obedient Subjects in this your Realm, and to the peril of your most Royal Person. And moreover, our most gracious Sovereign **Lord**, the said Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, hath acquired **and** obtained into his possession, by Oppression, Bribery, **Extort, Power, and** false promises made by him, **to** your Subjects of your Realm, innumerable Sums of Money and

Treasure ; and being so enriched, hath had your nobles of your realm in great disdain, derision, and detestation, as by express words by him most opprobriously spoken hath appeared. And being put in remembrance of others, of his estate, which your Highness hath called him unto, offending in like treasons, the last day of January, in the 31 year of your most noble reign, at the Parish of St. Martin's in the Field, in the County of Middlesex, most arrogantly, willingly, maliciously, and traitorously, said, published, and declared, that *if the Lord would handle him so, that he would give them such a breakfast as never was made in England, and that the proudest of them should know;* to the great peril and danger, as well of your Majesty, as of your Heirs and Successors. For the which his most detestable and abominable heresies and treasons, and many other his like offences and treasons over-long here to be rehearsed and declared: Be it enacted, ordained, and established by your Majesty, with the assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, for his abominable and detestable heresies and treasons, by him most abominably, heretically, and traitorously practised, committed, and done, as well against Almighty God, and against your Majesty, and this your said Realm, shall be, and stand, by authority of this present Parliament, convicted and attainted of Heresie and High Treason, and be adjudged an abominable and detestable Here tick and Traitor ; and shall have and suffer such pains of Death, losses and forfeitures of Goods, Debts and Chattels, as in cases of heresy and high treason, or as in cases of either of their, at the pleasure of your most Royal Majesty.

HERTFORD'S ORDERS FOR THE NAVY AND ARMY.
(APRIL 28th, 1544.)

Source.—*Hamilton Papers*, No. 227, Vol. II., H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.

51. Waiters¹ appointed for the vawarde :

The " Pauncye," the " Minion," the " Swallow," the " Gabian " of Ipswich, the " John Evangeliste," the " Gallye Subtile," Harwoddes " Barke of Calais " to attend upon the " Pauncye."

Wafters appointed for the battell:

The " Swepestake," the " Swanne" of Hamburghe, the " Mary Grace," the " Elizabeth " of Lynne, Cumberfordes Shippe.

Wafters appointed for the rerewarde :

The " Great Galley," the " Gillian" of Dartmouth, the " Peter" of Fowery, the "Anthony Fulford," the " Bark Riveley."

Orders taken at the Shelys within Tynemouth haven, the xxviiiith day of April in the xxxvith year of the reign of our sovereign lord King Henry the Eighth, by the Earl of Hertford, great Chamberlain of England, his highness' lieutenant in the north parties, and captain-general of His Majesty's army by sea and land at this present against the Scots.

1. First, his lordship in the King's Majesty's name, straightly chargeth and commandeth, that all captains, with their soldiers and mariners, shall be in readiness on shipboard in such ships as they be appointed unto by the said lord lieutenant, according to such proclamations as have been made in his lordship's name for that purpose, to the intent that every such ship may weigh anchor with the first prosperous wind that God shall send to depart.

2. **Item**, the lord admiral, with certain wafters withhim, shall be foremost of the fleet, bearing in his fore top-mast a **flag** of St. George's Cross, and in the night ii lights of a good

¹=a transport boats.

height in his ship. And all those ships (whose captains with their soldiers be appointed to the vaward, whereof the said lord admiral is chieftain) shall as near as they can follow the said lord admiral. And at such time as the said lord admiral shall come to an anchor, all the ships of the vaward shall likewise come to an anchor, as near unto his ship as they may conveniently.

3. Item, the said lord lieutenant hath appointed his own ship, and the ship which the King's treasure is in, to make sail next unto the fleet of the vaward, and all such ships (whose captains with their soldiers, are appointed to be about, his person in the battel) shall follow his lordship as near as they can, and shall come to an anchor as near as they can about him. And his lordship hath ordained to have upon his main top-mast a flag of Saint George's Cross, and every night two lights on high in his shrouds, and one above his main top, to the intent that every man may know his lordship's ship from all other, as well by night as by day.

4. Item, next unto the said fleet of battell, the Earl of Shrewsbury (whom the said lord lieutenant hath appointed to be chieftain of the rearwarde) shall make sail, bearing upon his mizzen top mast one flag of St. George's Cross, and every night in the prow of his ship, one cressitt¹ burning, to the intent all the fleet appointed to the rereward may know the said Earl of Shrewsbury his ship from all others.

5. Item, when the said lord lieutenant would have the lord admiral to come on board his ship, his lordship hath appointed to put out a flag above his forecastle. And when his lordship would have the captain of the rearward to come on board his ship, his pleasure is to set out a flag on the poop of his ship. And when his lordship would have all the captains of the middle ward to come on board his ship, he hath appointed to set out a banner of counsel against the midst of his mainmast. And forbecause, that every captain of the vaward shall have better knowledge of the tokens afforerehersed, his lordship

¹ =An iron basket containing inflammable material, often a coil of tarred rope.

straightly chargeth'and commandeth, that no ship shall spread any flag in any place above the hatches, nor bear any lights in the night above the decks, other than the said lord lieutenants own ship, the lord admiral's ship, and the captain of the rereward his ship as aforesaid.

6. Item, that if any ship or crayer chance by tempest of weather or other cause to be put from the fleet, the same ships or crayers shall resort to the Firth, as they will answer for the contrary at their perils.

7. Item, that every captain, as well of the vaward, rereward and bat tell, shall cause their boats to be in readiness for the landing of their men, when they shall be commanded by the said lord lieutenant or the said chieftaines. And that every captain (whose ship hath any baseis or double verseis)¹ shall cause a trestle to be made in the fore part of his boat with ii halys² to carye ii baseis or verseis, for the more annoyance of their enemies at landing.

Officers to be appointed.

My lord admiral—The Chieftain of the vawarde.

The Earl of Shrewsbury—The Chieftain of the rearewarde.

Sir Rafe Sadler—Treasurer of the Wars.

Sir Rise Mansfield—The Knight Marshall.³

Constable—The Provost Marshall.³

Sir Christopher Morris—The Master of these Ordinances.

Le —Captain of the Pioneers.

Sir Anthony Hungerford—The Captain of the Scout.

Item, vii captains to have the rule of the watch,—every night one of tnein to watch, and the Scouts from time to time to send him advertisements.

Nevell. Item, one principal man to have the rule and charge of the victuals, that the soldiers may have it for their money.

Gower and Everard. Item, one to be appointed, as well to

¹ i.e. " base and verse " =small light cannons. ² -ropes ?

³ These officials were responsible for the discipline ; the former for the officers, and the latter for the men.

see the bringing of the victuals to the market, as also to order such others as shall come to the market by any other means.

To land 12,000 men as followeth :

Harquebusiers, 500; Archers, 1000; Pikes, 1000; bills, 1500. 4000.

And these to be supported with the rest as they may land.

Ordenance to be landed before we march.

Fawcons,¹ 4 ; Fawconetes,² 6 ; Close waggon, 12. 22.

The vawarde.

Harquebusiers, 150; Archers, 1000; pikes, 500; bills, 2000. 3650.

The battell.

Harquebusiers, 200; archers, 1000; pikes, 1000; bills, 2500. 4700.

The rearewarde.

Harquebusiers, 100; archers, 1000; pikes, 550; bills, 2000. 3650.

To land 12,000 men at two places at one instant, as near as they can together and at either place, these numbers following:

Harquebusiers, 250; archers, 1500; pikes, 1000; bills, 1500. 4250.

HERTFORD AND OTHERS TO HENRY VIII.

A. (MAY 9TH, 1544.)

Source.—*Hamilton Papers*, No. 233.

Please it your highness to understand that I the Earl of Hertford with Your Majesty's army here, marched out of this town on Wednesday last, towards Edinburgh, and being set

¹ = a ten pounder, ² = a five pounder.

forwards, came to me an herald and trumpet from the provost and council of the toun, declaring on their behalf that they would set open the gates and deliver the keys unto me to do with the toun and them what I would, upon trust that I would be good lord unto them and save their lives and goods without burning or spoil of the toun, which should make no resistance unto me.

I tolft him forasmuch as they had before refused so to do, and had made me resolute answer that unless I would capitulate with them in what sort I would use them and their toun, they would not yield the same, but make resistances, which I took for a final resolution, I would therefore remain now at my liberty to do as I thought good when I came there; and therewith I asked, whether they would also undertake and promise for to deliver the castle ? Whereunto he answered that it was out of his power to deliver the castle, but for the toun which was in their hands, it should be at my commandment. Whereupon I willed them to return, and to say unto the said provost and council that if they would render all to my will, they should forthwith avoid the toun of man, woman and childe, and at mine entry into the toun, if they did meet me and submit themselves, I would then do as I saw cause.

Whereupon he departed, and soon after when I came near to the toun, the provost and others of the toun with him, came to me and required me to be good lord unto them and their toun, which should be committed unto me without resistance, trusting that I would save their lives and goods, and not burn nor spoil their toun.

I made them in effect like answer as before I made to the herald, but being much pressed by them for the safetie of them and their toun with their goods as aforesaid, I willed them to return, saying that at mine entry within the toun, upon their submission and delivery of the keys as they offered, I would then use them with the more favour, as at my coming to the gates of the toun I would further declare. They returned with this answer, and I supposed verily that they would in *this* sort have delivered and yielded the toun ; but immediately

after, as soon as we were marched hard to the toun, the inhabitants of the suburbs raised a fire and a great smoke in one or two of their own houses betwixt us and the toun, and forthwith after, I had intelligence that they would defend and withstand us to their power. Whereupon I the said Earl caused me the Lord Admiral with the forward to march into the toun, who passed through the suburbs to the principal port of the toun, being an iron gate and well fortified with men and ordinance, which they shot so fast that some of our men being killed in the streets with the same, the rest began to shrink and retire, but that the gentlemen and others of the foreward, your majesty's servants, gave the onset and made so sharp assault and approach hard to the gate, that they recovered one piece of their artillery, and by violence drew it from them through the loops, where the same did lie in the gate. Nevertheless the Scots shot out of their windows and holes of their houses so fast with hand-guns, that our men being so astonished therewith, shot again at adventure, and did more hurt to their own fellows than to the enemys, whereby it chanced that one hit my Lord William with an arrow above the cheek, but the stroke was so faint and weakly shot that, thanked be God, it did him little or no hurt at all. In fine the said lord Admiral having caused Sir Christopher Morris to lay ordinance to the said gate, after three or iiii shots of a culverin, the gate flew open and our men entered the toun with such good courage, as all the enemies fled away, and many of them were slain, we think about vi or vii score at the least. And being thus entered within the toun, and our enemies discomfited, although I the said Earl had before taken order, that after the winning of the toun and the entry into the same, they should proceed no farther, nor make assault to the castle, till upon a future advice, yet when the said gate was thus won and opened with the ordinance, the gunners of their own courage, without advice or commandment of me the said Earl, and without the knowledge of one the Lord Admiral, made forthwith an approach with their battery pieces to the Castle of Edinburgh, and shot of a little while to the same ; but the castle being so

strong and the approach so dangerous on all sides, that it is not possible for men to stand to their pieces without utter destruction, the Scots with their shot both of cannon and other pieces out of the castle, slew our men and dismounted one of our pieces. So that I the said Earl perceiving the same, caused Mr. Lee and the Surveyor of Calais to view the approach, who said that the same was so dangerous, as the castle seemed to be impregnable without a long demour and tarrying upon it; for there could be, as they said, no case devised for the approach, but that the same must needs be so open upon the shot of the castle, as without the great loss of men it could not be entered, the ground being of hard rock, so that there was no earth to fill mounds with, nor yet to trench on, and notwithstanding all the shot that Sir Christopher Morris made, which endured almost two hours, the walls of the castle seemed so strong as they were little or nothing battered or impaired with the same. Whereupon I the said Earl caused him to retire and withdraw all his pieces of artillery saving that which was dismounted, which could not be lead away, the place being so dangerous, as men could not stand to mount the same again, and therefore I caused him to break it with over charge. And as soon as the ordinance was thus withdrawn and set forwards, I commanded the captains and soldiers to set fire in the toun, which being so raised in sundry parts, the soldiers fell into such a sudden rage and fear, that what by reason of the shot out of the castle, which beateth full upon the toun, and killed sundry of our soldiers, and again with such exclamations and cryings out upon no ground or cause, they began to flee so fast OUT of the toun, as by reason of the straight passage at the gate, the throng and press was so great, that one of them was like to destroy another; whereof was like to have grown some mischief and confusion. And if the smoke had not been such in the toun as blinded the Scots so that the same could not see the confusion and throng of our soldiers, undoubted with their shot they might have slain a great number of your people- But God be thanked, at last it was well appeased with much ado, and having made a jolly fire and smoke upon

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the toun, I the said Earl with Your Highness' army **returned** to our camp in this toun. And in this enterprise we lost **not** in all past xx men, but by reason of the said confusion amongst the soldiers the time passed and night came so fast **on**, that we could not tarry so long upon the burning of the **toun** throughout, as we would have done, though it be metely well smoked, and therefore we left it for that time. But yesterday arrived here the warden of the East and Middle marches, with the horsemen to the number of four thousand at the least, and this day I the said Earl have eftsoons visited the said toun of Edinburgh, which had chosen them a new provost, and intending to make a new resistance, had repaired the said chief port of the toun with stone and earth and stood somewhat stoutly to their defence. Nevertheless they were so well assaulted and quickly handled that the gate was soon set upon with our artillery and the toun won once again. In which assault were slain iiii or v hundred Scots, and but vii of our men lacking, thanks be to God. So that we trust Your Majesty's Commission given to me the said Earl for the burning of the said toun, is now well executed, for the toun and also the Abbey of Holyrood house is in manner wholly brent **and** desolate; which considering the dangerous entry into the same town by reason of the shot of the castle, we found to be a far more difficult and dangerous enterprise than before hath been supposed.

And whiles the toun was thus brenning, and we standing **upon** the hill without the toun to view the same, we **might well** hear the women and poor miserable creatures **of** the **toun make** exclamation and cryings out upon the cardinal in thase **words** : " Wa worthe the Cardinal."¹ And also your horsemen since their arrival here have ridden abroad in the country **and brent** round about within v miles compass hereabouts **and have** gotten good booties, both of cattle and also ready **money and** plate to a good value and substance. . . .

And finally, having made such devastation **of the country** hereabouts as your majesty hath commanded, **I shall then**

¹ *i.e.* Cardinal Beaton, leader of the French Party in Scotland,

proceed to the execution of the rest of my charge in our return home by land, which I trust shall be accomplished to your highness' honour and contentment. Thus Almighty God preserve your majesty in your royal estate most felicitously to endure. At Leith the ixth of May. Your Majesty's humble subjects and most bounden servants, E. Hertford, John Lisle, Rafe Sadleyr.

B. (MAY 18.)

Source.—*Hamilton Papers*, No. 240, Vol. II.

Please it Your Highness to understand that like as we wrote in our last letters to Your Majesty our determination to depart from Leith homewards by land with your army upon Thursday last, and so to devastate the country by the way in our return as we might conveniently, so have we now accomplished the same. And first before our departure from Leith having brent Edinburgh and sundry other towns and villages in those parties as we wrote in our said last letters,—we did likewise burn the town of Leith, the same morning that we departed thence, and such ships and boats as we found in the haven, meet to be brought away, we have conveyed thence by sea, and the rest are brent; and have also destroyed and brent the pier and haven. Which damages we think they shall not be able to recover in our time. And in our way homewards we have brent the town of Musselborough, Preston, Seton, with Lord Seton's principal house, himself being pricking aloof from us with a certain number of horsemen, so that he will see his own house and his own town on fire, and also we have brent the towns of Haddington and Dunbar, which we dare assure Your Majesty be well burnt, with as many other piles, gentlemen's and others houses and villages as we might conveniently reach, within the limits or compass of our way homewards. And always had such respect towards the keeping of good order and array in our marching, as notwithstanding

the Scots would daily prick about us, and make as many proud shows and braggs, they could take us at none advantage. And yesterday the Lords Hume and Seton, and also as we were informed, the Earl of Bothwell, had assembled together the number of two thousand horsemen and vi thousand footmen, and were once determined to have stopped us at the Pease, which is a very straight and ill passage for an army, assuring your majesty that three thousand men, being men of heart, and having captains of any policy or experience of the wars, might keep and defend the said passage against a greater power than we had. Nevertheless being the said Scots assembled and determined as is aforesaid, to keep that passage, when they saw your majesty's army and power marching towards them in an honest order and in such sort as they might well perceive were fully bent and determined to assault them, they did immediately disperse and scale themselves in our sight, and gave us the passage without resistance. And so this journey is accomplished to Your Majesty's honour.

Touching the castle of Temptallen, like as we wrote to Your Highness what we have done to Sir George Douglas in the same, so have I the Earl of Hertford since that time received letters from the Earl of Angus and the said Sir George, which I send herewith to Your Majesty; and what shall be Your Majesty's further pleasure to have done in that behalf, I shall accomplish accordingly ; and would right gladly have returned by Temptallen, and made some countenance of assault to the same, but that partly I forbore and tarried for the said answer, and chiefly I was constrained to leave it for lack of carriages for great piece* of artillery and also for lack of powder; aRd besides that we were so disfurnished by carriages for our victuals, that we were not able to carry so much with us, as might serve us for any longer time than that we might march home. And yet having made as Good Shift and Provision for the same as we could for our lives, the soldiers, ere we came half-way home, weue fain to drink water the residue of the way which they did with as good will as ever did men, and as well content to endure labour and pain, without grudging at the same. These

respects and lacks enforced us to leave both Temptallen and Hume Castles much against our wills, and to make the haste we could homewards for avoiding of more inconvenience. So that this night we arrived here at Berwick with our whole army, and shall forthwith dissolve the same, to the intent Your Highness may the sooner be exonerated of your great charges sustained in that behalf.

Finally, we have received letters since our arrival here from the lords of your majesty's council, by the which it appeareth that Your Highness* pleasure to have 3900 soldiers chosen out of this army to be transported hence to Calais to serve Your Highness in France,—whereupon I the said Earl have called sundry of the captains afore me, and appointed such as I thought most meet with their numbers for that purpose. Assuring Your Majesty that though the gentlemen are most willing to serve, yet they declare their necessity to be such, which indeed is most evident,—as we see not how it is possible to furnish the said number presently from these parts, to be transported to Calais, unless the gentlemen and their men might have time to go home and prepare and furnish themselves in such sort as they might be able to serve Your Majesty to your honour and their honesties. For having in this journey spent all their money, they say that of force they must go home to make shift for more, and they have neither tents nor pavilions here ; for because this enterprise into Scotland was by sea, all gentlemen had special commandment to bring no carriages with them, so that few or none brought any pavilion hither. And as for the soldiers having lain nightly in their clothes, since they came from home being now the space of two months, and for this fortnight, every night in the fields without covering, they have the most part of them, what with cold and great travail and scant victualling have caught such diseases both in their bodies and swelling in their legs, and be so wearied with labour and pain that few or none of them be meet to go to the seas, nor yet able to serve Your Majesty when they come to land to your honor. And besides that they be so far out of apparrell both in shirts,

doublers, coats, and all other things, having also no money to furnish the same, that their captains cannot with honesty bring them to the field in such plight. So that except they might have time to refresh themselves, both to get health and such necessary furniture as they now want, undoubtedly we see not how it is possible to pick out the said number of 3900 of such men as may be sent with honesty to serve Your Highness purpose,—as I the said lord Admiral shall declare unto Your Majesty at my coming. In the mean season, we have appointed here 500 Harquebusiers, which be as forward and apt men to serve in strait feat as ever we saw, and also 200 of the Lord Cobhams men, 200 pioneers under the conduct of Mr. Lee and 50 of Sir Christopher Mones men, besides 500 of those that come by sea, over and above 2000 reserved to keep the sea, so that the whole number that can be had here is 1450 men, which shall forthwith be embarked and transported to Calais, according to Your Majesty's pleasure. And this is as much as can be done here in that behalf, without a longer respect as is aforesaid. Thus Almighty God preserve Your Majesty in your royal estate most felicitously to endure.

At Berwick the xviiith of May and ix o'clock within night. Your Majesty's humble subjects and most bounden servants.
(Signed) E. Hertford, John Lisle, Rafe Sadleye.

ATTEMPTED INVASION OF ENGLAND BY THE FRENCH (1545).

Source.—Holinshed, p. 847.

The same month also the Lord Lisle Admiral of England with the English fleet entered the mouth of the Seine, and came before Newhaven, where a great navy of the Frenchmen lay, to the number of a two hundred ships, and six and twenty gallies, whereof the Pope (as was reported) had sent twenty well furnished with men and money to the aid of the French king.

The Englishmen being not past an hundred and threescore sail, and all great ships, determined not to set upon the Frenchmen where they lay: but yet approaching near unto them, shot off certain pieces of ordinance at them, and thereby caused the gallies to come abroad, which changed shot again with the Englishmen.

The gallies at the first had great advantage, by reason of the great calm.

Thrice either part assaulted other with shot of their great artillery, but suddenly the wind rose so high, that the gallies could not endure the rage of the seas, and so the Englishmen for fear of flats were compelled to enter the main seas and so sailed unto Portsmouth where the King lay, for he had knowledge of his espials that the Frenchmen intended to land in the **Isle** of Wight, wherefore he repaired to that coast, to see his realm defended.

After this, the eighteenth of July the admiral of France Monseieur Danebalte hoisted up sails, and with his whole navy came forth into the seas, and arrived on the coast of Sussex before Bright Hams teed,¹ and set certain of his soldiers on land to burn and spoil the country: but the beacons were fired and the inhabitants thereabouts came down so thick that the Frenchmen were driven to fly with loss of divers of their numbers; so that they did little hurt there. Immediately thereupon they made to the point of the Isle of Wight, called Saint Helen's point, and there in good order upon their arrival they cast anchors, and sent daily sixteen of their gallies to **the** very haven of Portsmouth. The English navy lying **there in the same** haven, made them ready, and set out toward **the** enemies, and still the one shot hotly at the other; but **the** wind was so calm, that the king's ships could bear no sail, which greatly grieved the minds of the Englishmen, and made the enemies more bold to approach with their gallies, and to assail the ships with their shot even within the haven.

The twentieth of July, the whole navy of the Englishmen **made out, and** purposed to set on the Frenchmen, but in setting

¹ *i.e.* Brighthelmstone = Brighton.

forward, through too much folly, one of the King's ships called the *Marie Rose* was drowned in the midst of the haven, by reason that she was overladen with ordinance, and had the ports left open, which were very low, and the great artillerie unbreeched so that when the ship should turn, the water entered, and suddenly she sank. In her was Sir George Carew knight and four hundred soldiers under his guiding. There escaped not past forty persons of all the whole numbpr. On the morrow after about two thousand of the Frenchmen landed at the Isle of Wight, where one of their chief captains named le Chevalier Daux, a Proven9ois, was slain with many other, and the residue with loss and shame driven back again to their gallies.

The King perceiving the great Armada of the Frenchmen to approach, caused the beacons to be fired, and by letters sent into Hamptonshire, Summersetshire, Wiltshire, and into divers other countries adjoining, gave knowledge to such as were appointed to be ready for that purpose, to come with all speed to encounter the enemies. Whereupon they repaired to his presence in great numbers well furnished with armour, weapon, vittels, and all other things necessary, so that the Isle was garnished, and all the frontiers along the coasts fortified with exceeding great multitudes of men. The French captains having knowledge by certain fishermen, whom they took, that the King was present, and so huge a power ready to resist them, they disanchored and drew along the coast of Sussex, and a small number of them landed again in Sussex, of whom few returned to their ships; for divers gentlemen of the country, as Sir Nicholas Pelham, and others, with such power as was raised, upon the sudden, took them up by the way and quickly distressed them.

When they had searched everywhere by the coast, and saw men still ready to receive them with battle, they turned stern, and so got them home again without any act achieved worthy to be mentioned. The number of the Frenchmen was great, so that divers of them that were taken prisoners in the Isle of Wight and in Sussex did report that they were three score

thousand. The French king advertised the emperor most untruly by letters, that his army had gotten the Isle of Wight with the ports of Hamton, and Portsmouth, and divers other places.

THE CAPTURE OF THE BARQUE AGER (1545).

Souroe.—Hall's *Henry VIII.*

In this time, there was by the Frenchmen a voyage made towards the Isle of Brazil, with a ship called the Barque Ager, which they had taken from the Englishmen before. And in their way they fortun'd to meet suddenly with a little Craer, of whom was Master one Golding, which Golding was a fierce and an hardy man. The barque perceiving this small Craer to be an Englishman, shot at him and boughed him, wherefore the Craer drew straight to the great ship, and six or seven of the men leapt into the Barque: the Frenchmen looking over the board at the sinking of the Craer, nothing mistrusting anything, that might be done by the Englishmen. And so it fortun'd that those Englishmen which climbed into the ship, found in the end thereof a great number of lime pots, which they with water quenched, or rather as the nature thereof is, set them a fire, and threw them at the Frenchmen that were aboard, and so blinded them, that those few Englishmen that entered the ship, vanquished all that were therein, and drove them under hatches, and brought the barque clearly away again into Engjand.

SPEECH MADE BY KING HENRY VIII. AT THE
OPENING OF PARLIAMENT (1546).

Source.—Edward Hall's *Henry VIII.*

Although my Chancellor for the time being, hath before this time used, very eloquently and substantially, to make answer to such orations, as hath been set forth in this high court of Parliament, yet is he not so able to open and set forth my mind and meaning, and the secrets of my heart, in so plain and ample manner, as I myself am and can do; wherefor I taking upon me to answer your eloquent oration, Master Speaker, say, that where you, in the name of our well-beloved Commons hath both praised and extolled me, for the notable qualities that you have conceived to be in me, I most heartily thank you all, that you have put me in remembrance of my duty, which is to endeavour myself to obtain and get such excellent qualities, and necessary virtues, as a Prince or Governor, should or ought to have, of which gifts I recognize myself both bare and barren; but of such small qualities as God hath endued me withal, I render to his goodness my most humble thanks, intending with all my wit and diligence, to get and acquire to me such notable virtues and princely qualities as you have alleged to be incorporate in my person. These thanks for your loving admonition and good counsel first remembered, eftsoons thank you again, because that you, considering our great charges (not for our pleasure, but for your defences, not for our gain, but to our great cost), which we have lately sustained, as well in defence of our and your enemies, as for the conquest of that fortress, which was to this realm, most displeasing and noisome, and shall be by God's grace hereafter, to our nation most profitable and pleasant, have freely of your own mind, granted to us a certain subsidy specified in a certain act, which verity we take in good part, regarding more your kindness, than the profit thereof, as he that setteth more by your loving hearts, than by your substance. Besides this hearty kind-

ness, I cannot a little rejoice when I consider the perfect trust and sure confidence which you have put in me, as men having undoubted hope and unfeigned belief in my good doings and just proceedings for you, without my desire or request, have committed to mine order and disposition, all Chantries, Colleges, Hospitals, and other places specified in a certain act, firmly trusting that I will order them to the glory of God, and the profit of the commonwealth. Surely if I contrary to your expectation, should suffer the ministers of the Church to decay', or learning (which is so great a jewel) to be ministered, or poor and miserable people to be unrelieved, you might say that I being put in so special a trust, as I am in this case, were no trusty friend to you, nor charitable man to mine even Christian,¹ neither a lover of the public wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account must be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not I pray you, but your expectation shall be served, more godly and goodly than you will wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceive.

Now sithence I find such kindness on your part towards me, I can not chose but love and favour you, affirming that no prince in the world more favoureth his subjects, than I do you, nor no subjects or commons more, love and obey, their sovereign lord, than I perceive you do me, for whose defence my treasure shall not be hidden, nor yf necessity require my person shall not be unadventured ; yet although I with you, and you with me, be in this perfect love and concord, this friendly amity can not continue, except both you my lords temporal, and you my lords spiritual, and you my loving subjects, study and take pain to amend one thing, which surely is amiss, and far out of order, to the which I most heartily **require** you, which is, that charity and concord is not amongst you, **but** discord and dissention beareth rule in every place. **S. Paul** saith to the Corinthians, in the xiii Chapter, Charity is gentle, Charity is not envious, Charity is not proud, and so forth, in the said Chapter: Behold then what love and Charity is amongst you, when the one calleth the other Heretic and

¹ =my fellow Christian.

Anabaptist, and he calleth him again Papist, Hypocrit and Pharisee. Be these tokens of charity amongst you? Are these the signs of fraternal love between you? No, no, I assure you, that this lack of charity among yourselves, will be the hindrance and assuaging of the fervent love between us, as I said before; except this wound be salved, and clearly made whole, I must needs judge the fault and occasion of this discord to be partly by negligence of you the fathers and preachers of the spirituality. If I see a man boast and bragg himself, I cannot but deem him a proud man. I see and hear daily that you of the clergy preach one against another, teach one contrary to another, inveigh one against another without charity or discretion. Some be too stiff in their old Mumpsimus, others be too busy and curious in their new Sumpsimus. Thus all men almost be in variety and discord, and few or none preach truly and sincerely the word of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I now judge you charitable persons doing this? No, no, I cannot so do : alas, how can the poor souls live in concord when you preachers sow amongst them in your sermons debate and discord? Or if they look for light, and you bring them to darkness? Amend these crimes I exhort you, and set forth God's word, both by true preaching, and good example giving, or else I whom God hath appointed his Vicar, and high minister here, will see these divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very duty, or else I am an unprofitable servant, and untrue officer.

Although as I say, the spiritual men be in some fault, that charity is not kept amongst you, yet you of the temporality be not clean and unspotted of malice and envy, for you rail on Bishops, speak slanderously of Priests, and rebuke and taunt Preachers, both contrary to good order and Christian fraternity. If you know surely that a bishop or preacher erreth or teacheth perverse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our Council or to us, to whom is committed by God the high authority to reform and order such causes and behaviours, and be not judges yourselves, of your own phantastical opinions, and vain expositions, for in such high causes ye **may**

lightly err. And alſ though you be permitted to read holy ſcripture, and to have the word of God in your mother tongue, you muſt underſtand that it is licensed you ſo to do, only to inform your own conſcience, and to inſtruct your children and family, and not to diſpute and make ſcripture a railing and a taunting ſtock, againſt Priests and Preachers (as many light perſons do). I am very ſorry to know and hear, how unreverently that moſt precious jewel the word of God is diſputed, rhymed, ſung and jangled in every Alehouſe and Tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the ſame. And yet I am even as much ſorry that the readers of the ſame follow it in doing ſo faintly and coldly ; for of this I am ſure, that Charity was never ſo faint amongſt you, and vertuous and Godly living was never leſs uſed, nor God himſelf amongſt Chriſtians was never leſs revered, honoured or ſerved. Therefore, as I ſaid before, be in Charity one with another, like brother and brother, love, dread and ſerve God (to the which I as your ſupreme head, and ſovereign lord, exhort and require you) and then I doubt not but that love and league that I ſpake of in the beginning ſhall never be diſſolved or broken between us. And the making of laws, which be now made and concluded, I exhort, you the makers, to be as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making and furthering the ſame, or elſe your labour ſhall be in vain, and your commonwealth nothing relieved. Now to your petition, concerning our royal aſſent to be given to ſuch acts as paſſed both the houſes. They ſhall be read openly, and ye may hear them.

HUGH LATIMER'S SERMON ON "THE
PLOUGHERS" (1549).

Source.—Latimer's *Remains and Sermons*, Corria Parker Society (1844); "Sermon on the Ploughers."

. . . Now what shall we say of these rich artisans of London ? What shall I say of them ? Shall I call them proud men of London, malicious men of London, merciless men of London ? No, no, I may not say so, they will be offended with me then. Yet must I speak. For there is reigning in London as much pride, as much covetousness, as much cruelty, as much oppression, as much superstition, as was in Nebo ?¹ Yes, I think and much more too. Therefore I say, repent O London ! repent, repent ! Thou hearest thy faults told thee ; amend them, amend them. And you rulers and officers, be wise and circumspect, look to your charge and see you do your duties and rather be glad to amend your ill living than to be angry when you are warned or told of your fault. . . . But London cannot abide to be rebuked ; such is the nature of man. If they be pricked, they will kick. If they be rubbed on the gall, they will wince. But yet they will not amend their faults, they will not be ill spoken of. But how shall I speak well of them ? If you could be content to receive and follow the word of God and favour good preachers, if you could bear to be told of your faults, if you could amend when you hear of them : if you would be glad to reform that is amiss : if I might see any such inclination in you, that leave to be merciless and begin to be charitable, I would then hope well of you, I would then speak well of you. But London was never so ill as it is now. In times past men were full of pity and compassion, but now there is no pity ; for in London their brother shall die in the streets for cold, he shall lie sick at their door between stock and stock, I cannot tell what to

¹ A Moabite tpwn ; see Jeremiah xlviii.

LATIMER'S SERMON ON THE "PLOUGHERS"

call it, and perish there for hunger. In times past when any rich man died in London, they were wont to help the poor scholars of the university with exhibition. When any man died, they would bequeathe great sums of money towards the relief of the poor. When I was a scholar at Cambridge myself, I heard very good report of London and knew many that had relief of the rich men of London; but now I can hear no sueh good report and yet I enquire of it and hearken for it, but now charity is waxed cold, none helpeth the scholar nor yet the poor. And in those days what did they when they helped the scholars ? Many they maintained and gave them livings that were very papists and professed the pope's doctrine; and now that the knowledge of God's word is brought to light, and many earnestly study and labour to set it forth, now almost no man helpeth to maintain them. Oh ! London ! London ! repent, repent, for I think God is more displeased with London than ever he was with the city of Nebo. Amend therefore ; and ye that be prelates, look well to your office, for right prelating is busy labouring and not lording. Therefore preach and teach and let your plough be doing ; ye lords, I say, that live like loiterers, look well to your office ; the plough is your office and charge. If you live idle and loiter, you do not your duty, you follow not your vocation; let your plough therefore be going and not cease, that true ground may bring forth good fruit. But now, me thinketh I hear one say unto me, wot you what you say ? Is it a work ? Is it a labour ? How then hath it happened that we have had so many hundred years so many unpreaching prelates, lording, loiterers, and idle ministers ? Ye would have me here to make answer and to shew the cause thereof. Nay, this land is not for me to plough, it is too strong, too thorny, too hard for me to plough. They have so many things that make for them, so many things to lay for themselves, that it is not for my weak team to plough them. They have to lay for themselves long customs and ceremonies and authority, placing in parliament, and many things more. And I feare* me this land is not yet ripe to be ploughed. For, as the saying

is, it lacketh weathering; at least way it is not for me to plough. For what shall I look for among thornes but pricking and scratching? What among stones, but stumbling? What (I had almost said) among serpents, but stinging? But this much I dare say, that since lording and loitering hath come up, preaching hath come down, contrary to the Apostles' times. For they preached and lorded not. And now they lord and preach not.

But now for the fault of unpreaching prelates, me thinke, I could guess, what might be said for excusing of them: They are so troubled with lordly living, they be so placed in palaces, couched in courts, ruffling in their rents, dancing in their dominions, and burdened with ambassages, pampering of their paunches like a monk that maketh his jubilee, munching in their mangers and moiling in their gay manors and mansions, and so troubled with loitering in their Lordships: that they cannot attend it. They are otherwise occupied, some in the king's matters, some are ambassadors, some of the Privy Council, some to furnish the court, some are Lords of Parliament, some are presidents and some are comptrollers of mints. Is this their duty? Is this their office? Should we have ministers of the Church to be comptrollers of the mints? Is this a meet office for a prieste that hath the cure of Soules? Is this his charge? I would here ask one question? I would fain know who controlleth the devil at home at his parish while he comptrolleth the mint? If the Apostles might not leave the office of preaching to be deacons, shall one leave it for minting?

And now I would ask a strange question? Who is the most diligent bishop and prelate in all England, that passeth all the rest in doing his office? I can tell, for I know him, who it is; I know him well. But now I think I see you listing and hearkening, that I should name him. There is one that passeth all the other, and is the most diligent prelate and preacher in all England. And will ye know who it is? I will tell you. It is the Devil. He is the most diligent preacher of all other, he is never out of his diocese, he is never from his

LATIMER'S SERMON ON "THE PLOUGHERS"

cure, ye shall never find him unoccupied, he is ever in his parish, he keepeth residence at all times, ye shall never find him out of the way ; call for him when you will, he is ever at home, the diligentest preacher in all the Realm; he is ever at his plough, no lording or loitering can hinder him ; he is ever applying his business, ye shall never find him idle, I warrant you. And his office is, to hinder religion, to maintain superstition, to set up idolatry, to teach all kind of popery; he is ready as can be wished to set forth his plough, to devise as many ways as can be, to deface and obscure God's glory. Where the Devil is resident and hath his plough going : there away with books, and up with candles, yea, at noon-days. Where the Devil is resident, that he may prevail, up with all superstition and idolatry, sensing, painting of images, candles, palms, ashes, holy water and new service of men's inventing, as though man could invent a better way to honour God with than God himself hath appointed. Down with Christ's Crosse, up with Purgatory pick-purse, up with him, the popish purgatory, I mean. Away with clothing the naked, the poor and impotent, up with decking of images and gay garnishing of stocks and stones, up with man's traditions and his laws, down with God's tradition and his most holy word. Down with the old honour due to God, and up with the new God's honour, let all things be done in Latin. There must be nothing but Latin, not as much as " Memento, homo, quod cinis es, et in cineres reverteris "—Remember, man, that thou arte ashes and into ashes thou shalt return. Which be the words that the minister speaketh, to the ignorant people, when he giveth them ashes upon Ash Wednesday, but it must be spoken in Latin. God's word may in no wise be translated into English. Oh, that our prelates would be as diligent to sow the corn of good doctrine, as Satan is to sow cockel and darnel! **And** this is the devilish ploughing, the which worketh to have things in Latin and letteth the fruitful edification.

THE ORDINANCES, STATUTES AND RULES MADE BY
JOHN LORD TIPTOLFE, EARL OF WORCESTER, CON-
STABLE OF ENGLAND, BY THE KING'S COMMANDMENT, AT
WINDSOR ON THE 29TH OF MARCH (CIRCA 1590).

Source.—From Sir J. Harrington's *Nugae Antiquae*, Vol. III.,
P- 234, 1792.

Reserving always to the Queen and to the Lord President,
the attribution and gift of the prizes, after the manner and
form accustomed. For their demerits according to the articles
ensuing:

How many ways the prize is won.

First, whoso breaketh most spears, as they ought to be broken,
shall have the prize.

Item, whoso breaketh three times, in the sight of the helm,
shall have the prize.

Item, whoso meeteth two times, coronal¹ to coronal, shall
have the prize.

Item, whoso beareth a man down with stroke of spear shall
have the prize.

How many ways the prize shall be lost.

First, whoso striketh a horse shall have no prize.

Item, who striketh a man, his back turned, or disarmed of his
spear, shall have no prize.

Item, whoso hitteth the toile * three times shall have no prize.

Item, whoso unhelms himself two times shall have no prize,
unless his horse do fail him.

¹ Coronal=(a) The head of a tilting lance of iron, furnished with two, three, or four blunt points, which give a good hold on shield or helmet when* striking but do not penetrate; {b} the ornamentation on the helmet, to which the plume or crest was usually attached.

* The barrier separating the two competitors.

How broken spears shall be allowed.

First, whoso breaketh a spear between the saddle and the coronal^x of the helm shall be allowed for one.

Item, whoso breaketh a spear from the coronal upwards shall be allowed for two.

Item, whoso breaketh a spear, so that he striketh his adversary doun, or put him out of his saddle, or disarms him in such wise as he may not run the next course after, or breaketh his spear coronal to coronal shall be allowed as three spears broken.

How spears broken shall be disallowed.

First, whoso breaketh on the saddle shall be disallowed for spear-breaking.

Item, whoso hitteth the toile i-*ce* shall be disallowed for two.

Hem, whoso hitteth the toil shall, for that blow the second time be disallowed three.

Item, whoso breaketh a spear, within a foot to the coronal, shall be adjudged as no spear broken, but a faint attaint.*

For (he Prize to be given and who shall be preferred.

First, whoso beareth a man doun out of the saddle, or putteth him to the earth, horse and man, shall have the prize before him that striketh coronal to coronal two times.

Item, he that strikes coronal to coronal two times, shall have the prize before him that strikes the sight three times.

Item, he that strikes the sight three times shall have the prize before him that breaketh more spears.

Item, if there be any man that furnisheth in this wise, which shall be deemed to have bidden longest in the field helmed, and **to have** run **the** fairest course, and to have given, the

¹See note on previous page.

²Attaint was the technical term for a hit.

greatest strokes, and to have holpen nimsel best with his spear he shall have the prize.

JOHN WORCESTER.

At Tourney.

Two blows at the passage, and ten at the joining, more or less as they make it. All gripings, shocks and foul play forbidden.

How Prizes and Tourney and barrier are to be lost

He that giveth a stroke with a pike from the girdle downwards, or under the barrier, shall win no prize.

He that shall have a close gauntlet, or anything to fasten his sword to his hand, shall have no prize.

He whose sword falleth out of his hand shall win no prize.

He that stayeth his hands in fight or the barrier shall win no prize.

He whosoever shall fight and doth not shew his sword to the judges before, shall win no prize.

Yet it is to be understood that the Challengers may win all these prizes against the Defendants.

The Maintainers may take aid or assistance of the noble-men, of such as they shall like best.

A LITTLE PROHEME TO THE BOOK CALLED GRAM-
MATICA RUDIMENTA, BY DEAN COLET
(1527)-

APPENDIX IX. NUM. XIII.

Source.—*Knight's Life of Colet.*

Albeit many have written, and have made certain introductions into Latin Speech, called Donates and Accidence in Latin tongue and in English, in such plenty that it should seem to suffice; yet nevertheless for the love and zeal that I have to the new School of Powles, and to the children of the same, somewhat I have also compiled of the matter, and of the viii parts of grammar have made this little book, not thinking that I could say anything that had been said better before, but I took this business having great pleasure to shew the testimony of my good mind unto that school.

In which little work if any new things be of me, it is aloney that I have put these parts in a more clear order, and have made them a little more easy to young wits, than (me thinketh) they were before. Judging that nothing may be too soft, nor too familiar for little children, especially learning a tongue unto them all strange. In which little book I have left many things out of purposes, considering the tenderness and small capacity of little minds. And that I have spoken also I have affirmed it none otherwise, but as it happeneth most commonly in the J-atin Tongue. For many be the exceptions, and hard it is anything generally to assure in a speech so various. I pray God all may be to his honour, and to the erudition and profit of children, and my countrymen Londoners especially, whom digesting this little work I had alway before mine eyen, considering more, what was for them, than to shew any great, cunning, willing to speak the things often before spoken, in such manner as gladly young beginners and tender wits might take and conceive. Wherefore I pray you all little babes, all

little children learn gladly this little treatise, and commend it diligently unto your memories, trusting of this beginning that ye shall proceed and grow to perfect literature, and come at the last to be great clerks. And lift up your little white hands for me, which prayeth for you to God, to whom be all honour and imperial majesty and glory, AMEN.

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